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**'An Analysis of Gender Practice  
of Tamil Christian Women  
with particular reference to  
Women of Kodambakkam Church of South India  
Risen Redeemer's Church in Chennai'**

By

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the Open University, UK

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Oxford Centre for Mission Studies



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**‘An Analysis of Gender Practice of Tamil Christian Women with particular reference to women of Kodambakkam Church of South India Risen Redeemer’s Church in Chennai’**

by Beulah Herbert

**ABSTRACT**

This study looks at the gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai. The self-perceptions and self-constructions of the women of the sample from the Church of South India in Kodambakkam, Chennai, provide material to answer the research question, ‘Who is a Tamil Christian woman at the turn of the millennium?’ Focus groups and interview methods are used to collect the data. A feminist narrative methodology is adopted. For the narrative analysis, categories from relevant Indian family studies and those emerging from the fieldwork are used. This use of the narrative method enables the researcher to elicit the self-perceptions and self-constructions of the women, unlike some studies employing methods which produce perceptions and definitions about women by others and not perceptions by and of the women about themselves.

The analysis of the narratives reveals that the women neither perceive themselves nor construct their self-identities according to the usual rhetoric found in secular and theological gender studies. Religion plays an important role in shaping their self-perception and self-construction but according to their own understanding and interpretation, not as an oppressive doctrinal machine. Further the various narratives show that the perception and identity construction of these women are complex and multifarious. However it also emerges that the identity construction is a performance within the context of the narration adopted by the narrators to fit their common sense understanding of a ‘tellable story’ by the use of various strategies, tools and mechanisms of storytelling. Thus the answer to the question who a Tamil

Christian woman is at the turn of the millennium is achieved through the collective, complex, multifaceted stories of the narrators emplotting their lived experiences of gender practice.

## **A DECLARATION**

The author declares that the work of this thesis is the result of her own investigation, apart from that duly acknowledged to other authors, and that otherwise none of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this, or any other, awarding institution.

Signed:

Date:

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this to the Triune God, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit whose faithfulness has enabled me to complete this work to the glory of the triune God.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **I. Preliminary Issues.**

##### **A. The Area of Research.**

The area of this research falls within feminist theology and the gender practice of the members of the sample group. This sample has been chosen for the fieldwork of the descriptive study using the qualitative research of feminist narrative methodology. The method of focus groups has been used to collect the primary data of the narratives of the members. Narrative analysis has been used for the analysis of this material. The analytical framework has been constructed from relevant theoretical material and the data emerging from the fieldwork.

##### **B. The Aim of the Research.**

The reading of theoretical material and the exploratory study revealed that the women of the sample group did not perceive themselves as they are usually portrayed in the standard text books and academic discussions about Indian women.<sup>1</sup> This made the researcher choose to elicit their self perceptions through their self construction by the method of narratives. The narratives are oral stories narrated by the women about their lived experiences. So they describe the experiences of the women from their perception and viewpoint. The narrative method is described later in the section on theoretical background in chapter two. Thus the aim of the research is to discover how the Tamil Christian women of the sample group perceive and construct the stories of their experiences that lived experiences are referred to as their gender practice.

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<sup>1</sup> These discussions are described in the literature review about Indian gender studies in chapter two.

### C. The Explanation of the Thesis Title.

The thesis title 'An Analysis of Gender Practice of Tamil Christian Women with particular reference to Women of Kodambakkam Church of South India (CSI) Risen Redeemer's Church in Chennai' needs some explanation. The analysis is an understanding, explication or exposition of the meaning of gender practice. The term 'gender practice' is used in a particular sense. For the purpose of this study it is understood in the way Elaine Graham describes it in the book form of her doctoral dissertation.

... gender is a fundamental form of social organization. Gender is but one manifestation of human social relations; it is not an ontological state, nor an intrinsic property of the individual. Theories about gender identity, gender regimes and the symbolic representations of gender are therefore theories about the formation of human culture; being a gendered person is about inhabiting a particular culture. Such social relations - and thus gender as a form of social relations - are generated and maintained by human *practice*, symbolic and material. ... Gender is therefore not an innate or ontological category, but the product of human action and social relations, forged by the transformation of the world around us into material and ideological systems.... gender is not a set of fixed attributes or certain traits in the possession of individuals, but a dimension of the culture in which we all live. It is more appropriate, therefore, to talk about the generation of gender traits; and of gender relations not as ossified or abstract set of differences, but as a performative reality. This makes the business of being a gendered person the consequence (although also the precondition) of inhabiting a particular culture.<sup>2</sup>

'Practice' is a loaded term especially in the context of social theory as Graham points out in her endnote.<sup>3</sup> But in this study it is used in the sense Stephen Kemmis and Mervyn Wilkinson use it to refer to its five aspects, namely, the way the individual behaviour appears to an outsider, the patterns of social interaction as they appear to an outsider, subjective internal perspective of the practitioners and the internal social perspective of the members of the community, and all these four aspects in their historical dimension.<sup>4</sup> So gender practice as

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<sup>2</sup> Elaine L. Graham. *Making The Difference. Gender, Personhood And Theology*. Mowbray, London, 1995, pp. 217, 219 - 220

<sup>3</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 231

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Kemmis and Mervyn Wilkinson, "Participatory Action Research And The Study Of Practice", in Bill Atweh, Stephen Kemmis and Patricia Weeks eds. *Action research in practice. partnerships for social justice in education*. Routledge, London, 1998, pp. 26 - 31

used in this research is not an academic or theoretical construct or concept. It is constituted by the lived experiences of the members of the sample group as they perceive and construct those experiences.

The rest of the title provides the socio-cultural and geographical location of the sample group. The sample group will be later described in detail. For these women, being Tamil denotes their linguistic affiliation and also the ethnic identity. 'Christian' points to their religious affinity that is part of their socio-cultural context just as the linguistic and ethnic identities do. The term 'women' also refers to the space in the socio-cultural location that the members of the sample group occupy. They also occupy a geographical location with a specific reference to the church to which they belong. This places them in a particular denominational context. Detailed description of this particular church is provided in Appendix 1.

#### **D. Background to the Research.**

Theoreticians and practitioners describe the status and role of women as they are and as they ought to be. However no study has been so far carried out to examine the lived experiences of Tamil Christian women in Chennai to describe their self-perception and self-construction of identity. The researcher's own socio-cultural location of being a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai, a theological educator and a Christian worker ministering to people in various capacities leads to the researcher's motivation as a theoretician and practitioner to examine this particular area.



## **E. Presentation.**

This study is presented more as a descriptive research of personal narratives. Riessman based on the viewpoint of E. G. Mishler claims that 'Study of personal narrative is a form of case -centered research'.<sup>5</sup> Further, because of the similarity of the descriptive nature of a single case study, the following characteristic of the case study method is applicable to this descriptive study.

Generally, case study reports are extensively descriptive, with "the most problematic issue often referred to as being the determination of the right combination of description and analysis" (1990). Typically, authors address each step of the research process, and attempt to give the reader as much context as possible for the decisions made in the research design and for the conclusions drawn.

This contextualization usually includes a detailed explanation of the researchers' theoretical positions, of how those theories drove the inquiry or led to the guiding research questions, of the participants' backgrounds, of the processes of data collection, of the training and limitations of the coders, along with a strong attempt to make connections between the data and the conclusions evident.<sup>6</sup>

The fieldwork carried out as part of the qualitative research forms the basis of the study and the presentation is a narrative.

## **F. Sources.**

The theoretical material for the background, focus, methodology, methods and analysis use bibliographical sources. The fieldwork has generated the primary data used for the analysis and also serves as a source for constructing the analytical framework along with the theoretical sources found in relevant Indian family studies.

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<sup>5</sup> Catherine Kohler Riessman, 'Analysis of personal narratives', J.F. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein, eds., *Handbook of Interview Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA., 2002, p. 697

<sup>6</sup> Writing@CSU, 'Composing the Case Study Report', available at <http://writing.colostate.edu/index.cfm> | Resources for Writers & Teachers | Writing Guides | Empirical Research | Case Study, accessed in January 2002

## II. The Significance of the Research.

There are many studies of Indian women, Tamil women and Christian women in India.<sup>7</sup> As the researcher engaged with these in her professional academic life she failed to find in any of them an adequate representation of her own identity or gender practice as a Tamil Christian woman, or of those whose community she shared. The challenge was to find a method of discovering this identity and practice that would elicit the women's own perceptions and descriptions. In the course of the research the writer found Narrative method offered the possibility of a most illuminating approach. This approach records and examines the actual stories that the women tell of their own lives. The analysis focuses not so much on the content

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<sup>7</sup> Some of the Indian works on Indian women which are used in this study are: G. S. Batra. and R. C. Dangwal. *Globalisation and liberalisation. New Developments*. Deep & Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2000; Patricia Caplan. *Class & Gender In India*. Tavistock Publications, London, 1985; Steve Derne. *Culture In Action. Family Life, Emotion, and Male Dominance in Banares, India*. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1995; Neera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj. *Women and Society in India*. Ajanta Publications (India), Delhi, 1987; Alfred de Souza. ed. *Women In Contemporary India. Traditional Images and Changing Roles*. Manohar, New Delhi, 1975; Rehana Ghadially. ed. *Women in Indian Society. A Reader*. Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1988; S. L. Hooja. *Dowry System In India. A Case Study*. Asia Press, Delhi, First Edition, 1969; M. Indiradevi. *Women – Education –Employment: Family Living. A Study of Emerging Hindu Wives in Urban India*. Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1987; Devaki Jain. ed. *Indian Women*. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1975; Shashi Jain. *Status And Role Perception Of Middle Class Women*. Puja Publishers (Regd. ), New Delhi, 1988; N. S. Krishnakumari. *Status Of Single Women In India*. Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987; Vimala Mehta. *Attitude of Educated Women Towards Social Issues*. National Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979; Asok Mitra. *The Status Of Women. Literacy and Employment*. Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1979; Sarada Natarajan. *Watering the Neighbour's Plant. Media Perspectives on Female Infanticide in Tamil Nadu*. M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, 1997; Niranjan Pant. *Status of Girl Child and Women in India*. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1995; M. Sundara Raj. *Prostitution In Madras. A Study in Historical Perspective*. Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1993; Aileen D. Ross. *The Hindu Family In Its Urban Setting*. University of Toronto Press, Canada, 1961; Amrit Srinivasan. 'Temple 'Prostitution' And Community Reform. An Examination of the ethnographic, historical and textual context of the devadasi of Tamil Nadu, South India', Ph. D., Cambridge, nd.; K. S. Sunanda. *Girl Child Born To Die In Killing Fields? Alternative For India Development*, Madras, 1995; J. B. Tellis-Nayak. ed. *Indian Women: Then And Now. Situation, Efforts, Profiles*. Satprakashan Sanchar Kendra, Indore, 1983; Prithvi Nath Tikoo. *Indian Women. A Brief Socio-Cultural Survey*. B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1985; Susan S. Wadley. ed. *The Powers Of Tamil Women*. Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1980; Dipta Bhog. 'Gender and Curriculum', *Economic and Political Weekly (EPW)*, 27April, 2002; Asghar Ali Engineer. 'Muslim Women and Maintenance', *EPW*, 12June, 1999; Sachidananda Mohanty. 'Female Identity and Conduct. Book Tradition in Orissa', *EPW*, 24, Jan.2004; Kanakalatha Mukund. 'Women's Property Rights in South India. A Review', *EPW*, May29, 1999; N. Neetha. 'Making of Female Breadwinners', *EPW*, April 24-30, 2004; Paul H. L. Nillesen. And A. Gelfert. 'Perception and Prejudice: Uncertainty and Investment in Gender', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26Oct.2002; P. P. Parikh. and S. P. Sukhatone. 'Women Engineers in India', *EPW*, 10Jan, 2004; Ujvala Rajadhyaksha and Swati Smita. 'Tracing a Timeline for Work and Family Research in India', *EPW*, April 24 – 30, 2004; Alka Ranjan. 'Determinants of Well-Being among Widows. An Exploratory Study in Varanasi', *EPW*, Oct.27, 2001; T. K. Sundari Ravindran, 'Female Autonomy in TamilNadu', *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 17, 1999, WS34-WS44; U. A. Shimray. 'Women's Work in Naga Society', *EPW*, April 24-30. 2004 ; Nisha Srivastava. 'Exposing Violence against Women', *EPW*, Vol. 34, 6Feb., 1999; S. Uma Devi. 'Globalisation, Information Technology and Asian Indian Women in US', *EPW*, 26Oct. 2000

of the stories, the experiences particular to the woman interviewed, but on how the women tell their story: how they convey what they value, how they justify their own or other people's actions, how they incorporate religious awareness and teaching. This narrative method becomes the means by which access is gained to their self-perception and identity. The focus on how the women tell their story offered an opportunity to examine whether it was possible to uncover at greater depth their drives, values, perceptions and identity than pure self description or observation by others. It is the use of this approach, the exploration of what this approach uncovers, and a comparison of the results of this approach with the results of more usual studies that comprises the uniqueness of this study. The researcher from observing her own life identified a gap between the picture painted by the usual studies and what she knew from experience to be the case. The unique contribution of this research is the journey to examine whether, and if so how, narrative study can assist in overcoming the gap between previous studies of gender practice and reality. It will be argued that this approach makes a significant contribution to exploring the identity and perception of a group of people, in this case Tamil Christian women; that its results challenge some of the stereotypes in the academic literature to date of Christian women in India; that this approach could be used with profit in studying other groups who may be similarly misrepresented in academic studies, and that a re-evaluation is needed on the impact of the Christian religion on the identity of women in India.

Thus this research investigates the gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai by collecting their stories of self-perception and self-definition related to the categories of their lived experiences. The new information revealed by this approach fills a gap in understanding the perception and identity of Tamil Christian women in this instance and shows that narrative study is significant for theoreticians and practitioners who are concerned to understand people's identity and perception of themselves. In the case of Tamil Christian women it raises

significant questions about some understandings of the role and impact of Christian religion in the lives of women in India.

In social research, issues of relevance of the topic and validity of the research project have to be addressed.<sup>8</sup> Hammersley states two points of relevance to the topic – the public importance of the issue of the topic and the contribution the research makes to public knowledge.<sup>9</sup> The knowledge of the status and position of gender practice in the lived experiences of Tamil Christian women is of importance not merely from an academic perspective, but also from sociological, missiological and pastoral standpoints. Mere theoretical knowledge gained from books is not sufficient for practioners. It is important to know what the lived experiences of Indian women are and what their perspectives are. This knowledge contributes to the body of existing knowledge in an area in which to the knowledge of the researcher fieldwork has not been done. It would appear that no fieldwork has been done in the area of gender practice of Christian women of Tamil culture that is the socio-cultural, socio-geographical and socio-temporal setting and context to which the women of the sample group belong. Further, the method of oral narrative has not been used in this context. Moreover, the self-perception and self-definition of these women – the question of what it means to be a Tamil Christian woman at the turn of the millennium, elicited from their self-construction of their self-identity in the research setting and context appears to have not been explored at all. This study attempts to address this gap.

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<sup>8</sup> Martyn Hammersley. *Reading Ethnographic Research. A Critical Guide*. Longman, London and New York, Second edition, 1998 (first published, 1991), pp. 58 – 122

<sup>9</sup> Hammersley, *Reading Ethnographic Research*. 1998, p.111

### **III. The Layout of Chapters.**

Chapter one is the introduction dealing with preliminary issues.

Chapter two gives the theoretical background to the study.

Chapter three describes the fieldwork done.

Chapter four considers how the women construct the stories of self-identity within the network of family relationships, especially in the areas of spousal relationship and treatment of children.

Chapter five provides stories of their access to or lack of opportunities for education and career.

Chapter six looks at how the women narrate the aspects of their involvement in church and their understanding of or views about certain biblical passages and concepts regarding gender issues.

The final chapter, chapter seven discusses how these women construct the stories regarding their cultural discourse in the categories of certain socio-cultural gender issues raised in the focus groups.

### **CONCLUSION.**

This study is an analysis of the gender practice of the women of Kodambakkam in Chennai. The conclusions drawn apply only within the limitations of this research. It is only about Tamil Christian women in Chennai and predominately concerns their gender practice in their lived experiences as it emerges from their oral narratives collected during the fieldwork. The self-perception and self-construction that emerge relate to this sample and are brought out only in the oral narratives that have been subjected to narrative analysis. Having considered the preliminary issues I move on to the theoretical background in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

#### **I. Introduction.**

This study is about gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai. So I begin with a discussion of what is meant by 'gender' and a review of Indian material on gender. There is no major study on the aspects covered by this particular thesis regarding Tamil Christian women. This has necessitated the use of family studies of Indian women elsewhere as described later in the two Indian family studies<sup>10</sup>. These studies are also used in constructing the analytical framework. The literature review is conducted in the following areas – theories about gender, Indian gender studies, Indian family studies, pertinent theological perspectives and Narrative analysis. A review of gender theories is given below in section II of this chapter. Then the researcher moves on to a review of Indian gender studies in section III of this chapter. This review is undertaken because the study is about the gender practice of Indian women. The next section of literature review is in section IV of this chapter. It is about Indian family studies for lack of many studies to guide the contour of the study relating to the lived experiences of the Tamil Christian women in family, church and society. Section V of this chapter looks at the literature review of two perspectives of evangelical theology about the relationship of men and women. The theological material has been included because there are discussions by the two groups, the egalitarians and the complementarians<sup>11</sup> about what should be the self perception and identity of women. But issues of identity and perception cannot be solved by theological argument alone. So this review is done in this study about Tamil Christian women. It is helpful to survey the views that impact on them or views to which they

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<sup>10</sup> The two studies on Indian families are described later in this chapter.

<sup>11</sup> The egalitarians and the complementarians represent two viewpoints about gender theology in the evangelical stream. The egalitarians subscribe to a view of equality with mutuality while the complementarians hold a view of equality with difference. These groups and their views are described in section V below of this chapter.

respond in their own way of accepting, assimilating, inverting, reinterpreting, rejecting or negotiating with them. Section VI of this chapter looks at the choice of the methodology in sub-section A and in sub-section B an explication of the narrative methodology chosen.

The study of gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai for want of other significant studies lacks guiding principles to map the contour of the study. To gather the significant components or aspects of the study, an exploratory study was carried out with an open-ended questionnaire. The exploratory study is described in section IX of this chapter.

This exploratory study proved inadequate for the following reasons – the questionnaire in spite of being open ended did not provide adequate facility for the women to narrate their stories in the way they wanted to. It was however constructed by the researcher and carried with it the limitations of the perceptions and definitions of a researcher in a sense outside the sample group. Further it was a limited method of enabling the women to answer questions and not to construct stories of their lived experiences. The way the women wanted to write in detail revealed that they wanted to provide much more than answering questions.

As a result the researcher shifted the focus of the study and the method used to use oral narrative to collect and analyse the data. The focus shifted to the self-perception and self-construction of these women, which is the identity of the members of the sample group. The research question itself “Who is a Tamil Christian woman at the end of the second millennium?” emerged from the exploratory study. Further the exploratory study also led to the choice of the method for data collection and for data analysis. So for the intense fieldwork, focus group method was used for data collection. The narrative analysis method is used for the analysis of the data.

The study moves on to the literature review which has been divided into two parts – first, gender theories, Indian family studies and theological perspectives of gender are reviewed to demonstrate why there is a gap in the current understanding of gender practice. Second, the theoretical material for the methodology of feminist narrative study and the method of using narrative analysis as a tool for the data analysis of the narratives collected from the fieldwork of focus groups is drawn from pertinent literature.

## **II. Studies of Gender Theories.**

### **A. Introduction.**

Studies on gender theories are numerous and vast. However for the purpose of this study I present here some select writings that give an overall view of gender theories in order to justify the notion of gender that is adopted in this study.

### **B. Bleier's Work.**

I begin with Ruth Bleier's book that looks at the 'role of science in the creation of an elaborate mythology of women's biological inferiority as an explanation for their subordinate position in the cultures of Western civilizations.'<sup>12</sup> Bleier looks at 'socio-biology, sex differences and brain structure and cognitive function, human cultural evolution and anthropology, and sexuality.'<sup>13</sup> She argues that 'Sociobiology is deeply flawed *as* science, and also that the genes-environment dichotomy underlying biological determinist theories is scientifically meaningless and, hence, useful only for political and ideological purposes.'<sup>14</sup> She says

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<sup>12</sup> Ruth Bleier. *Science and Gender. A Critique of Biology and Its Theories on Women*. Pergamon Press, New York, 1984, p. vii

<sup>13</sup> Bleier, 1984, p. vii

<sup>14</sup> Bleier, 1984, p. viii



It is, consequently, not possible to separate biological from cultural factors in any adequate explanation of development of human behaviors and characteristics nor to defend the notion of an immutable core of *instinct* or *nature* beneath and outside of culture and learning. Paradoxically, it is not our brains or our biology but rather the cultures that our brains have produced that constrain the nearly limitless potentialities for behavioural flexibility provided us by our brains.<sup>15</sup>

She further surveys studies linking hormones and brain laterizations<sup>16</sup> with sex differences and concludes that they are methodologically and conceptually unsound and inconclusive. She also claims that ‘no Single Cause theory can fully explain human cultural evolution.’<sup>17</sup> She draws from ‘the work of feminist anthropologists that challenges traditional anthropological concepts and universalistic assumptions, such as the subordinate position of women’ and ‘describes some historical circumstances that may have characterized the emergence of patriarchal cultures’<sup>18</sup>. Based on feminist science that discards dualistic assumptions and concepts of control, dominance and linear causality, she argues that one must accept the change, complexity, contextuality and interaction of natural and social causes in human lives. In this manner Bleier rejects biological and any such deterministic theories that propose natural intrinsic causes for women’s subordination. She concludes that it is possible for our brains to break out of cultural constraints.

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<sup>15</sup> Bleier, 1984, p. viii

<sup>16</sup> Ruth Bleier. *Feminist Approaches To Science*. Pegamon Press, New York, 1986, pp. 153 – 155. According to how Bleier describes in these pages, ‘brain laterization’ or specialisation is the use of one or the other or both hemispheres of the brain for cognitive ability. Bleier says that for visuospatial ability women use both hemispheres while men use only the right one. So it is claimed that women are less laterised or specialised. On the other hand women are said to be more laterised to left hemisphere for verbal information. This linking of sex differences to the use of the hemispheres of the brain in Bleier’s view is flawed

<sup>17</sup> Bleier, 1984, p. ix

<sup>18</sup> Bleier, 1984, p. ix

### C. Work of Kessler and McKenna.

Next I turn to a different work. Suzanne J. Kessler and Wendy McKenna<sup>19</sup> raise the question

What does it mean to say that the existence of two sexes is an “irreducible fact”?’ and attempt to show that ‘this “irreducible fact” is a product of social interaction in everyday life and that gender in everyday life provides the basis for all scientific work on gender and sex.’<sup>20</sup>

They claim to have a theoretical position that ‘gender is a social construction.’<sup>21</sup> They begin with a discussion of the primacy of gender attribution. Then they move on to discuss cross-cultural perspectives on gender showing that there is no universal criterion to distinguish males from females focusing on the institution of ‘berdache’<sup>22</sup>. They then discuss the contribution of biological factors to the development of gender. Their claim is that the social construction of gender is the foundation for the gender attribution based on biology. Having surveyed psychoanalytic, cognitive and social learning theories about the development of gender identity and gender role, they report their research about how children learn the rules for gender attribution. The discussion on transexualism is presented to gather information about gender as a social construction. They conclude with their argument that ‘the constitutive belief that there are two genders not only produces the idea of gender role, but also creates a sense that there is a physical dichotomy.’<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Suzanne J. Kessler and Wendy McKenna. *Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1978

<sup>20</sup> Kessler and McKenna, 1978, p. vii

<sup>21</sup> Kessler and McKenna, 1978, p. vii

<sup>22</sup> Kessler and McKenna give a detailed description of the institution of ‘berdache’ in the section on definition of ‘berdache’. They say that it is the practice of some male (normally while in some cultures female also) young people being given the social approval of playing the role of the opposite gender. It is found in the North American Indian societies. Kessler and McKenna also mention that it is found in some other cultures also. Kessler and McKenna, 1978, pp. 24 -29

<sup>23</sup> Kessler and McKenna, 1978, p. xi

#### D. Graham's Work.

Elaine Graham<sup>24</sup> surveys the historical development of gender theories and the lack of engagement with these theories in theological circles. Her work focuses on gender identity, gender relations and gender representation. She organises her work on three subject disciplines – anthropology, biology and psychoanalysis and four themes – Bodies, Ideas of Nature, the Challenge of Difference and Knowledge. These are grouped in two parts.

The first subject discipline Graham looks at is anthropology. The discussion concentrates on 'the significance of debates about the cultural representations and conceptualizations of gender, and whether or not universal and causal patterns can be discerned, both in the symbolic and material destinies of women and men.'<sup>25</sup> Graham concludes 'female subordination may be universal, but it is possible to provide a coherent account of the mechanisms of this which rests in actual human *practice*.'<sup>26</sup> In her discussion on biology Graham surveys biological essentialism, socio-biology and the trends of determinism and reductionism. She notes that

As the unfolding hypotheses within the natural sciences about the nature of gender reveal, enquiry into gender difference leads us into questions about knowledge, rationality and objectivity, and the necessity of analysing how claims to know and report about 'natural facts' actually have their roots in social relations and human practice.<sup>27</sup>

The section on psychoanalysis surveys the theories of Freud, his followers and later reinterpretations. Graham points out that psychoanalysis is a discursive practice with a model of human agency being both creators and products of a gendered culture.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Graham, 1995

<sup>25</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 59

<sup>26</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 76

<sup>27</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 98

<sup>28</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 118

The discussion on theories of 'the Body' expounds those of francophone feminism<sup>29</sup>. Graham makes the point in conclusion:

Clearly, therefore, the story of how we inhabit our bodies in and against historical and cultural contexts, where meanings are contested by a variety of media – medicine, religion and politics, as well as whatever constitutes our sense of these categories we call selfhood, subjectivity and experience – is immensely complex. The fundamental claim of such enquiries yet remains: bodies are crucial actors in the cultural rendition of gender, even though critical access to them in order to analyse their participation in the process is fraught with difficulty.<sup>30</sup>

After considering theories of Nature and of human nature including some radical feminist discussions, Graham argues that one needs a model of personhood that transcends the present dichotomies.<sup>31</sup> She says that one must pay attention to how human agency and practice go to 'make the difference'.<sup>32</sup> In conclusion Graham speaks '... of difference as created and enacted, not given: of gender difference as relational, not ontological and absolute; and the reflexive – as both cause and effect – permeation of gender relations in every aspect of human activity.'<sup>33</sup>

Thus for Graham gender is a form of social relations and this suggests a model of humanhood that is relational, compatible with the Trinitarian model of God.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Francophone feminism is a particular strand or school of feminism. Three francophone feminists are Helene Cixous, Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray. Only Irigaray is French. Their writing in French gives them this group name. Some would include others also in this group. Their emphasis is on the reclamation of the 'body'. They challenge the post-Enlightenment domination of reason. Thus they attempt to reclaim the 'Other'. They reject the binary or bipolar divisions. Their writing focus on language, experience and the body. See, 'French feminism' by Deborah Wills in Lorraine Cade ed. *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories*. Routledge, Abingdon, 2000, pp. 213 – 215

<sup>30</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 145

<sup>31</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 168

<sup>32</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 190

<sup>33</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 213

<sup>34</sup> Graham, 1995, p. 223

## **E. Definition of ‘Gender’.**

Having considered above gender studies and since this study has a feminist theological commitment which is based on the relational model of personhood formulated after the relational model of Trinity, Graham’s definition of ‘gender’ which is comprehensive from a theological perspective and is also based on the relational model of Trinity, is adopted in this study.<sup>35</sup>

... gender is a fundamental form of social organization. Gender is but one manifestation of human social relations; it is not an ontological state, nor an intrinsic property of the individual. Theories about gender identity, gender regimes and the symbolic representations of gender are therefore theories about the formation of human culture; being a gendered person is about inhabiting a particular culture. Such social relations - and thus gender as a form of social relations - are generated and maintained by human *practice*, symbolic and material. ... Gender is therefore not an innate or ontological category, but the product of human action and social relations, forged by the transformation of the world around us into material and ideological systems.... gender is not a set of fixed attributes or certain traits in the possession of individuals, but a dimension of the culture in which we all live. It is more appropriate, therefore, to talk about the generation of gender traits; and of gender relations not as ossified or abstract set of differences, but as a performative reality. This makes the business of being a gendered person the consequence (although also the precondition) of inhabiting a particular culture.<sup>36</sup>

## **III. Indian Gender Studies.**

### **A. Introduction.**

Having surveyed salient material on gender theories I turn to gender studies in India and about Indian women. There are numerous books, articles and papers published in this area. Four books have been selected to give a comprehensive view. Three of these are about Indian women and one is about how culture is used to control women in a North Indian city.

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<sup>35</sup> The feminist commitment of the researcher is described in section V. B of this second chapter and also in the section about the status of the researcher in section V of chapter three.

<sup>36</sup> Graham, 1995, pp. 217, 219 – 220

## **B. Women in Indian Society.**

This is an anthology of essays by different writers edited by Rehana Ghadially<sup>37</sup>. It consists, apart from the introductory section, of five sections, namely, Context, Stereotype, Violence, Media and Awareness.

Ghadially gives an overview of the status of women in India. She points out that there are three ways of studying the status of women – demographic study, women in development and the powerlessness of women<sup>38</sup>. She claims that Indian women or women in India are a disadvantaged group. To display this, Susan Wadley<sup>39</sup> brings out the duality of women as the benevolent and malevolent ones in Hindu ideology. Sudhir Karkar<sup>40</sup> using the principles of psychoanalytic theory chalks out the development of women through various life stages. Ashis Nandy<sup>41</sup> enlists the dynamics that keep women in their place. Suma Chitnis<sup>42</sup> highlighting the pitfalls of adopting western models of liberation raises the issue of using Indian models suitable for the Indian context. The authors claim that Indian women are degraded and downtrodden.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Rehana Ghadially. ed. *Women in Indian Society. A Reader*. Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1988

<sup>38</sup> Ghadially, 1988, p. 21-22

<sup>39</sup> Susan Wadley, 'Women and the Hindu Tradition' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 23-43

<sup>40</sup> Sudhir Kakar, 'Feminine Identity in India' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 44-68

<sup>41</sup> Ashis Nandy, 'Woman Versus Womanliness In India: An Essay in Social and Political Psychology' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 69-80

<sup>42</sup> Suma Chitnis, 'Feminism: Indian Ethos and Indian Convictions' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 81-95

<sup>43</sup> Ghadially, 1988, p. 23

Using four studies which deal with sex role stereotypes in northern India and the US<sup>44</sup>, sex role attitudes of college students in India<sup>45</sup>, parental sex role orientation and sex stereotypes of children<sup>46</sup> and the concepts of femininity and liberation in the context of changing sex roles in modern India and America<sup>47</sup>, these writers point out how the traditional sex role stereotypes are deeply embedded in the Indian society.

They further discuss family violence such as wife beating<sup>48</sup>, bride burning<sup>49</sup>, sex determination and sex pre-selection tests<sup>50</sup>, female infanticide<sup>51</sup>, rape<sup>52</sup>, media portrayal of women which consists of mistreatment of women in Hindi films<sup>53</sup>, feminism and the cinema of realism<sup>54</sup>, portrayal of women on television<sup>55</sup> and sexist language of Indian school textbooks<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Renuka R. Sethi and Mary J. Allen, 'Sex Role Stereotypes in Northern India and the United States' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 99-108

<sup>45</sup> V. V. Prakasa Rao and V. Nandini Rao, 'Sex Role Attitudes of College Students in India' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 109-123

<sup>46</sup> Sukanya Das and Rehana Ghadially, 'Parental Sex Role Orientation and Sex Stereotypes of Children' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 124-135

<sup>47</sup> Manisha Roy, 'The Concepts of 'Femininity' and 'Liberation' in the Context of Changing Sex Roles: Women in Modern India and America' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 136-147

<sup>48</sup> Flavia, 'Violence in the Family: Wife Beating', in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 151-166

<sup>49</sup> Rehana Ghadially and Pramod Kumar, 'Bride-Burning: The Psycho-Social Dynamics of Dowry Deaths' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 167-177

<sup>50</sup> Vibhuti Patel, 'Sex Determination and Sex Preselection Tests: Abuse of Advanced Technology' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 178-185

<sup>51</sup> S. Krishnaswamy, 'Female Infanticide in Contemporary India: A Case-Study of Kallars of Tamilnadu' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 186-195

<sup>52</sup> Sohaila Abdulali, 'Rape in India: An Empirical Picture' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 196-206

<sup>53</sup> Shamita Das Dasgupta, 'The Eternal Receptacle: A Study of Mistreatment of Women in Hindi Films' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 209-216

<sup>54</sup> C. S. Lakshmi, 'Feminism and the Cinema of Realism' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 217-224

<sup>55</sup> Jyoti Punwani, 'Portrayal of Women on Television' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 225-232

<sup>56</sup> Narendra Nath Kalia, 'Women and Sexism: Language of Indian School Textbooks' in Ghadially, 1988, pp. 233-245

The section on 'Awareness' has a variety of articles about autonomous women's groups<sup>57</sup>, the experiences of a male activist<sup>58</sup>, teaching men about women<sup>59</sup> and indigenous feminism<sup>60</sup>. The condition of Indian women, which despite some gains through improvement efforts, remains deplorable, is portrayed using these various examples.

### **C. Women and Society in India<sup>61</sup>.**

Neera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj have co-authored this book.<sup>62</sup> They consider women's studies in the West, in Asia and in India.

They provide an overview<sup>63</sup> of the status of women in India describing how the normative structure of the traditional Indian society and the caste system perpetrate patriarchy and women's subordination. A historical sketch of the position of women in the pre-colonial, pre-Independence period and contemporary periods is given showing how the position degenerated and what reforms have been attempted. They conclude that in spite of the constitutional guarantee of formal equality, economic policy and social welfare state, all is not well with the position of women in India.

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<sup>57</sup> Vibhuti Patel, 'Emergence and Proliferation of Autonomous Women's Groups in India: 1974-1984' in Ghadially, pp. 249-256

<sup>58</sup> Pritam Singh, 'Forming a Women's Group in Chandigarh: Experiences of a Male Activist' in Ghadially, pp. 257-263

<sup>59</sup> Rehana Ghadially, 'Teaching Men about Women' in Ghadially, pp. 264-269

<sup>60</sup> Lawrence A. Babb, 'Indigenous Feminism in a Modern Hindu Sect' in Ghadially, pp. 270-287

<sup>61</sup> Neera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj. *Women and Society in India*. Ajanta Publications (India), Delhi, 1987

<sup>62</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987

<sup>63</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 25-47



With regards to women and economy<sup>64</sup>, the economic structure of India in the pre-British period and women's place in it are described: women were profitably involved in work and their labour was not devalued. The British introduced the factory mode of production and women were displaced in the economy. Their entry into the factory impacted them adversely<sup>65</sup>. In contemporary India also the displacement of women in the economic realm continues. Women are mainly employed in the unorganised sectors even in agriculture and industry with the resulting feminisation of poverty. There are differential earnings of men and women. The middle class employed women also have their share of struggles especially the double burden<sup>66</sup>. The problem of unemployment is acute for women with fewer doors open for them. The impact of technology in agriculture<sup>67</sup>, industry<sup>68</sup> and export industries<sup>69</sup> negatively affect women by pushing them out of the labour market or employing them as unskilled labour.

Further discussing education<sup>70</sup>, structure of Indian families and changes in the structure<sup>71</sup>, health<sup>72</sup>, social issues<sup>73</sup>, legal situation<sup>74</sup> and the political involvement of women<sup>75</sup>, the authors

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<sup>64</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 50-147

<sup>65</sup> The entry of women into the factory has impacted them adversely because women are poorly paid, they are unskilled and not much effort is taken to train them. They are pushed deeper into poverty. Their work becomes unrecognised. Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 62-68

<sup>66</sup> The term 'double burden' or 'double shift' is also referred to as the 'second shift'. It is the situation of working women having to work outside the home for paid work and also do the house work. According to Barbara P. Bergmann this phrase was devised by Arlie Hochschild. See Bergmann. *The Economic Emergence of Women*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2005, p.179

<sup>67</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 83-89, 112-115

<sup>68</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 89-101, 109-112

<sup>69</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 115-119

<sup>70</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 148-183

<sup>71</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 184-218

<sup>72</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 219-253

state that these become gender issues in India because they become part of the subordination of women in India. They highlight the plight of women in India in all these areas.

#### **D. Indian Womanhood: Then and Now.**

Jessie B. Tellis-Nayak edited this book<sup>76</sup> that provides an overview of women's situation in India historically, socially and culturally. She points out that women are left out in development and that the social, educational and cultural gap between men and women is increasing.

She tells the story of Indian women by tracing the degeneration from the Indus valley period and the uphill efforts in the reform and independence movements<sup>77</sup>. Working through the problems of Indian women<sup>78</sup>, she points out that the Indian society is patriarchal and the Indian woman is a step lower socially, economically and politically compared to an Indian man of the same ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic, cultural and caste background. Areas such as health, education, employment, law and politics are cited as evidence<sup>79</sup>. In bringing up an Indian girl life passages such as menstruation and marriage and other mechanisms of schools, drama, films and advertisements are used to socialise her<sup>80</sup>. The discussion of issues of

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<sup>73</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 254-291

<sup>74</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 311-328

<sup>75</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 293-310

<sup>76</sup> J. B. Tellis-Nayak. ed. *Indian Women: Then And Now.Situation, Efforts, Profiles*. Satprakashan Sanchar Kendra, Indore, 1983.

<sup>77</sup> Tellis-Nayak, 'Indian Women – Their story' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 17-40

<sup>78</sup> Tellis-Nayak, 'Problems of Her Sex', pp. 41-42, 'Problems: Health Education Employment', pp. 43-51, 'Bringing Up A Girl', pp. 52-61 in Tellis-Nayak, 1983

<sup>79</sup> Tellis-Nayak, 'Problems: Health Education Employment' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 43-51

<sup>80</sup> Tellis-Nayak, 'Bringing Up A Girl' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 52-62

purdah<sup>81</sup>, dowry<sup>82</sup>, dowry death, wife beating<sup>83</sup>, widowhood<sup>84</sup>, rape<sup>85</sup> and prostitution<sup>86</sup> reinforce this point<sup>87</sup>.

### **E. Culture in Action.**

The fourth work is research that Steve Derne<sup>88</sup> carried out among the high caste men of Banaras in North India. Derne focuses on how culture acts – how culture constrains people or how individuals manipulate culture for their own advantage. Four clusters of ideas – preference for joint families, preference for arranged marriage, restriction of women's movement outside the home and restriction of contact between the husband and wife – are examined<sup>89</sup>.

Derne argues that control of women with joint family living, arranged marriages, limiting interaction between husband and wife and the influence of young wives on the family of their husbands and restricting the movement and demeanour of women, bolsters the power of men and advances their interests. The concept of honour and everyday micro interaction also are

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<sup>81</sup> Brito, Merlyn Lobo, 'Purdah' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 62-67

<sup>82</sup> Brito, M. L. 'Dowry' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 68-73

<sup>83</sup> Brito, M. L. 'Wife Beating' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 74-82

<sup>84</sup> Rao, Nagamani, 'Widowhood' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 83-86

<sup>85</sup> Brito, M. L. 'Rape' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 87-96

<sup>86</sup> Brito, M. L. 'Prostitution' in Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 97-104

<sup>87</sup> The question how some of these issues such as rape and prostitution are used to socialise a girl or a woman. However it is found that in many patriarchal cultures displaying subordination and oppression of women these issues or tools or mechanisms are also used to socialise a girl or a woman to accept and abide by her subordinate position with oppression.

<sup>88</sup> Steve Derne. *Culture In Action. Family Life, Emotion, and Male Dominance in Banares, India*. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1995

<sup>89</sup> Derne, 1995, pp. vii, x, 16- 17, 28 -35

used to subordinate women and advance the interests of men<sup>90</sup>. Derne finds that women accommodate, bargain with or contest the dominant patriarchal culture to advance their own interests<sup>91</sup>.

Next Derne examines how collectivist frameworks of social pressure and group actions used for understanding individual and group actions point to social pressures and distrust of individual action<sup>92</sup> as being the cause for the way a group or individual would act. He also looks into how the focus on social pressure shapes the psyche, emotions and inner self of Hindu men<sup>93</sup>. The Hindu culture provides contrasting values of both collectivism and individualism. Derne analyses how the concept of honour presses on Hindu men and women. These handle the pressure in various ways as true believers, cowed conformists, innovative mimetists and unapologetic rebels<sup>94</sup>. He explains how culture works and the various ways in which people reject cultural imperatives. In conclusion Derne shows how culture works in the discussions by Hindu men about women, marriage and family. Culture reflects the ways in which the privileged group protects their privileges. Culture provides diverse languages to allow individuals to construct diverse actions. Though culture provides core contradictions that individuals may manipulate, common sense understanding shapes social life. Further ethnopsychology affects at the macro level of society or community and not merely the individual<sup>95</sup>. Thus Derne's study brings out how culture works. Derne's study is about gender culture of high caste Hindu men in a North Indian city and shows women in that community to

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<sup>90</sup> Derne, 1995, pp. 28 – 35

<sup>91</sup> Derne, 1995, pp. 17, 35 – 36, 106 – 113

<sup>92</sup> Derne, 1995, pp. 38- 65

<sup>93</sup> Derne, 1995, pp. 68 – 81

<sup>94</sup> Derne, 1995, pp. 106 -120

<sup>95</sup> Derne, 1995, p. 168

be subordinated from the viewpoint of men of that community<sup>96</sup>.

#### **IV. Relevant Indian Family Studies.**

##### **A. Introduction.**

From Indian gender studies I move on to family studies in India. Aileen D. Ross' study on the urban, mostly Brahmin families in Bangalore is one of the earliest (1961)<sup>97</sup>. Her study examines the problems faced by the change in the structure of traditional families due to urbanisation and industrialisation. In the course of this study some conclusions are drawn in the areas of education and employment of urban middle class women. There are also some conclusions regarding the changes caused by women's education and employment in division of labour and affectional bonds in urban middle class families. M. Indiradevi's doctoral study (1987)<sup>98</sup> of the impact of education and employment on the gender equation within family is seminal. These studies provide the academic context for this research. It appears that no single study has been done on the change in the gender equation in family and church among urban middle class Christians of Tamil Nadu.

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<sup>96</sup> Derne, 1995, p. 168

<sup>97</sup> Aileen D. Ross. *The Hindu Family In Its Urban Setting*. University of Toronto Press, Canada, 1961

<sup>98</sup> M. Indiradevi. *Women – Education –Employment: Family Living. A Study of Emerging Hindu Wives in Urban India*. Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1987

## **B. An Early Study of the impact of Education and Employment of Women in an Urban Context.**

### **1. Explication of the Study.**

Ross's study is about the changes in the patterns of family in a city<sup>99</sup>. She specifically states that the purpose of her research is not to conclude whether there is any change in the family structure or not due to urbanisation and industrialisation, but to highlight the problems faced by families subjected to change. The discussions devoted to the change in the substructures of rights and duties<sup>100</sup>, power and authority<sup>101</sup>, sentiments<sup>102</sup>, and the ones on work<sup>103</sup>, education<sup>104</sup>, and changing friendship and marriage patterns in an urban context have drawn some conclusions regarding the impact of women's education and employment on the gender equation and gender practice.

Ross' sample consists of several middle class, mostly Brahmin, families in Bangalore, a South Indian city, with a control group from Bombay. It combines both qualitative and quantitative methods<sup>105</sup>.

Ross suggests that small joint family<sup>106</sup> seems to be the pattern of urban middle and upper

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<sup>99</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. ix, 280

<sup>100</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 52 – 90

<sup>101</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 91 -135

<sup>102</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 136 – 179

<sup>103</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 180 – 207

<sup>104</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 208 – 234

<sup>105</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. Appendix 1, pp. 299 – 304

<sup>106</sup> A small joint family is a nuclear family with other relatives also living with them. So it is neither a nuclear family nor a joint family in the strict senses of the terms.

middle class families<sup>107</sup>, while many have experienced life in different types of families. One crucial factor relating to women is that many women exposed to the influences of a city or education or modernisation have their own views and want to set up their own families, instead of moving into a joint family with probably restricted freedom, independence and more pressure and necessity to conform to an already established pattern<sup>108</sup>.

Her findings suggest that rights and duties lead to gender segregation. Duties are divided into men's and women's work, the responsibility of training children and the work division for boys and girls. A significant observation is that the division of labour or duty on the basis of gender and age breaks down in cities, because of lack of several members of the same sex or age category to shoulder the responsibility of a particular type of work. This means that both men and women, and boys and girls need to do work within a flexible pattern without any strict gendered patterns. Ross concludes that because men's work is more prestigious it raises the prestige of women who move into the public sphere of employment while men who have to share domestic duties find it more difficult to adapt. The mother in a nuclear urban family becomes pivotal in allocating responsibilities, and organising time, patterns and budget. This changes the status and position of the woman in the urban family especially if she is employed. While the affective bonds with the extended family may decrease on the other hand the sense of duty and responsibility to the wider society and nation may increase. A final conclusion is that if the affective bonds are kept up obligations and duties will be carried out<sup>109</sup>.

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<sup>107</sup> Ross, 1961, p. 49

<sup>108</sup> Ross, 1961, p. 50

<sup>109</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 86 – 90

Similarly with regard to power and authority<sup>110</sup>, where the authority of different relationships – of the head of the household, mother and son, father, mother, husband and wife, brother and brother, sister and sister, uncles, aunts, father-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and other relationships - are considered, Ross concludes that the patterns of authority and power become more equalitarian as the structure of the family moves away from that of joint family. This helps to make children more independent, self-reliant and confident. She also analyses the patterns of punishment and obedience in later life of the children as they grow up. A significant observation is made that the power and authority of father and mother in a nuclear family tend to become equalised and more equalitarian patterns are established.

Stating that “AFFECTION AND LOVE are two of a society’s strongest binding elements”<sup>111</sup> Ross examines in the substructure of sentiments, the affectionate intensity of different relationships<sup>112</sup> - that of grandparents, parents and children, father and son, father and daughter, mother and son, mother and daughter, husband and wife including the wife’s and the husband’s roles, brother and brother, brother and sister, sister and sister, uncles, aunts, cousins, father-in-law, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and others. She observes that there is a change in the closeness of affectional bonds – a move away from that of the extended family and kin to friends and other wider social groups. She also finds that in a nuclear family the husband-wife and the parents-children bonds tighten.

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<sup>110</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 91 – 135

<sup>111</sup> Ross, 1961 p. 136

<sup>112</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 136 -179



In discussing work and family<sup>113</sup>, Ross states that under the effects of industrialisation there is a change from caste to social class, the prestige of occupations changes, the standard of aspirations rises and the phenomenon of the self-made man emerges. The occupational problems include the phenomenon of the educated unemployed, the friction between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, occupational models, the problems of old age, and the careers of women. The problem of middle class working women in adjusting to their changing roles is extensively studied in terms of their adjustment to a 'male' role, the behaviour in the work place, and the facing of the challenge of a society confronted with the new element of working women. Any objection for working women whether from women themselves or men was mainly from the viewpoint of the women being primarily responsible for the domestic sphere. On the other hand men who preferred women to work had a variety of reasons such as contribution to the family income, economic independence for women, contribution to her own development and society and being active, not idle. Women who preferred careers for women listed the following reasons: self-development, not being idle, and contribution to society.

In studying education and the family<sup>114</sup>, education was tied closely with ambition in life. The education of daughters was not primarily career oriented because marriage was the uppermost concern for the parents of girls. A move towards the priority in education of daughters to make them self-sufficient and to make them able to stand on their own feet in the changing economic situation was also observed.

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<sup>113</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 180 -207

<sup>114</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 208 – 234

The analysis of changing friendship and marriage patterns are discussed under social life of men and women, and changing marriage patterns.<sup>115</sup> The discussion of changing marriage patterns include several categories such as the age of marriage, arranged marriages, dowry, engagement, wedding and new marriage trends which include romantic love, inter-caste marriage, divorce and new marriage problems. In summary there are more positive attitudes towards mixed marriages, choice of the partners, participation of the young people in the choice of a partner and expectations of a mate.

## **2. The use of Ross' Study in this Research.**

Ross' conclusion about the change in the status and position of women, especially the mother or wife in an urban family when it is moving towards the nuclear pattern is used in this study. The mother in an urban nuclear family becomes the pivot of the family and experiences change in her status and position especially if she is employed. This point is relevant for this research. The conclusion that the nuclear family in an urban situation engenders more equalitarian patterns is useful in this study. The reasons which women give for women preferring to have a career are such as that it is for financial contribution to the family, financial and social independence, development of the person and contribution to the nation and society. These reasons compare with those found in this research. In the chapter about perspectives on women's education and career in the section about emphasising the necessity of women's education and career, the stories of Mallimalar, Varam, Sweetie, Jeyavathy and Saral display the financial contribution of career women. Jeyavathy's story about career portrays the financial and social independence of her sister and herself. Lita's stories using the style of contrast about career portray the development of the person and the contribution to the nation and society. Similarly the reasons given for daughters' education – for total

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<sup>115</sup> Ross, 1961, pp. 235 - 279

development of the person, for employment, to provide means of standing on one's own feet and for meaningful participation in the affairs of the family, community, church and society, provide parallels with those discovered in the present research. In the chapter on perspectives on women's education and career, in the section emphasising the importance of women's education and career, the stories of Bina, Kamala and Varam about women's education emphasise the importance of women's education for standing on their own feet, total development of the person and for employment. The stories of Heera and Tiny about education portray the necessity of women's education for standing on their own feet, total development of the person and meaningful participation in the affairs of the family, community, church and society.

### **3. Differences between Ross' Study and this Research.**

The present study is of Tamil Christian women in Chennai while Ross' study is of Hindu mostly Brahmin men and women in Bangalore. The objectives of the two studies are also different. In Ross' Study the overall objective is to study the problems faced by the change in the structure of the family while this research studies the gender practice of women. The methodology is also quite different. Ross's analysis uses semi-statistical method and focuses on content of material collected in interviews. This study uses narrative analysis of the stories collected in the focus groups.

### **C. Indiradevi's Study.**

#### **1. Objective and Approach.**

Indiradevi in 1987 claims that sociology of family in India has not looked at spousal relationships in terms of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns<sup>116</sup>. Her

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<sup>116</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 14, 19

major objective is to assess whether education and employment of wives in urban Hindu families have produced any change in the direction of equalitarian patterns of spousal relationship. She seeks to discover this specifically in the areas of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns. She has chosen an urban sample and uses statistical analysis of the responses collected through a structured questionnaire.

## **2. Examination of Background.**

In examining the structure of families she follows the sociological model and analyses whether parents are co-residential or how far away the parental families live and the frequency of visits. In Indiradevi's opinion, the proximity or co-habitation of parents has more influence in trying to preserve the traditional patterns and values that will inhibit any change towards more equalitarian patterns. The socio-economic background of the families studied is examined in respect of four factors – parental background, achievement level, marital relationship and societal participation<sup>117</sup>.

### **i. Parental Background<sup>118</sup>.**

In assessing the parental background components such as caste, education, occupation and income level of parents and rural or urban context are looked into. Her conclusions in this area are: 1. Caste does not have any significant difference 2. Parental education, occupation and income level produce favourable change towards education and employment of women 3. a greater positive change towards the education and employment of wives is produced if the background is urban.

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<sup>117</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 57 -87

<sup>118</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 57 -66

## **ii. Achievement Level<sup>119</sup>.**

While assessing the achievement level, Indiradevi puts forward that if the educational level or urbanisation of the husband is higher, the attitude towards education and employment of the wives is more positive. The higher the educational level of the wives is, the higher is the move towards employment of women. More women of her sample are in the traditional occupations such as teaching and clerical work. The income of the wife gains more respect for her in her family and society. In Indiradevi's assessment, employment of the wife reduces the dowry that is put together with assets in analysing income.

## **iii. Marital Factor<sup>120</sup>.**

She looks into marital factors next. The lower the age of marriage of the wife, the lower the educational level of the wife is. Indiradevi explains this in terms of the less educated women being married off sooner. While looking at the type of marriage – whether parent-arranged or partners' choice - she concludes that there is more room for personal choice if the level of education is higher. In her sample quite a few spouses were related before marriage. However, quite a few live far from the native place of their spouses that frees them from having to conform to traditional patterns and values.

## **iv. Societal Participation<sup>121</sup>.**

Indiradevi limits societal participation to participation in social organisations. This she seeks to measure in terms of participation in social organisations, position held in the organisations and frequency of visits. She concludes that participation outside the home influences

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<sup>119</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 66 – 75

<sup>120</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 75 -81

<sup>121</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 81- 87

behaviour patterns by broadening the outlook and developing the personality. This she says promotes self-confidence and awareness. She also concludes that a great number of unemployed wives participate in social organisations because they have the leisure (time), the energy, and the urge to participate in an arena outside the home. Many women do not hold a position in a social organisation. Frequency of attending is greater if both husband and wife are employed and least for employed wives in comparison with unemployed wives. The caste factor does not make any significant difference.

### **3. Effects on Role Performance<sup>122</sup>.**

Roles are grouped into three parts – financial, child-rearing and household tasks. In each part a list of tasks are made. She finds that traditional female and male roles are modified though not totally altered. There is flexibility in educated middle class urban families.

#### **i. Financial Roles<sup>123</sup>.**

In this group, control over money, control over expenditure, keeping track of money, purchase of household utensils, purchase of clothes and major shopping are listed. Her findings are varied. If the wife is employed and contributes to the family income, the traditionally male task of control over money is to some extent changed. She opines that control over expenditure is generally a male task. But in urban settings it is in the hands of the woman especially if the woman is educated and more so if she is also employed. The explanation given is that the educated woman has more knowledge. The employed woman by the fact that she contributes to the family income gains control over expenditure. The woman's task in rural areas, and more so in urban contexts is keeping track of money and bills. Out of

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<sup>122</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 88 – 122

<sup>123</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 93 -95, 111 - 113

necessity the purchase of household utensils is a female task. Another task, purchase of clothes, was earlier considered a male one but is changing in urban situations with educated and employed wives. Major shopping used to be done by men; but in urban contexts the pattern is changing. She says that it is according to convenience.

## **ii. Tasks Centred on Children<sup>124</sup>.**

Child care tasks comprise sending children to school which includes getting them ready and taking them to school, feeding the children, assisting the children in their lessons and disciplining them. In her opinion many of these have been shared or joint tasks. In an urban situation in handling tasks centred on children, a lot of flexibility, adjustment to situation and convenience are seen. Educated women participate more in helping the children with their home lessons, whereas employed women may not find the time for it.

## **iii. Household Tasks<sup>125</sup>.**

According to Indiradevi, there is definite male-female role distinction in this area. Cooking is considered a female's job. Even the men who cook while the wife is in the house are not quite open to admit it. Chores other than cooking are either shared or managed with servants, time saving gadgets and in other ways. Taking care of the sick is not generally considered exclusively a woman's job. In such household tasks, if the wife is educated and employed there is a definite move towards the equalitarian pattern. In the overall final analysis of role performance Indiradevi concludes that employment of the wife has a striking impact in changing the role performance and role extension.

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<sup>124</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 95 -96, 113

<sup>125</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 96 -97, 113 - 115

#### **4. The Impact on Decision-Making Patterns<sup>126</sup>.**

The conceptual framework used for decision-making includes having an awareness of the issues, the participation in evaluating the alternatives and making the final decision. The areas of decision-making are expenditure on food and entertainment, going to movies, visiting friends, children's education, clothing, vacation, presents for friends and relatives, medical help or choosing a family doctor, housing – choice of a rented one or buying one, buying household durables, saving, wife's work, buying jewellery and borrowing. Indiradevi groups these items into economic necessities, comforts, social and cultural factors. In her analysis and interpretation of the statistical data, she finds that education and employment of the wife affect patterns of decision-making. The education of the wife paves the way for a joint pattern; the employment of the wife tends to make her dominant in taking an upper hand in decision-making.

#### **5. Patterns of Husband-Wife Interaction and Behaviour<sup>127</sup>.**

The measures of interaction and behaviour are in terms of going out together, addressing the wife by name and dining together. Indiradevi makes a strong assertion that education and employment of a wife enable the wife not to accept any subordination. In her analysis she finds that unemployed wives have greater urge to go out with the husband interpreting that as an indicator of 'togetherness'. As for the custom of addressing the wife by name, she concludes that some cultural customs and traditions die hard and there is not much change in this issue.

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<sup>126</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 123 -158

<sup>127</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, pp. 159 -173



## **6. Final Remarks.**

Indiradevi concludes that her objective of identifying any change in the behaviour patterns of spouses due to education and employment of wives has been in a modest way achieved. Education and employment of the wife promote equalitarian patterns of behaviour. She indicates implications for policy making<sup>128</sup> that women's education and employment have to be adequately promoted. Of her several indications for further research, one major point is most relevant for this research. She says that empirical knowledge about Christian and Muslim communities are limited.

## **7. Positive Value of Indiradevi's Study.**

Indiradevi's study was seminal in the field of Indian Family Sociology at a time when there were not many such studies. She has struggled with the conceptual and analytical frameworks, modifying western theoretical frameworks for the Indian context. Her doctoral work has a large section of statistical data collection and analysis. She seems to have achieved her major objective of finding out whether education and employment of wives have any part in changing spousal relationship towards equalitarian patterns. She has carefully defined her sample, her conceptual framework and the lists of items chosen for analysis. Her indications for policymaking and further research are also quite useful.

## **8. Congruence and Variances of this research from Indiradevi's study.**

The primary congruence between Indiradevi's study and this research is that of studying the effect of education and employment in the lives of urban women while the variance in the sample is that of geographical location, language and culture and religion. So one may expect to understand the meanings of spousal relationship, treatment of children, education and career

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<sup>128</sup> Indiradevi, 1987, p. 195

in a different manner. The study of Indiradevi and this research are widely different in their methodologies. The former uses quantitative method and statistical analysis. This research uses qualitative method and narrative analysis.

These studies of Indian women by Ross and Indiradevi recognise that spousal relationship, treatment of children and opportunities for education and career are significant in the study of the lives of women. So these components or aspects along with other issues emerging from the fieldwork have been chosen for constructing the analytical framework. From these I move to consider the theological perspectives that inform the study. The reason for looking into theological perspectives is because the study is of Christian women and the nature of Christian teaching on the relations of men and women is relevant to the study. Further this is an area where there are contested views that are set out next. Since the women are orthodox and evangelical in their faith the study will focus on evangelical views.

## **V. Theological Perspectives.**

### **A. Two Evangelical Perspectives of Gender Theology.**

Some progressive evangelicals in the seventies began to work out a biblical egalitarian position and also respond to the questions raised by secular feminists. These evangelical feminists who were part of the **Evangelical and Ecumenical Women's Caucus** later organised themselves as the **Christians for Biblical Equality** (CBE, also a national chapter of **Men, Women and God, International**, an organisation associated with John Stott's **London Institute for Contemporary Christianity**)<sup>129</sup>. This group espouses and promotes the egalitarian (feminist) view. Those who support the complementarian (conservative) view

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<sup>129</sup> The formation of Christians for Biblical Equality was reported in *Christianity Today*, October 16, 1987, p. 44. This has been cited in John Piper and Wayne Grudem. ed. *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood. A Response to Evangelical Feminism*. Crossway Books, 1991, p. 403

founded the **Council for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (CBMW)** in 1987. Evangelical theology on gender issues can be divided into two mainly differing perspectives. Within each perspective there is major agreement in spite of minor disagreements.

The perspectives of gender theology put forward and promoted by these two organisations impact the Indian Christians. Other views do too, but the Tamil Christian women are evangelical so these are the views to which they will give serious attention. So it is only valid that these two theological viewpoints are examined. A theology of gender equality looks into the following aspects:

- (1) the value and worth of men and women and their status before God
- (2) the nature of men and women
- (3) their roles
- (4) their realms of activity
- (5) their relationship

### **1. The Complementarian Viewpoint and the Relevant Literature.**

Evangelical theology of gender equality can be broadly categorised into two main streams. Of these two the complementarian view is one of 'equality' and 'difference'. The description of this viewpoint is given below.

#### **i. The Value, Worth and Status of Men and Women.**

This strand of evangelical theology holds that the value and worth of men and women is equal because of their having been created by God in God's own image. Further their status before God is equal in their fallenness and the possibility of redemption.

## ii. Their nature.

According to this view men and women have been created distinct in their manhood and womanhood<sup>130</sup>. This means two different categories of persons not merely in their biological reproductive sexual nature, but also in their psychosocial and spiritual nature<sup>131</sup>.

## iii. Their Role.

As stated in the **Danvers Statement** and expounded by those who support this view, 'Distinctions in masculine and feminine roles are ordained by God as part of the created order ... <sup>132</sup>.

## iv. Their Relationship.

'Adam's headship in marriage was established by God before the Fall . . . 'and 'Both Old and New Testaments also affirm the principle of male headship in the family and in the covenant community'. Therefore it is a relationship of men in authority and women in submission<sup>133</sup>. Further, it also holds that men and women complement one another<sup>134</sup>.

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<sup>130</sup> *The Danvers Statement* in John Piper and Wayne Grudem, 1991, p.470; *The Danvers Statement* was produced by the Council for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood in 1987 as stated in Piper and Grudem, 1991, p.403

<sup>131</sup> Anne Atkins. *Split Image. Male And Female After God's Likeness*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1987; Ann Brown. *Apology to Women. Christian images of the female sex*. Inter-Varsity Press, Leicester, 1991; Larry Christensen. *The Christian Family*. Kingsway Publications, Eastbourne, 1970; Larry and Nordis Christensen. *The Christian Couple*. Kingsway Publications, Eastbourne, 1977; Stephen B. Clark. *Man and Woman in Christ. An Examination of the Roles of Men and Women in Light of Scripture and the Social Sciences*. Servant Books, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980; Elisabeth Elliot. *Let Me Be A Woman*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1979; Elisabeth Elliot. *The Mark Of A Man*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1981; James Bassett Hurley. *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective. A Study in role relationships and authority*. IVP, Leicester, 1981; Tim and Bev LaHaye. *Spirit-controlled Family*. Kingsway Publications, Eastbourne, 1978; Tim LaHaye. *I Love You, But Why Are We So Different?* Kingsway Publications, Eastbourne, 1991

<sup>132</sup> Piper and Grudem, 1991, p. 470

<sup>133</sup> Piper and Grudem, 1991, p.470

<sup>134</sup> Atkins, 1987; Brown, 1991; Clark, 1980; Elliot, 1979 and 1981; Tim and Beverly Lahaye, 1978; Tim Lahaye, 1991

## **v. The Labour Division.**

Such an 'authority- submission' pattern assigns definite tasks and roles to men and women. '... some governing and teaching roles within the church are restricted to men' and 'In both men and women a heartfelt sense of call to ministry should never be used to set aside Biblical criteria for particular ministries'<sup>135</sup>.

Thus the complementarian viewpoint of evangelical theology of gender puts forward a view of 'equality' with 'difference'.

## **2. The Egalitarian Perspective and Pertinent Literature.**

The egalitarian view of evangelical feminism holds a perspective of equality with mutuality. The salient features of this view are listed below.

### **i. The Value and Worth and Status of Men and Women.**

Evangelical feminism also holds that men and women are created equally in God's own image. Both men and women are fallen and are in need of and have the possibility of redemption.<sup>136</sup>

### **ii. The Nature of Men and Women.**

The 'complementarian' and the 'egalitarian' views differ in their explication of the nature of men and women. While the 'complementarian' view attributes a fundamental masculine/feminine distinction, the 'egalitarian' view holds on to a 'common humanity'<sup>137</sup>. The

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<sup>135</sup> Piper and Grudem, 1991, p.470

<sup>136</sup> 'Men, Women & Biblical Equality', Statement produced by Christians for Biblical Equality, Minneapolis, 1989

<sup>137</sup> Patricia Wilson-Kastner, *Faith, Feminism, and the Christ*. Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1983; Elaine Storkey, *The Search For Intimacy*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1995; 'Men, Women & Biblical Equality', Statement produced by Christians for Biblical Equality, Minneapolis, 1989

sexual differentiation is a second step in creation<sup>138</sup>. Thus, the sexual aspect is biological reproductive, without being the primary determining factor in the psycho-social and spiritual nature of men and women. On the other hand sexuality is also not 'skin deep'. The sexual relationship between two persons involves the whole person. Human sexuality is a paradox - neither the single most important factor nor merely 'skin deep'<sup>139</sup> that is superficial, when the sexual relationship is considered. The fruit of the Spirit in Galatians 5 is a powerful indication that there is no masculine/feminine categorising of persons as found in the Freudian psychoanalysis. The list in Gal.5 comprises qualities found in both the (so-called) masculine and the (so-called) feminine categories. All these are required of both men and women<sup>140</sup>. Men and women cannot be categorised into two sex or gender classes. Primarily each human being is to be viewed as a 'person'.

### iii. The Role of Men and Women.

The evangelical feminist view does not recognise a basic dividing of persons as two gender classes of masculinity and femininity. Therefore there is no masculine or feminine role distinction. There is no role stereotyping. Both men and women are called to fulfil the role/s that God wants that particular person to fit into<sup>141</sup>.

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<sup>138</sup> Phyllis Bird in Kari Elizabeth Borresen. ed. *Image of God and Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Traditions*. Solum Forlog, Oslo, 1991

<sup>139</sup> Storkey, 1995

<sup>140</sup> Catherina Halkes, J.M. *New Creation*. SPCK, London, 1991; Letha Scanzoni & Nancy Hardesty. *all we're meant to be. A Biblical Approach to Women's Liberation With Study Guide*. Word Books Publisher, Waco, Texas, 1986; Elaine Storkey, *What's Right With Feminism*. SPCK, London, 1985

<sup>141</sup> Gretchen Gaebelein Hull. *Equal To Serve. Women and Men in the Church and Home*. Scripture Union, London, 1989, first published by Fleming H Revell Company, Old Tappan, NJ, 1987; Hull. *The ABC's of Gender Equality*. CER Publications, Cold Spring Harbor, NY, 1990; Myrtle Langley. *Equal Woman. A Christian Feminist Perspective*. Marshalls, Basingstoke, 1983; Michael and Valerie Griffiths in Shirley Lees. ed. *The Role of Woman. 8 Prominent Christians debate today's issues*. IVP, 1984; Scanzoni and Hardesty, 1986; Storkey, 1995; Mary Stewart van Leeuwen. *Gender And Grace. Women and men in a changing world*. Inter-Varsity Press, Leicester, 1990; Van Leeuwen, et. al. *After Eden. Facing the Challenge of Gender Reconciliation*. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1993

#### **iv. The Realm of Activity or Task or Labour Division.**

The fact that there is no role distinction removes the public/private or social/domestic cleavage. This allows labour division to be done away with<sup>142</sup>.

#### **v. The Relationship of Men and Women.**

The important feature of evangelical feminist perspective of gender equality is the 'mutuality' relationship of men and women<sup>143</sup>. This calls for relationships based on love, honour, respect and oneness. The mutuality relationship reflects the *perichoretic* model<sup>144</sup> of relationality within the Trinity. Thus it allows one to stand on one's own right without one's existence being merely defined by one's relationships only. Within the Trinity each person is distinct yet related with oneness (without fusion or confusion). There is independence and interdependence and no hierarchical or domination-subordination pattern of relationship.

#### **B. The Egalitarian View of Select Passages.**

From these two perspectives the egalitarian perspective is chosen for the theological theoretical underpinnings of this research. This view resonates with the theoretical assumption made about 'sex' and 'gender' as seen above in the definition of 'gender' taken from Graham's work in section II. E of this chapter. It seems to fit the biblical and theological model of Trinitarian relationships. This seems to best suit the data of women's narratives gathered from the fieldwork.

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<sup>142</sup> Hull, 1989; Langley, 1983; Scanzoni and Hardesty, 1986; Van Leeuwen, 1990

<sup>143</sup> 'Men, Women & Biblical Equality', Statement produced by Christians for Biblical Equality, Minneapolis, 1989

<sup>144</sup> The *perichoretic* model of Trinity is one of the models of Trinity expounded in Christian theology. There is mutual interpenetration and indwelling of the three Persons of the Trinity. There is both individuality and sharing. It is referred to as the community of being. There is distinctive identity without losing the mutuality. It is a model of mutual relationships among three co-equal person. This model is used by present day theologians for communities and human relationships. All the three Persons of the Trinity mutually share in the life of the others. None is isolated or detached from the actions of the others. See, Alister E. McGrath. *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. Third ed. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2001, pp. 325-6, 586

## **1. The Egalitarian Interpretation of the Creation and Fall Narratives<sup>145</sup>.**

The egalitarian view of the Creation and Fall narratives, Genesis 1: 26-31a. 2:18-25. 3:1-21 bring out the following points. From these passages are expounded the identity of who a woman is, what her role is, that is, what she can and should do and her relationship, that is, what is the relationship between men and women.

### **i. The Interpretation of the Creation Narrative in Genesis 1.**

From Genesis 1 one may conclude that both man and woman have been equally created in God's image vs.26-27. Both have the charge to be fruitful and multiply vs.28. Both receive the mandate to rule over the world God has created. Vs.26 – 31. The name *adam* is derived from the word *adamah* meaning 'the earth creature' and is for both man and woman. There is no sexual polarity or sexual stereotyping in creation. Between men and women there is both ontological and social equality.

### **ii. The Interpretation of the Creation Narrative in Genesis 2.**

The creation narrative in Genesis 2, leads one to propound, that priority in the time of creation does not mean superiority. The man having heard the command of God not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge does not mean that he has special responsibility. The woman for the man is a vis-à-vis, face-to-face counterpart and help that is strong. This denotes common identity and not being identical. The man had no part in creating the woman and so cannot

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<sup>145</sup> There are a number of egalitarian texts and literature. Only some are mentioned in this footnote. Gilbert Bilezikian. *Beyond Sex Roles*. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1985; Mary J. Evans. *Woman in the Bible*. Paternoster, Exeter, 1983; Joy Elasky Fleming. *Man and Woman in Biblical Unity*. Christians for Biblical Equality, Minneapolis, 1993; Rebecca Merrill Groothuis. *Good News for Women*. Baker Books, Grand Rapids, 1997; Mary Hayter. *The New Eve In Christ*. SPCK, London, 1987; Hull, 1990; Berkeley and Alvera Mickelsen. *Biblical Studies on Biblical Equality*. Christians for Biblical Equality, Minneapolis, n.d.; Aida Besancon Spencer. *Beyond the Curse*. Hendrickson Publishers, second printing, 1995, originally published by Thomas Nelson, Inc., Publishers, 1985



claim superiority, authority or domination over the woman. The woman having been created 'from the rib' means equal partner side by side. She is not a subordinate person nor does she have a derivative existence or a secondary place. God having created the woman 'for' the man means that she is a companion for the human who was lonely and could not find a partner and an appropriate companion among all other creatures. This does not mean that the woman is a servant, an object to be used or a piece of convenience. The man does not name the woman as he did the animals, but describes the woman. The man leaves everyone else and everything else of his former life (cuts the umbilical cord) and cleaves exclusively and totally without separation with this one person in his life with life long exclusive total commitment, and both become one flesh. The 'one flesh' experience and existence denote and demand not merely in the sexual realm but also in every aspect of life oneness, unity, mutuality and equal partnership based on love, trust, honour and respect.

### **iii. The Egalitarian Interpretation of the Fall Narrative.**

The Fall narrative gives rise to the following points that in the Fall, both the man and the woman are accountable. The woman is not more gullible. The man was with her when the serpent spoke. Probably she was tempted first since she might not have received the command directly from God; but, this does not minimise her responsibility. The man ate the fruit knowing fully well that it was forbidden. Both die according to what God has said earlier, recognise their nakedness and hide. Sin is both a personal and a social collective responsibility. The Fall narrative describes sin of disobedience to God's command and authority. This does not mean that there was role reversal of the woman. The sin of the woman cannot be described as her having taken authority and leadership in her hands. It is not sin because she acted on her own without having asked the man for permission and disobeyed male authority. When questioned, the man shifts the blame while the woman tells the truth.

What God says that will happen are the inevitable descriptive consequences and not prescriptive curses. The Fall narrative lists only two curses, upon the serpent and the ground. The woman's conception was multiplied as a blessing that existed before the Fall; the pain is part of the mortal body of the fallen nature. Her desire had existed as before but the man has changed and assumes a dominant position desiring to rule over the woman. The sinful state also brings in the desire on the part of the woman to manipulate and control the man with desire. Female subordination is not God-ordained; it is not a necessary and automatic consequence of the sexual distinctiveness. It is a mark and a feature of human sin and sinful existence.

## **2. Passages Concerning Women in the Church<sup>146</sup>.**

Another set of passages that are crucial and raise a lot of controversy about women's status and role in evangelical theology is, 1Cor.11: 2 – 16; 1Cor. 14: 34 – 35; 1Tim.2:8 – 15. The egalitarian interpretation of these passages brings out the following points about the various issues raised, such as headcovering and silence of women during worship and injunction for women not to preach and teach.

### **i. Headcovering of Women during Worship.**

Women's covering their head during worship is a cultural issue. Paul had to ask the women who wanted to uncover their head to cover. This is for them not to upset other women who thought that covering showed modesty and other members of the church who thought that uncovering implied seduction. The word 'head' in 1Cor.11: 3 (and also in Eph. 5:23), is to be interpreted as 'honour' or 'source' and not as 'authority'. Even if it means authority, it is not

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<sup>146</sup> Craig S. Keener. *Paul, Women & Wives. Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul*. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1992

for all men over all women at all times. To cover the head is said to be done not to bring shame upon the husband. Paul argues for 'modesty' and 'propriety' in their culture. The so-called argument from nature is that shaven head for women was understood to be against 'nature' in that particular culture. Paul argues for the stronger ones to have concern for the weaker ones and not to cause discomfort for others. Paul says that the woman has authority over her own head. So she could cover it giving up her rights. She may use her authority over her own head to do something that will neither offend others nor bring dishonour on the family. There is a word play on the words 'glory' and 'image'. It is said in the Corinthian passage that women should cover their head because of the angels present at worship. It is not possible that the uncovered head of the women would distract these angels. If Paul is really talking about lusting angels, he would have made a forceful argument for women covering their head in every place at all times. It is possible that Paul is referring to the angels whom they will judge. Then the argument is that because they have this authority to judge the angels they should make responsible choices. The argument from nature refers to gender distinctions and not ranking of one gender over the other. This is an appeal to custom in that culture at that time and not for all times.

## **ii. The Issue of Women Speaking in the Church.**

Another issue is raised from 1 Cor. 14. It is about women keeping silent during worship. This is about uneducated women who were disrupting the worship with their questions. The immediate solution is to ask them to keep quiet. The long-term solution is to educate them. The context is that of order during worship and Paul speaks about women not disrupting the order in worship. Paul is not speaking about women misusing spiritual gifts. If so Paul would have given instructions to regulate the use of gifts and not silence the women. Paul is against women learning too loudly in public; so he requests women to be silent only in that particular

context and not for every woman everywhere at any time. Paul has the general principle of order during worship. He particularly asked the Corinthian women not to disrupt Scripture exposition by asking irrelevant questions. This situation was caused by their lack of knowledge, not having had proper adequate opportunities to educate themselves. The women were less educated and so asked questions. So, they must keep silent and be taught by the more educated husbands at home.

### **iii. The Issue of Women Teaching.**

The passage in 1Tim.2 raises the question of women teaching. There are two issues, women's dress and teaching. Extravagant and expensive clothing and fashions that distracted and prompted jealousy were prohibited. Anything that was done simply to show off had to be banned because it does not befit behaviour in the covenant community of the redeemed. Paul's admonition to learn in silence is to the women who were disrupting orderliness in the church by their foolish talk. These women attempted to teach without first having learnt properly. It is not an injunction for women to be forever quiet. Paul is warning against the domineering use of authority. This injunction is not transcultural (that is for all times everywhere), but applied to the specific situation and context in Ephesus at that time. Paul did not want the church to have a negative image before the outsiders; women spread much of the false teaching in Ephesus and unlearned women seeking to teach would do much harm. So, Paul wanted women to learn first so that they can teach after learning well, thoroughly and properly. Paul's reference to the creation of Eve after Adam and Eve having been deceived is an analogy. The argument could run like this. Eve's creation after Adam shows that she was not present when God gave the command to Adam and was later deceived in her ignorance or partial knowledge, just as the unlearned women in Ephesus. So, like Eve the women in Ephesus also will be open to deception and should learn before they attempt to teach. However, Paul goes

on to qualify his statement by saying that though the women in Ephesus can be deceived like Eve, Eve's fall has been reversed by the Christ child, who came through a woman. Or that a woman would be saved, that is delivered from the risks of childbirth if she continues in faith.

### **3. Interpretation of Passages Concerning Spousal Relationship<sup>147</sup>.**

A third set of passages concerning gender relations comprises Eph.5: 21-33, Col.3: 18-19 and 1Pet.3:1-7. The main point of the Ephesian passage is mutual submission, submitting to one another. The meaning of 'head' is not 'boss' or 'ruler'. The meaning is 'source' that shows the unity of the head and the body. In this case it shows the unity of the husband and the wife as one flesh. The analogy between Christ and the husband as the head is one of life-giving headship and not a ruling headship. The meaning of 'submit' is to align as in the case of falling in line in the army, in which lining up there is no ranking. Submitting oneself is giving oneself to be a support to the other person. Submitting does not mean obeying according to the Greek word used *hupotasso*<sup>148</sup>. The meaning of 'love' is being responsive to the needs of the other. Both 'submit' and 'love' mean being responsive to the needs of the other and placing oneself at the disposal of the other. Christ and the Church give the model of analogy for the relationship between the husband and the wife. Christ is the head, not to rule, but to love and cherish and to give him for the Church, to make it spotless. The husband and the wife are to be one with each other, in the one flesh relationship in which there is no issue of a hierarchy of two. Nowhere in the Old Testament are wives asked to obey or submit to their husbands. Sarah

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<sup>147</sup> John Temple Bristow. *What Paul Really Said About Women. An Apostle's Liberating Views On Equality In Marriage, Leadership, And Love*. Harper, San Francisco, 1991; Groothuis, 1997; Hull, 1990; Keener, 1992; Mickelsen, n.d.

<sup>148</sup> Storkey, 1985, p. 182. Discussions of the meaning of 'submit' and what it means for women including the women in the Old Testament, are found in the writings of egalitarian evangelical writers. Some of the sources: Word study 'submit' from [women.org/studies/word/submit.htm](http://women.org/studies/word/submit.htm), [women.org/studies/articles/Preato3.htm](http://women.org/studies/articles/Preato3.htm), [women.org/articles/vashti.htm](http://women.org/articles/vashti.htm) and the article 'The Vashti – Esther Story' on website of Katharine C Bushnell, all accessed on 27March 2006

refers to her husband as 'lord' only in her reply to the angel's promise of a son. Only Abraham was once asked to obey Sarah, in the case of the treatment of Hagar. Husbands are asked to honour their wives. The wives are referred to as the 'weaker sex', since women were socially, economically and politically weaker.

These and other such texts and writings undergird and inform the theoretical background for the main focus of the study. The other aspects of theory with respect to the gender practice of these women are discussed in the section for analytical framework. This study is examining the gender practice of Tamil Christian women. It is important to dispel any misconceptions there may be about the nature of the material in Christian biblical sources on the relationship between men and women lest any prejudgements or assumptions be imported into the research about the Christian teachings on this relationship. It is the researcher's experience that some writing about the role of religion in the relationship between men and women misrepresents the Christian view and thus concludes that any orthodox Christian position is oppressive of women. For example the headship of men over women described in point four of the complementarian view explicated above is assumed to oppress women. Holding such an incorrect view would seriously compromise the ability of a researcher to hear the expressions of freedom and empowerment articulated by the women and often linked by them to the Christian religion. Further, when analysing the gender practice of the Tamil Christian women who are the focus of the research it will be important to have clarified the benchmark of orthodox Christian teaching against which to evaluate their own gender practice. Though the two versions of orthodox teaching offer different fundamental accounts particularly of headship and submission, nevertheless they are more like points on a common spectrum of respect and dignity than contradictory accounts. Complementarians affirm the equality and dignity of women, but point out that this is expressed in differentiation of roles. This study

does not assume, nor seek to identify, any particular view on this matter by the subjects of the study,

## **VI. The Methodology.**

The methodology of a research project is the theoretical underpinning that informs the study. It is said in the theoretical background that this study uses a feminist narrative methodology<sup>149</sup> Its feminist basis has also been explained. This study has been done with an evangelical egalitarian feminist commitment. The egalitarian theological perspective has been described in detail. The narrative methodology will be described in detail in a section below.

### **A. The Choice and Justification of the Methodology.**

The reasons for adopting a feminist narrative methodology in this study need to be given. The commitment to an egalitarian evangelical theological perspective necessitates the choice of a feminist methodology. Further this is research by a woman about women for women. So it is only appropriate and just that this research adopts a feminist methodology.

The study has been structured to examine the 'gender practice' of women of the sample group. The research question is what it means to be a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai at the turn of the millennium. To investigate the lived experiences of the subjects it is only fit that the oral narratives of their own experiences as emerging through their self-perception and self-definition or self-construction are collected and analysed. As Riessman points out the traditional methods of interview results in the dominance of the investigator's definition of meaning over that of the subjects.<sup>150</sup> So for studying self-perception and self-definition

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<sup>149</sup> Feminist narrative methodology is described in the section below and in section VII of this chapter.

<sup>150</sup> Riessman . 'Life Events, Meaning And Narrative: The Case Of Infidelity And Divorce', *Soc. Sci. Med.* Vol.

the narrative method has been chosen, to ‘focus on the meaning of life events, “from the native’s point of view”’<sup>151</sup>. ‘Narrative analysis is particularly well-suited to analyzing the process of making sense.’<sup>152</sup> Riessman also quotes from Gee, ‘One of the ways – probably *the* primary way – human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in narrative form’.<sup>153</sup> ‘Narrative analysis ... gives prominence to subjects’ meanings and standpoints,’<sup>154</sup>. Riessman claims, ‘Narrators can emplot events in their lives in a variety of ways;’ and she quotes from Mishler that the narrators “select and assemble experiences and events so they contribute collectively to the intended point of the story ... why it is being told, in just this way, in just this setting” and also from Goffman, “How narrators accomplish their situated stories conveys a great deal about the presentation of self”.<sup>155</sup> Further, ‘Personal narratives are, at core, meaning-making units of discourse. They are of interest precisely because narrators interpret the past in stories, rather than reproduce the past as it was’.<sup>156</sup> The analysis of oral narratives has to use a narrative methodology. Of the various narrative methodologies available the one used by Mishler and some others such as Riessman is found to be appropriate to analyse how the women of the sample group construct their narratives to describe their gender practice in their lived experiences.

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29, No. 6, 1989, p. 743

<sup>151</sup> Riessman, 1989, p. 743

<sup>152</sup> Riessman, 1989, p. 744

<sup>153</sup> Riessman, 1989, p. 749

<sup>154</sup> Riessman, ‘Beyond Reductionism: Narrative Genres in Divorce Accounts’, *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, I(1), 1991, p. 44

<sup>155</sup> Riessman, 2002, p. 704

<sup>156</sup> Riessman, 2002, p. 705



## **B. The Explication of the Narrative Methodology Used.**

### **1. Mishler's Overall Discussion.**

Mishler gives an overall view of the different models of narrative analysis proposed by various theoreticians. He begins with the presupposition that interviewee responses are narratives or stories.<sup>157</sup> He goes on to list with a particular example the general features of a narrative – 1. the scene or setting 2. the characters 3. their actions and events 4. the conflict 5. the resolution of the conflict 6. the point of the story.<sup>158</sup> Mishler points out his role as the interviewer in allowing the respondent to hold the floor with an extended narrative piece and in being the audience to whom the interviewee is presenting himself in a particular light.<sup>159</sup> Following this preliminary discussion Mishler proceeds to present three approaches of the narrative analysis of research interviewing.

### **2. The Various Approaches of Narrative Analysis.**

In his detailed discussion of the three approaches in chapter four of his book<sup>160</sup>, Mishler organises his material around a framework based on the three features mentioned by Halliday – textual, ideational and interpersonal.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> George Elliot Mishler. *Research Interviewing*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1986, p.67

<sup>158</sup> Mishler, 1986, pp. 69-74

<sup>159</sup> Mishler, 1986, p. 74

<sup>160</sup> Mishler, 1986, ch. 4, 'Language, Meaning, and Narrative Analysis', pp. 66 – 117

<sup>161</sup> Mishler, 1986, pp. 76-77. Mishler uses M. A. K. Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function' in *New Horizons in Linguistics*. ed. J. Lyons, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970, *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. Edward Arnold, London, 1973 and M. A. K. Halliday and R. Hasan. *Cohesion in English*. Longman, London, 1976

### **i. The Textual Approach or First Model.<sup>162</sup>**

In this approach Mishler discusses the method of Labov and Waletzky<sup>163</sup>, its weakness and modification. This model consists of analysing the smaller units of speech, in fact the clauses and how they are interconnected. Labov and Waletzky hold that the smaller units are ordered in a temporal sequence corresponding to the order of the events that are being narrated. Reality congruence in the temporal ordering of the text, is that events that are being narrated follow the time sequence in which the events in reality happened. Mishler makes one overall criticism and two specific ones about this model. The overall criticism is that the narrative analysis is much more than the sequencing of clauses that have a temporal congruence to the reality that is being narrated, that is, they follow the sequence of the events narrated. The first specific criticism is that narrative analysis neglects the effect of the presence of the interviewer, as if the interviewer is unseen or inaudible. The second point made is that the earlier model of Labov and Waletzky focuses on the Evaluation clause which becomes a 'free clause' that can be placed anywhere in the narrative and does not have to follow the order of the events as they happened. This works against the basic premise of the model. However, a later modification using Goffman's 'Move'<sup>164</sup> and Propp's<sup>165</sup> functional analysis becomes more like the ideational model and not a textual model. Thus Mishler moves on to the discussion of the second model.

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<sup>162</sup> Mishler, 1986, pp. 77-87

<sup>163</sup> Mishler uses William Labov and Joshua Waletzky, 'Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience' in June Helms ed. *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1967 ; Mishler, 1986

<sup>164</sup> Mishler in this book uses Erving Goffman. *Asylums*. Anchor Books, New York, 1961 and 'Replies and Responses' in *Language in Society*. 5:257 -313, 1976; Mishler, 1986

<sup>165</sup> Mishler uses V. Propp. *Morphology of the Folktale*. Second edition, University of Texas Press, Austin, (1928) 1968; Mishler, 1986

## ii. The Second Model or Ideational Approach.<sup>166</sup>

Mishler gives a detailed discussion of this approach of Agar-Hobbs<sup>167</sup>. He says that it focuses on the ideational 'coherence', that is how the narrator's intentions and narrative strategies produce a coherent story. This coherence is produced through the 'content' expressed through the emerging 'themes' or 'ideas' and their relationships. This emphasis on the coherence of ideas gives the name 'ideational approach'. In this model there are three types of coherence specified – global, local and themal. Mishler points out that though this model preserves the richness and complexity of the narrative, it focuses on one aspect and neglects the other issues. Mishler raises four issues – the relationship between the levels, the issue of any particular structure of the narrative, the basis of the interpretation of meaning and the effect of the context of the interview situation. Agar-Hobbs' model neglects these. Another similar model proposed by van Dijk<sup>168</sup> differs in that the relationship between the levels is specified and narrative is considered as one type of a structure. However van Dijk also fails to specify the basis for interpretation and to work out the effect of the context of the interview.

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<sup>166</sup> Mishler, 1986, pp. 87-96

<sup>167</sup> Mishler uses Michael Agar and Jerry R. Hobbs, 'Interpreting Discourse. Coherence and the Analysis of Ethnographic Interviews' in *Discourse Processes*. 5: 1 – 32, 1982; Mishler, 1986

<sup>168</sup> Mishler says that he uses four works of van Dijk. Teun A. van Dijk, 'Semantic Macro-Structures and Knowledge Frames in Discourse Comprehension' in M. A. Just and P. A. Carpenter. Ed. *Cognitive Processes in Comprehension*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, 1977; *Macrostructures: An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, 1980; 'Episodes as Units of Discourse Analysis' in Deborah Tannen ed. *Analyzing Discourse. Text and Talk*. Georgetown University Press, Washington D. C., 1982; 'A Pointless Approach to Stories' in *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. 6: 598 – 599, 1983; Mishler, 1986

### iii. The Interpersonal Model.<sup>169</sup>

Mishler uses Paget's model<sup>170</sup> of the interpersonal type in which Paget recognises and makes explicit the effect of the interview context. These issues are listed in the form of five questions by Mishler – the role of the interviewer, the part played in the joint construction, the particularity of interview narratives, the effect produced by differences in questions and the influence of the presence of the interviewer. Bell's work<sup>171</sup> combines the three approaches and produces a comprehensive approach. However Bell's analysis also uses clauses and is closer to the textual model.

Mishler advocates the combination of the three approaches. He also argues against the traditional approach of validity questions in qualitative research. He proposes an approach appropriate for the study of social life, moving away from the traditional approach of qualitative research. Riessman also points out that 'The "trustworthiness" of narrative accounts cannot be evaluated using traditional correspondence criteria. There is no canonical approach to validation in interpretive work, no recipes or formulas'<sup>172</sup>. Mishler in a later work<sup>173</sup> follows the method of using extended narratives in which the stories are not split into small clauses or textual bits but taken as whole stories. Each part of the story is looked at without removing it from the context of the whole narrative, because according to Riessman

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<sup>169</sup> Mishler, 1986, pp. 96-105

<sup>170</sup> Mishler uses three works of Paget. Marianne A. Paget. 'Your Son Is Cured Now: You May Take Him Home' in *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*. 6: 237 -259, 1982; 'Experience and Knowledge' in *Human Studies*. 67 – 90, 1983a; 'On the Work of Talk: Studies in Misunderstandings' in Sue Fisher and Alexandra D. Todd ed. *The Social Organization of Doctor-Patient Communication*. Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington D. C., 1983b; Mishler, 1986

<sup>171</sup> Mishler uses unpublished paper of Susan Bell. 'Narratives of Health and Illness I: DES Daughters Tell Stories'; Mishler, 1986

<sup>172</sup> Riessman , 2002, p. 706

<sup>173</sup> Mishler. *Storylines.Craftartists' Narratives of Identity*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge and London 1999

also 'Meaning is constructed in context'<sup>174</sup>. This preserves the setting and contextual significance of the textual, ideational and interpersonal levels.

## **VII. Theoretical Background.**

The earlier discussion of theoretical background<sup>175</sup>, demonstrated that gender is a social phenomenon and a performative reality and not an ontological essence<sup>176</sup>. It is also found from Indian gender studies that women in India live in a patriarchal society with their socio-economic condition changing with some gains. As for the two family studies in India, the doctoral dissertation by Indiradevi studies the effect of education and employment of wives on role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns in Hindu families<sup>177</sup>. This she has done by conducting a statistical analysis of her findings with families in Andhra Pradesh. The study by Ross is about the effects of urbanisation on the Hindu family. This she studies in terms of division of labour, investing of authority, economic independence of the wife, affective bonds of the husband - wife relationship, interest in the education of daughters and career consciousness of daughters<sup>178</sup>. These two studies show that the gender equation is being altered in Indian families. This has led to the research question of self-perception and self-construction of the women of the sample stated as who is a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai. For such a study of identity construction the quantitative methods used by the studies existent in India do not lend themselves. To study self-perception and self-construction a narrative methodology lends itself.

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<sup>174</sup>Riessman , 1989, p. 744

<sup>175</sup> See footnote 1 and also the theoretical background above in this chapter.

<sup>176</sup> See Section I. C of chapter one for the definition of gender by Graham.

<sup>177</sup> Indiradevi, 1987

<sup>178</sup> Ross, 1961

The reason why a narrative methodology has been chosen may be given in the quotation:

Narrative inquiry is the process of gathering information for the purpose of research through storytelling. The researcher then writes a narrative of the experience. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) note that, "Humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and collectively, lead storied lives. Thus, the study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world." In other words, people's lives consist of stories.....As Connelly and Clandinin also note, "Research is a collaborative document, a mutually constructed story out of the lives of both researcher and participant."

Narrative inquiry is appropriate to many social science fields. The entire field of study is often used in disciplines such as literary theory, history, anthropology, drama, art, film, theology, philosophy, psychology, linguistics, education, politics, nutrition, medicine, and even aspects of evolutionary biological science.<sup>179</sup>

This research falls within the methodology of 'personal narratives', 'personal stories' or 'narration of personal experiences'.<sup>180</sup> With respect to literature of construction of 'self' through oral narrative with women outside India, Ruth Josselson and Amia Lieblich have edited the volumes in the *Narrative Study of Lives* series along with two individual titles<sup>181</sup>. Excellent samples of research methodology of narrative are given in Kim Vaz's edited book, *Oral Narrative Research With Black Women*.<sup>182</sup> Narrative methodology is not one monolithic single type. However within this broad field, the narrative methodology of Elliott G.

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<sup>179</sup> Writing@CSU, 'Observation', available at [for Writers & Teachers/Writing Guide/Empirical Research/Observation](#), accessed in January 2002

<sup>180</sup> Ruth Finnegan classifies this type of narratives as 'stories' with four features, namely a temporal or sequential framework, an element of coherence or explanation, some potentiality for generalising and some generic conventions which shape their telling and reception. Ruth Finnegan. *Tales of the City. A Study of Narrative and Urban Life*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 2, 9 – 13. Further, these are not oral traditions or oral histories or extended life stories. Though they fall within the area of oral narratives, they are stories of experiences and perspectives in the sense personal narratives employed and discussed by many working with oral narratives, especially those using feminist research methodologies. See the *Narrative Study of Lives*. Series edited by Ruth Josselson and Amia Lieblich, published by Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA, published since 1993 and Kim Marie Vaz ed. *Oral Narrative Research With Black Women*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1997

<sup>181</sup> These have been published by Sage Publications from 1993; *The Narrative Study of Lives*. 1993; *Exploring Identity and Gender*. 1994; *Interpreting Experience*. 1995; *Ethics and Process in the Narrative Study of Lives*. 1996; *The Narrative Study of Lives*. Vol.5, 1997; *Making Meaning of Narratives*. 1999

<sup>182</sup> Vaz ed. 1997

Mishler<sup>183</sup> has been chosen as appropriate for the analysis of the oral narrative data collected, because it lends itself best for the analysis of the type of data in this study. This methodology has been explained in detail in the methodology section. It has to be explained why story-telling being the communicative norm in the culture of the women has been chosen.

### **A. The Patterns of Story-telling as a Communicative Norm in the Culture of the Women of the Sample Group.**

Charles Briggs in his book, *Learning how to ask*, forcefully and convincingly argues for getting at methodological problems and communicative blunders to develop sophistication in interviewing, which he terms as 'learning how to ask'.

1. He lists three overall points<sup>184</sup> that should shape our interviewing:

i. In oral narrative method, the researcher should recognise that in every culture or society there are broader patterns of social and cultural repertoire from which the narrator or story-teller draws the treasures of his or her narration.

ii. What the narrator relates is not something 'out there', lying ready to be just transported *per se* from a treasure house unlocking its door and just handing over just as it existed or exists. Every narration or story is a 'performance', a dialogical or joint construction of the narrator and the audience, though the audience may be just the researcher listening to or recording the 'story'. This has been recognised in the schedules of this research. One of the methods in which Indian women (but specifically Christian women, because of the social pattern and

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<sup>183</sup> Mishler, 1986; Mishler, 1999; similar works using narrative methodology, such as those of . *Narrative Analysis*. Sage, Newbury Park, CA, 1993 and of Bell have also been used. Another source: Heather J. Richmond, 'Learners' Lives: A Narrative Analysis', *The Qualitative Report*, 7/3, September, 2002, available at , accessed in January 2003

<sup>184</sup> Charles L. Briggs. *Learning how to ask. A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research*. Cambridge University Press, 1986, last rept.1995, pp. 2 – 3

tradition of 'giving a testimony' or 'relating one's experiences') share their experiences is 'narrative' or 'story-telling of personal experiences'. This communicative method accepted and well recognised in the socio-cultural milieu of the researcher and the women interviewed has been drawn on and used. Tonkin also holds that it is 'more fruitful to tap into teller's expertise and not to insist on their confirming [conforming?] to the interviewer's genre'.<sup>185</sup>

iii. The third point Briggs brings out is the existence of certain communicative norms in the culture and society of the interviewees. There will be a communicative gap between the norms of the researcher and those of the narrators. 'The farther we move away from home, culturally and linguistically, the greater the problem.'<sup>186</sup> In this respect, this researcher has an advantage of the research being in her own culture. However, the research has been greatly facilitated by conforming to the communicative norms of the socio-cultural situation of the women interviewed.

2. Further, Briggs lists four ways in which to approach the communicative problems<sup>187</sup>:

i. to approach the interview as a whole. This has been recognised in this research. The collection, analysis and interpretation of the interviews or narratives or stories of these women are carried out from the standpoint that information cannot be processed in an atomised (torn or cut into small pieces) manner following the pattern of modernity, but as a whole with the various aspects inter-related and holding together. This standpoint is taken in accordance with what Charles Taylor points out following the method of Heidegger and Wittgenstein.<sup>188</sup> The

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<sup>185</sup> Elizabeth Tonkin. *Narrating our past. The social construction of oral history*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, p.54

<sup>186</sup> Briggs, 1995, p. 3

<sup>187</sup> Briggs, 1995, pp. 4 – 5

<sup>188</sup> Charles Taylor. *Philosophical Arguments*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1995, by Charles Taylor,



experiences of the women are analysed and interpreted within a comprehensive and over-all framework of gender practice with various aspects of gender experiences such as spousal

relationship, treatment of sons and daughters, opportunities for education and career and involvement in church.

ii. exploration of the communicative roots of the interview

iii. steps to overcome the communicative obstacles of the interview to be taken

iv. practical steps to be taken to make the best use of the interview recognising the nature and limitations of the interview

### 3. Briggs points out two more problems of methodology<sup>189</sup>

i. pertaining to the nature of the interview and the role of the interviewer which affects the generation and interpretation of data, and

ii. relating to the context that is not merely physical and the social context of the narrative.

Regarding the nature of the interview and the role of the interviewer, Briggs elaborately analyses<sup>190</sup> a communicative model in which he discusses issues of metacommunicative repertoire, communicative strategies, communicative events, social roles of the interviewer and the interviewee, the situation of the communicative event, and communicative norms and routines. He goes on to discuss the acquiring of communicative competence by the researcher.<sup>191</sup> Finally, Briggs points out that designing appropriate methodology<sup>192</sup> considering the communicative model that he has analysed or learning how to ask with sophistication would help a researcher overcome to some extent the communicative blunders that pose obstacles to the research.

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<sup>189</sup> Briggs, 1995, pp. 12 – 15

<sup>190</sup> Briggs, 1995, pp. 39 – 60

<sup>191</sup> Briggs, 1995, pp. 61 – 92

<sup>192</sup> Briggs, 1995, pp. 993 –111

The second problem that has been pointed out by Briggs is that of context. 'Contexts are interpretive frames that are constructed by the participants in the course of the discourse',<sup>193</sup> and any discourse including the interview is dialogical and contextualised.<sup>194</sup> This means that the interviewee is not producing a mono or one-way discourse but producing a narrative in a dialogical fashion co-constructing it with the interviewer. It is also contextualised in the sense that it is a performance in the particular context of that interview.

### **B. Construction of 'Self' in a Narrative.**

Another issue to be considered is what is being mediated in a narrative and how. Finnegan's notion of the individual as creator<sup>195</sup> is the starting point. Tonkin also agrees that 'A narrative presentation of self is a social action' and that life stories create *personae* and not transparent self-portraits.<sup>196</sup> This point of a dialogical contextual construction of 'self' in narratives is brought out by anthropologists and oral historians<sup>197</sup> such as Finnegan and Tonkin, using narrative forms as research methods and tools. Considering 'self-as-narrative',<sup>198</sup> validates and legitimises the analysis and interpretation adopted in this research along the lines of self-perception and self-description.

From a psychological perspective regarding self-perception, self-definition and identity construction, Ulric Neisser, in raising the question whether self-narratives are true or false,

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<sup>193</sup> Briggs, 1995, p. 12

<sup>194</sup> Briggs, 1995, p. 13

<sup>195</sup> Finnegan. *Oral Traditions and the verbal arts. A Guide to Research Practices*. Routledge, London and New York, 1992, p. 2

<sup>196</sup> Tonkin, 1992, pp. 56, 57

<sup>197</sup> Finnegan, 1992 and Tonkin, 1992

<sup>198</sup> Finnegan, 1998, p. 8

takes the following view:

Life narratives are often described as if they were the chief or even the only ingredient of the self: "They [life narrative] are the basis of personal identity and self-understanding and they provide answers to the question 'Who am I?' (Polkinghorne, 1991, p. 136). This claim goes too far: Self-knowledge depends on perception, conceptualization, and private experience as well as narrative (Neisser, 1988). Self-narratives are *a* basis of but not *the* basis of identity.<sup>199</sup>

Following this line of argument, Neisser goes on to explicate that in the issue of narrative and reality one must bear in mind that there are four parts, the historical self who participated in the actual event, the perceived self who experienced at the time of the event, the remembering self who recalls the past experience and event, and the remembered self as recalled, constructed and narrated later.<sup>200</sup> Jerome Brunner in Neisser's view is 'psychology's most eloquent advocate of the narrative mode',<sup>201</sup>. He describes in detail <sup>202</sup> 'some of the properties of a world of "reality" constructed according to narrative principles'. He holds that 'narrative organizes the structure of human experience'.<sup>203</sup> In an earlier article, Jerome Brunner taking a constructivist approach and using the idea of narrative construction explicates his idea (or thesis) that life (lived experiences) and narrative of that life (lived experiences) mutually interact with one another and construct one another in an interactive manner.<sup>204</sup> Thus, the data collected through the narrative stories of the lived experiences of the women of the sample, in a legitimate and valid way, enables the researcher to look at the self-perception and self-definition of the women of the study. Riessman also points out that 'It is now a sociological

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<sup>199</sup> U. Neisser and R. Fivush ed. *The Remembering Self*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p. 1

<sup>200</sup> Neisser and Fivush, 1994, p. 2

<sup>201</sup> Neisser and Fivush, 1994, p.9

<sup>202</sup> Jerome Brunner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality", *Critical Inquiry*. University of Chicago, 18(Autumn 1991), pp. 1 – 21

<sup>203</sup> Brunner, 1991, p.21

<sup>204</sup> Brunner, "Life as Narrative", *Social Research*. Vol. 54, No.1 (Spring 1987)

axiom that the way people define a situation is reality for them, however 'incorrect' that may be from another's point of view'<sup>205</sup>.

### **C. The Interviewee Bias.**

It is also recognised that educated women who are aware of the issues of gender experiences, especially in adopting the method of oral narrative of personal experiences involving identity construction or construction of 'self', may impose or give way to various sorts of distorted perception and deliberate selective construction to fit certain self-perceived criteria or frameworks. On the other hand, this is a crucial point in dealing with construction of self. A narrative is not treated as a hard fact or a piece of objective information. The subjectivity and the role of the interviewees are also recognised.

Martia Graham Goodson, writing on oral narrative in Vaz's book, says that one of the things that she learned from Ophelia, an early Black American narrative researcher, was to believe in her informants. On the one hand the oral narrative researcher cannot accept everything the narrator says while on the other hand the researcher has to believe that the narrators have something of worth to say.<sup>206</sup>

### **D. Issues of Significance, Meaning and Truth.**

Research based on the method of narrative and story telling of personal experiences and the self-perception and self-description of the population based on construction of self in narratives, has to deal with issues of significance, meaning and truth.

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<sup>205</sup> Riessman, 1989, p. 749

<sup>206</sup> Vaz ed. 1997, p. 17

According to Briggs what is obtained through narratives is the 'social meaning' of what is narrated and this is what has to be evaluated.<sup>207</sup> He would claim to objectivity on the part of the researcher as communicative hegemony and a false consciousness of objectivity.<sup>208</sup> Tonkin also challenges claims of objectivity on the part of the researcher as useless, since in narrative forms what a person recalls is connected to identity and social role.<sup>209</sup> This research seeks to find the social meaning of the narrative story telling of the personal experiences of the women of the sample group, to find the significance of their self-perception and self-description as they construct 'self' through their story telling.

Once the false dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity is removed, the claims of truth – falsehood also do not hold anymore in studies using narratives. Briggs strikes at the root of the problem. In his opinion when ethnographers say that natives lie or give inconsistent answers, the real problem is not one of truth and falsehood, but the lack of understanding on the part of the researcher to recognise the communicative method, strategies and norms which exist in the socio-cultural situation of the informants and the disparity between the communicative methods of the researcher and the informants.<sup>210</sup>

In line with these positions of viewing the material gathered through narratives, this research does not focus on the question of truth, but seeks to bring out the meaning and significance of what the women of the sample group have narrated with respect to their experiences of gender practice.

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<sup>207</sup> Briggs, 1995, p. 14

<sup>208</sup> Briggs, 1995, pp. 120, 124

<sup>209</sup> Tonkin, 1992, p. 96

<sup>210</sup> Briggs, 1995, p. 10

## **E. The Method of Construction of the Story.**

It is not merely important to know what is being constructed in narrative forms, but also to know the method of construction. Finnegan in her book *Tales of the City* elaborately discusses the method of construction of 'stories' (narratives). She lists four features<sup>211</sup> which can be discerned in an analysis of a 'story' – sequence, temporal or otherwise; an explanation giving coherence; the potential for generalisability of universal in particular; and, generic conventions of expected framework, protagonists and modes of performance. Thus, there is a lot of formulating, ordering, and validating of personal experience in personal narratives and stories of personal experiences.<sup>212</sup> In this research it is recognised and claimed that this is what is happening in the story-telling method the women of the sample group have adopted.

## **VIII. Theoretical Background for the Dynamics of Fieldwork.**

Having chosen the field of research, the research problem and the methodology and been informed with the appropriate theoretical background, it is only proper to choose the method of data collection using the appropriate research design.

After considering the different sub categories . . . and identifying a theoretical perspective, researchers can begin to design their study. Research design is the string of logic that ultimately links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn to the initial questions of the study. Typically, research designs deal with at least four problems:

- i. What questions to study
- ii. What data are relevant
- iii. What data to collect
- iv. How to analyze that data

In other words, a research design is basically a blueprint for getting from the beginning to the end of a study. The beginning is an initial set of questions to be answered, and the end is some set of conclusions about those questions.<sup>213</sup>

In keeping with the methodology of feminist narrative, it has been decided to use qualitative research involving fieldwork. This is social research in the sense that it examines the

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<sup>211</sup> Finnegan, 1998, p.9. This is the framework she uses in the whole book to analyse the various 'stories' of the city to bring out 'Tales of the City'.

<sup>212</sup> Finnegan, 1998, p. 81

<sup>213</sup> Writing @CSU, 'Case Studies', available at Case Study, accessed in January 2002

relationships between individuals and between individuals and family, informal social structures, formal social structures, the community and culture<sup>214</sup>. Social research can be carried out either to detect regularities in social relations or to propose solutions to particular problems<sup>215</sup>. This research is of the former kind. The question is to study the gender experiences of women. Since I wanted to address issues that are not frequently addressed in the works examined in the literature review, an exploratory study was carried out. The issues to be addressed in the focus group interview that is the data collection method for generating stories were identified through the exploratory study.

## **IX. The Exploratory Study.**

### **A. Introduction.**

In qualitative research

Unlike most scientific research methods, qualitative observational inquiry does not require the researcher to define a precise set of issues in the initial phases; these issues often emerge from the study over time. While some qualitative inquiries may begin with a set of questions, it is common for theories about group behaviour and interactions to emerge as a result of the observer's exploratory work (emergent design). And, those theories may identify relevant questions for further research.<sup>216</sup>

So, from the literature survey an exploratory study was designed. The findings of the exploratory study enabled the researcher to recognise the research question to be explored.

It is important to note that ... in any qualitative descriptive research, while researchers begin their studies with one or several questions driving the inquiry (which influence the key factors the researcher will be looking for during data collection), a researcher may find new key factors emerging during data collection.<sup>217</sup>

Thus, the research question was accordingly modified in this descriptive research.

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<sup>214</sup> N. Lin. *Foundations of social Research*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1976, p.2

<sup>215</sup> Lin, 1976, p. 5

<sup>216</sup> Writing@CSU, 'Defining the research question', available at , accessed in January 2002

<sup>217</sup> Writing@CSU, 'Data Collection', available at <http://writing.colostate.edu/index.cfm> | Resources for Writers & Teachers | Writing Guides | Empirical Research | Case Study, accessed in January 2002



## **B. Population for the Exploratory Study.**

Based on the literature for background theory of secular and theological gender studies an exploratory study was carried out. An open-ended questionnaire<sup>218</sup> of background, family, education, career, marriage, involvement in church and society and other issues was formulated. This was distributed to a broad random sample of mainly educated South Indian. Christian women. In this research, the exploratory study was done by distributing this open questionnaire to several educated Indian Christian women from all walks of life, both career and non-career. Some forty responses were collected mainly from women from South India. A few Hindu women and a few North Indian women also volunteered to respond. The questionnaire was administered either in person by the researcher or the researcher's friends and relatives, or it was sent by post with a covering letter explaining the research project. These responses have been entered in a database. For comparison, some thirteen women of rural agricultural background mostly from the Hindu background, but all part of the International Fund for Agricultural Development were also interviewed using the questionnaire. For these Hindu women only questions applicable to them were used. Questions about women's involvement and role in the church, being inapplicable, were not used.

The sample group selected for the exploratory data collection was random, broad with respect to socio-geographical setting and confined to a small socio-temporal period between February 1999 and April 1999. It emerged from the responses that the women were concerned to share the self-perception and self-definition of their gender practice in their lived experiences.

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<sup>218</sup> This questionnaire is in Appendix 2.

### **C. The Questionnaire for the Exploratory Study.**

From the preliminary background reading of literature the preliminary questionnaire was constructed. The research question being who a woman is, the questionnaire was constructed to elicit the experiences and views of South Indian Christian women. It emerges from Indian family studies that family relationships, educational and career opportunities, gender equality and views of sex and gender are quite significant. So the questionnaire contained questions about the parental and marital homes, including the relationships in the family, freedom in choice of the state of marriage or singleness and in the choice of marriage partner, educational and career opportunities and involvement in church activities. There was a question about their attitude to the state of marriage or singleness. It also had questions about their views about gender equality, gender, sex, women's leadership roles in church and society, male authority and female submission, mutuality and equal partnership. These questions about women's involvement and roles in church were inapplicable for the Hindu women and not used for the population of Hindu women. The respondents were questioned about the concept of equality and the equality that women want. They were asked about the shaping influences, the struggles, problems and changes wanted in their lives with respect to gender equality.

The open questionnaire gave flexibility for the respondents to give information going farther than the questions and also allowed them to tell of their varied experiences and views. The method of distribution provided the facility to explain the questions and concepts that were not clear or not understood by the respondents. For the rural women the researcher collected the information by way of note taking during the interview. While the educated women wrote in English (because the questionnaire was written in English), the researcher explained the questions in Tamil for the rural women.

## **X. Theoretical and Analytical Framework.**

### **A. Introduction.**

Family studies in India have in the past mostly focused on the change in the structure of the family especially in that of the joint family. Many have focused on women's education and employment, but in terms of their status and role<sup>219</sup>. There are not many studies on the impact of urbanisation, education and employment in effecting change, if any, in the gender equation in the family in India. Ross' study on the urban, mostly Brahmin families in Bangalore is one of the earliest (1961)<sup>220</sup>. Her study examines the problems faced by the change in the structure of traditional families due to urbanisation and industrialisation. In the course of this study some conclusions in the areas of education and employment of urban middle-class women are drawn. There are also some conclusions regarding the changes caused by women's education and employment in division of labour and affectional bonds in urban middle class families. Indiradevi's study (1987)<sup>221</sup> of the impact of education and employment on the gender equation within family is seminal. No single study of any major contribution has been done focussing on the change in the gender equation in family and church among urban middle class Christians of Tamil Nadu. These studies provide the academic context for this research and have been described in detail in the section above on theoretical background<sup>222</sup>.

### **B. Relevance of the Study of Ross.**

Ross's study on mostly Brahmin families in Bangalore seems to be the earliest study of the changes in the patterns of family in a city. She specifically states that the purpose of her research is not to conclude whether there is any change in the family structure or not due to

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<sup>219</sup> See the studies of Ghadially, 1988, Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, Tellis-Nayak, 1983 and of Derne, 1993.

<sup>220</sup> Ross, 1961.

<sup>221</sup> Indiradevi, 1987.

<sup>222</sup> The theoretical background for Indian family studies is explained above in section IV of this chapter.

urbanisation and industrialisation, but to highlight the problems faced by families subjected to change. The chapters devoted to the change in the substructures of rights and duties, power and authority, sentiments, work, education, changing friendship and marriage patterns in an urban context have helpful insights regarding the impact of women's education and employment on gender equation and gender practice.

### **C. Indiradevi's Study.**

Indiradevi in 1987 claims that Sociology of Family in India has not looked at spousal relationship in terms of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns. Her major objective is to assess whether education and employment of wives in urban Hindu families have produced any change in the direction of equalitarian patterns of spousal relationship. Thus in a specific manner she seeks to discover the change in the areas of role performance, decision-making and behaviour patterns. She has chosen an urban sample and uses statistical analysis of the responses collected through a structured questionnaire. Indiradevi concludes that education and employment of the wife promotes equalitarian patterns of behaviour. She indicates that empirical knowledge about Christian and Muslim communities are limited. This is quite important for this research that attempts to examine the perspectives on education, employment and career of the sample group of Tamil Christian women.

Looking at these two studies, the opportunities for education and employment of women have significant impact on the identity of women. So, the components of opportunities for education and employment have been chosen for analysis of gender practice of the women of the sample group in the area of their self-perception and self-definition of their lived experiences in the area of society.

#### **D. Construction of an Analytical Framework for this Research from the Foregoing Discussion.**

This research is focused on the self-perception and self-definition of gender practice of the sample group, which consists of women of Kodambakkam Risen Redeemer's CSI church in Chennai. These women are Tamil Christians, urban, middle class, educated and some employed and some not, from teenage to about eighty and married, young not-yet-married and few who have chosen single status. So, studies focussing on families and gender in India are relevant for this research. The two studies described in the foregoing sections are the closest and most helpful in constructing the analytical framework of this research. Apart from choosing the categories to be examined from the research by others, a strong reason for the choice of the particular analytical framework is that these analytical categories emerge from the stories or oral narratives of these women. Another guide that has been used is the material collected in the exploratory study of educated middle class Christian women mostly from South India. The theological works of the egalitarian and complementarian perspectives examined also strongly undergird the choice of the particular framework used.

Both Ross' and Indiradevi's works strongly underline the fact that education and employment are crucial in the lives of Indian women. The stories themselves have given a lot of importance to education and employment of these women. So, two of the areas that have been chosen are education and employment of these women – what experiences of education and employment these women have had, how they perceive themselves as educated and employed or not employed women, and, what is their attitude to and view of their own experiences and that of other women in the areas of education and employment.

The theological material on evangelical gender perspectives also analyses the biblical material in terms of women's identity, their role and relationship<sup>223</sup>. This biblical material forms an important factor in the lives of the women being studied. So, in this research of self-image and identity, the women's stories are analysed in terms of who these women are and what their relationships in family, church and society are, both according to themselves, and according to how they understand the biblical material. The studies of Ross and Indiradevi focus on the role and relationships of women in family and society.

The analytical framework has a part focussing on the experiences of these women in family. In this area the components highlighted are spousal relationship and treatment of children and a select concept of 'male headship'. The select concept of 'headship of husband' figures significantly in the theological literature of evangelical views of gender<sup>224</sup>. So it is examined under the category of religious discourse.

The fieldwork shows that religious life and participation in church activities for Indian Christian women is crucial for their self-perception and self-definition of who they are. This discussion of biblical material of women in church life is found in the theological material also. For a Christian community participation in the life and activities of the church is extremely important. It emerges from the exploratory study and fieldwork that the participation of these women in the life of the church is not merely significant for identity construction but also crucial for their empowering, resourcing and negotiating their lives. Another major part of the analytical framework is constructed to examine the participation of these women in the life and activities of the church. This aspect along with other issues raised

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<sup>223</sup> Described earlier in this chapter, section V.

<sup>224</sup> See footnote above.

in the biblical material is investigated under the religious discourse. The categories analysed in this section of religious discourse are women's general involvement in the church, women's roles in the church such as preaching and teaching, women's involvement in church administration and priesthood recognised by ordination, and some cultural practices and behaviour based on religious mores such as headcovering during worship and headship of husband.

The narrative analysis of one category of material pertains specifically to this study because it arises from the data of the narratives of the women. This is the material related to gender issues in society analysed through the social discourse. These are discourses about the girl child and related issues, childlessness, dowry, widowhood, single status, single parenthood, domestic violence and response to sex workers.

Thus, the four major areas examined are:

- i. Relationships in family particularly spousal relationships and treatment of children
- ii. Perspectives on education and career
- iii. Religious discourse of participation in church and gender issues found in some biblical passages.
- iv. Social discourse of certain gender issues in society.

A significant difference between this study and other material used is that while the other studies examine the content of the discourse this study investigates the narrative structure or analysis of the stories of the women of the sample group. These stories of gender practice in their lived experiences reveal narrative patterns pertaining to self-perception and self-construction.

## **XI. Methods.**

The intense focused fieldwork was done after the exploratory study. For this the qualitative research method of collection of narratives in the focus groups was used for data collection. The sample group of Indian Christian women for the research was chosen. The women narrated their lived experiences in the areas relevant for the study. The data collected through these persons narrating their lived experiences in the mode of 'testimonio', 'story' or 'sharing of experiences' in the focus group discussions were systematically categorised and analysed. The analysis followed a descriptive procedure of bringing out significant 'voices'. The emerging patterns and themes were used along with the theoretical framework to construct the analytical framework that is explicated in the section on methodology and method in this chapter.

## **XII. Theoretical Background for Analytical Framework.**

Some studies of Indian families have been already identified as relevant.<sup>225</sup> These have been used in constructing the analytical framework. Rudestam and Newton hold that a prior tentative theoretical conceptual framework adopted to bound the study, may change as the study progresses.<sup>226</sup> Thus these relevant works and the categories emerging from the fieldwork were used inductively for the analytical framework.

## **CONCLUSION.**

This chapter has looked at the theoretical background of literature, methodology, research method and the analytical framework that has been constructed with the components arising

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<sup>225</sup> Aileen Ross, 1961 and Indiradevi, 1987

<sup>226</sup> Kjell Erik Rudestam and Rae R. Newton. *Surviving Your Dissertation. A Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process*. Sage Publications, Newbury Park, USA, 1992, p. 37



from relevant theoretical studies and also inductively from the fieldwork. The theoretical background of literature is reviewed in four parts. The review of studies of gender theories describes the notions about 'gender' and provides the definition of 'gender'. The Indian gender studies reveal the academic view of the Indian women being described as downtrodden, oppressed and marginalised. The relevant Indian family studies provide the academic context for the fieldwork and some components for the analytical framework. The examination of the evangelical theological perspectives of gender provide the biblical and theological background which highlights some of the issues to be explored in the field work and included in the analytical framework. The review of literature pertaining to methodology provides the description of the feminist narrative methodology. The theoretical background of the method describes the need for the exploratory study and the construction of the questionnaire for the exploratory study. From an examination of this theoretical background, the analytical framework has been constructed with the components that emerge from the relevant Indian family studies, evangelical perspectives of gender theology and the fieldwork. The next chapter records the fieldwork undertaken.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD WORK**

#### **I. Introduction.**

The previous chapter surveyed the relevant theoretical background, methodology, methods and analytical framework. From that survey I proceed to a description of the field and the fieldwork done. The fieldwork was done with a particular sample. The following section describes the choice of the field, the description of the sample population with the location of the church, socio-economic and cultural setting of the area, the socio-cultural and denominational background of the sample group.

#### **II. The Focused Intense Field Work.**

##### **A. The Choice of the Field.**

For a narrowed down and focussed fieldwork, the women members of the CSI Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam<sup>227</sup> were chosen as the sample and population for the study. A descriptive method has been adopted to suit the study of behaviour and relationship between two or more social activities<sup>228</sup>.

##### **B. The Sample Population.**

The sample group has been chosen from the members of the Kodambakkam CSI church. Because the study is about Tamil Christian women this Tamil church has been chosen. Detailed description of the church, its members, its beginning and growth and its activities are given in the report in Appendix 1. In many types of qualitative research the study '... can

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<sup>227</sup> The background report is in Appendix 1.

<sup>228</sup> Lin, 1976, p. 8

use one participant, or a small group of participants. However, it is important that the participant pool remain relatively small. The participants can represent a diverse cross section of society, but this isn't necessary.'<sup>229</sup> The participant pool is kept small to be manageable.

### **C. Location of the Church.**

A succinct description is given here to understand the geographical and socio-cultural background or setting of the sample group. The Kodambakkam area lies west of the Chennai Beach-Tambaram railway line. It is one of the areas developed as Chennai (then known as Madras) city (now a metropolis) began to expand west of the railway line in the 1950s. By the turn of the twentieth century, Kodambakkam being well within the metropolis is no more the growing edge of the city. Kodambakkam is close to the Beach – Tambaram electric train line (the commuter line) which gives greater facility of mobility to those who live here.

### **D. Socio-economic and Cultural Setting of the Kodambakkam Area.**

Socio-culturally the area has a variety of people from various caste backgrounds. None of the people living in the Kodambakkam area can boast of their ancestors having lived there for several centuries, since the entire area is one of city expansion and development. This socio-geographical setting of the area being a newly developed one has given the flexibility for its residents to grow out of their socio-cultural moulds and traditions and the opportunity to attempt innovative patterns.

The economic background of the population of the Kodambakkam area is varied - from the rich to the poor. Though not an elite residential area, it is an area where all facilities are available. The environment of the Kodambakkam area in its socio-cultural, economic and

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<sup>229</sup> Writing@CSU, 'Participant Selection', available at <http://writing.colostate.edu/index.cfm> | Resources for Writers & Teachers | Writing Guides | Empirical Research | Case Study, accessed in January 2002

temporal setting delivers public goods such as good roads, transport, petrol stations, markets, shopping facilities, restaurants and hotels, computer centres, postal and telephone facilities, metro water facilities, sewerage and drainage systems, schools and colleges, worship places of temples, mosques and churches, hospitals, cinema theatres, parks and play grounds.

#### **E. The Socio-cultural Background of the Sample Group.**

The members of the CSI Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam are predominately Tamilians. The sample chosen consists of Tamil Christian women. The members are varied in their socio-cultural background. Female education is not an issue, an opportunity to be fought for or the privilege of a few. All women are educated. Women may either take up a career or be housewives. Employment and career are not seen as necessary or a necessary index of status or independence. Marriage for women is seen to be the socio-cultural norm though there is some flexibility for women to choose the life of a spinster. But marriage is not viewed as a necessary evil or a fettering imprisonment. The economic background of the congregation members is varied, from the affluent (not the elite) to the poor. The women of the older age group, who have entered the labour market, seem to have taken up the more traditional or the not-too-innovative jobs, for example Lita, Jeyavathy, Amar, Lila, Saguna, Gem, Saral and Sampoorana have been teachers. On the other hand the younger ones have entered the non-traditional jobs, for example Udhaya an engineer.

#### **F. The Denominational Background.**

The Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam was started in 1958. Hence, it began and developed as a CSI church and not as a mission church like the British Wesleyan (Mount Wesley, Egmore Wesley, Broadway Wesley, Royapettah Wesley, Perambur Wesley), High Anglican (St. Mathias), low Anglican (St. Paul's), London Missionary Society (Missionary

Chapel), the Army (Perambur Holy Cross, Garrison church in St. Thomas Mount) church or the Anderson chapel of the Madras Christian College in front of the High Court. It is also not a church planted with the new converts of an evangelistic effort.

From the members of the Kodambakkam CSI church, the sample population for the study was drawn at random. They are from teenage to above 80 years. They hail from urban, semi urban and rural backgrounds with respect to their parental homes while all of them are residents of Kodambakkam by virtue of which they are located in a metropolitan city. All of them have been educated up to various levels and in diverse fields. The group consists of married women with grandchildren or children, spinsters who had chosen the single life style and young girls who are not yet married. Some of the participants are career women while some others have chosen to be non-career women. The participants whose background has been described above formed the focus groups. The focus group discussions gave rise to the primary data of oral narratives for the analytical part of the study.

Six focus groups were conducted of various sizes. The participants were of various types. There were totally thirty-one participants. The description of each group is given in a Table in Appendix 3. Four of the groups had three members each. One had six and the other thirteen. Three groups each with three members consisted of older married women. The one with six women had older and younger married women and one younger unmarried woman. The group with thirteen members consisted of older and younger married women and one older unmarried woman. One group of three members was entirely composed of younger unmarried women. The group of younger unmarried women was of all college students. The other groups had members of different educational, career and social backgrounds.

According to the convenience of each group the meetings were arranged. Two groups of older married women and the one group of younger unmarried women met only once each. In these single time meetings the discussions of the two sessions were carried on one after another. One group with three older married women, the group with thirteen members and the one with six members met twice. In these meetings at two separate times the discussions of the two sessions were carried out. The places of meeting also were different. Four met in houses while the other two met in the church compound.

### **III. The Entry into the Field.**

Having chosen the field, the entry into the field was made in the following manner. The researcher initially approached the pastor of the CSI church and asked for permission to collect the data for the research. The pastor gave a typed letter of introduction and permission. However, there was no occasion when this had to be used. Apart from gaining the confidence and permission of the pastor, the researcher approached the women leaders who have house prayer cells in their homes. These introduced the researcher to some other women also. They also helped by allowing some focus groups to be conducted in their homes. Some of these and other members helped in introducing the researcher to other members and in taking the researcher to the houses of other members. Further, the pastor had given the lists of addresses of the members (organised according to the areas for the benefit of Christmas carol rounds) for the use of the researcher. This greatly helped the researcher in covering each area systematically. There was no need for covert research. Moreover, there did not seem to be any particular obstacle in gaining access and being able to be an observer or a participant observer.

#### **IV. Problems Faced.**

##### **A. Gatekeepers.**

The pastor, the leaders of the house prayer cells, active female members and some of the elderly members may be described as gatekeepers. However, as can be seen from the section on the social acceptance and relationship of the researcher, the gatekeepers placed no major obstacle.

##### **B. Constraints on the Conduct of the Focus Groups.**

The focus groups had to consider the convenience and availability of the members. Not every member of three groups that met twice could be present in both the meetings. In the largest group that had thirteen participants, some had to leave early. Along with the constraint of time not every participant would have responded to each issue in this large group. In the other groups also some members might not have talked about any issue that probably was not significant for them. The problems of bilinguality and transcription are described in detail in Appendix 4. Sometimes the failure of the recording would have missed some parts or some clarity.

#### **V. The Status of the Researcher in the Field.**

The fieldwork has been done by the researcher as an insider - outsider. N. Lin lists the advantages and limitations of the researcher being an outsider. The advantages of being an outsider are acceptance, being able to receive open and uninhibited responses since the researcher is not part of the 'establishment', not having too much rapport and objectivity. However, if the researcher is not identified enough, there is some threat to the respondents, the researcher will not be allowed to see the intimate details and there will be less support from the authorities. 'An outsider role also should work better for the researcher if the respondents

have socioeconomic characteristics similar to those of the researcher.'<sup>230</sup> This helps in building the rapport. In this count the researcher is an insider- outsider that has been an advantage.

The researcher who is also the interviewer is a 'sister – outsider', a phrase borrowed from Audre Lorde by Joycelyn Moody in her chapter on 'Professions of Faith' in the section on 'Ancestor Mothers' in Kim MarieVaz's edited book on methodology of narrative research with black women.<sup>231</sup> Charlotte Aull Davies in her book mentions how the multiple identities of the researcher doing native ethnography produce complex ways of being an 'insider' and also the possibility of distancing as an 'outsider'. She gives various examples such as Abu-Lughod, Narayan and Motzafi-Haller.<sup>232</sup>

T. N. Madan an Indian sociologist writing of a leading Indian sociologist, M. N. Srinivas' study of his own community in Karnataka after Srinivas' education in Britain, writes that it is a worthwhile technique to use a deliberate exercise of anthropological surprise (doubt) to study one's own society. This involves a certain amount of distancing while the researcher is also an insider.<sup>233</sup> Lila Abu-Lughod has followed this method of the researcher being both an insider and an outsider at the same time, for its advantages in her study of the Bedouin women.<sup>234</sup> Lila Abu-Lughod having been taken in as a daughter-guest of a prestigious Bedouin family

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<sup>230</sup> Lin, 1976, p. 198

<sup>231</sup> Vaz ed., 1997, p. 25

<sup>232</sup> Charlotte Aull Davies. *Reflexive Ethnography. A guide to researching selves and others*. Routledge, London and New York, 1999, pp. 35 – 36

<sup>233</sup> T. N. Madhan. *Pathways. Approaches to the study of society in India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p. 48

<sup>234</sup> Lila Abu-Lughod. *Veiled Sentiments. Honor And Poetry In A Bedouin Society*. University of California Press, London, 1986



could not study all aspects of the Bedouin culture as a cultural anthropologist might have wanted to. However, her acceptance as a daughter-guest was the only way she could have lived among the Bedouins and collected her data. Especially as a young unmarried woman, it was important she had to be located among the people and identified with tribe relationships. This paid a rich reward in that she was not only able to have an insider's 'view' of the lives of the Bedouin women, but also experience as a 'daughter' some aspects of the lives of Bedouin women which she might not have been able to otherwise.

This posture of taking up an appropriate social role within the culture or people whom the researcher chooses to study is important. Charles Briggs in his explication of the sociolinguistic method emphasises that the researcher must adopt a social role or stance within the culture, in order to effectively study the communicative patterns.<sup>235</sup> 'The SOCIAL ROLES assumed by the interviewer and respondent(s) prove to be of special importance to the success of the interview.'<sup>236</sup> Briggs describes elaborately how his experience in the *Mexicano* society helped him to understand the necessity of social roles of the interviewer and the respondents to follow adequate and appropriate communicative patterns suitable for the group or community that the researcher has chosen.<sup>237</sup>

In this study the researcher has had the special advantage of an appropriate social role. The researcher is an insider in that the researcher hails from a community to which many of the women interviewed belong; the researcher is situated in a well-established tradition of women studying women in order effectively to study; the researcher is also a Tamil Indian Christian,

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<sup>235</sup> Briggs, 1995

<sup>236</sup> Briggs, 1995, p.41

<sup>237</sup> Briggs, 1995, pp.56 – 60

educated, having a career, married with a family and also living at the time of the fieldwork in Chennai in which the women of the sample group live; during the fieldwork the researcher lived for a few days not in another part of Chennai, but right in the area in which the women live, with one of the families. Apart from these aspects that give an edge for the researcher as an insider, the researcher's parents lived in the same area and had been active members of the same church for about thirteen years. During the first part of this period the researcher had resided with the parents either during vacation or during work in the city and was a participating member of the same church. Later the researcher had lived in another part of Chennai, but had been a frequent visitor to the home of her parents. This has not only given a social relationship for the researcher with many members of this church, but has also given an advantageous social role. Many of the women could consider the researcher as a daughter or a sister or an aunt. This acceptance in the community and being affirmed, as 'one of us' is quite important as Lila Abu-Lughod points out in her study of the Bedouins.

However, the researcher also has the added advantage of not being a member of the community in a sense of not having been a member all through life and also during the research. The researcher commuted from another part of Chennai to Kodambakkam. This gives sufficient distancing. Unlike the researcher none of these women was a paid 'full-time Christian worker' at the time of the research. Moreover, there are socio-economic and environmental differences between the area where the women of the sample group live and the area of residence of the researcher. Except for two women, one who has had a short training for women for rural church work and another who has had some training for cross-cultural missions, none of these women has had a full-fledged, formal academic theological education that the researcher has had.

The researcher cannot completely and totally escape subjectivity. It has been recognised that the age, experience, sex and ethnicity of the researcher influences the researcher's role in the field.<sup>238</sup>

The assumptions and framework of personal commitment to the topic being researched by the researcher are recognised and acknowledged.<sup>239</sup> Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson propose that an ethnographic (social) research has the character of reflexivity that confers upon the research the imprint of the socio-historical location of the researcher and makes it impossible to conduct social research without the influence of the social processes and personal characteristics.<sup>240</sup> It has to be explicated what implications the framework undergirding the research has for method, analysis and evaluation. Charlotte Aull Davies elaborately discusses how the theoretical framework and the personal commitment of the researcher inform and undergird the research at every stage reflexively.<sup>241</sup> She cites several examples of how the same topic is researched into differently by researchers using different theoretical frameworks. From the initial stage of formation of the research questions, through the data collection using appropriate methods to the analysis and evaluation the theoretical orientation of the researcher guides the research design and project.

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<sup>238</sup> Robert G. Burgess. *In the Field. An Introduction to Field Research*. Routledge, London, (first published, 1984), reprinted. 1991, pp. 88–92

<sup>239</sup> J. A. Maxwell also discusses the reactivity of the researcher. J. A. Maxwell. *Qualitative Research Design*. Sage, Newbury Park, USA, 1996, p. 91

<sup>240</sup> Hammersley and Paul Atkinson. *Ethnography. Principles In Practice*. Routledge, London and New York, second edition, 1995, reprinted. 1996 and 1997 (first edition published in 1983 by Tavistock Publications Ltd, reprinted by Routledge, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992 and 1993), pp. 16–19

<sup>241</sup> Davies., 1999, pp. 38 - 44

Finnegan raises the important issue of who researches on whom. Is it an outsider, a superior armed with academic or research methodological expertise?<sup>242</sup> Her humorous use of the term ‘the Martian anthropologist’<sup>243</sup> reveals the sticky position of an outsider, in studies involving other cultures or societies. She argues that a researcher whether studying a different or their own culture or society, should consider the interviewees or informants as colleagues who cooperate.<sup>244</sup> The “researcher is co-creator of the narrative, generated typically through interviewing.”<sup>245</sup>

However, Finnegan also points out the problems in own-culture research which has the advantage of an insider’s view but also poses the obstacle of detached analysis.<sup>246</sup> She goes on to emphasise the need for human courtesies, respect for those on whom the research is conducted and an interactive process without a top-down pattern.<sup>247</sup> This research has the advantages of the researcher being an insider and also an outsider. Further, the researcher (having observed and displayed the patterns and norms<sup>248</sup> of social interaction of the culture of the interviewees) has had the advantage of collecting the personal narratives – stories – of these women, because of the stance the researcher has adopted. The researcher did not go to the sample group in an attitude of a superior research scholar. The roles that were adopted were of the interviewees being benefactors, helpers and providers and the researcher being a

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<sup>242</sup> Finnegan, 1992, p.26

<sup>243</sup> Finnegan. 1998, p.2

<sup>244</sup> Finnegan, 1998, p.54. Briggs’ argument for learning to develop knowledge of the communicative patterns and norms of the culture of the informants to avoid communicative blunders also advocates an attitude of learning as a novice without any superiority attitude.

<sup>245</sup> Rudestam and Newton, 1992, p. 34

<sup>246</sup> Finnegan, 1992, pp.54 – 55

<sup>247</sup> Finnegan, 1992, pp. 219 –225

<sup>248</sup> David Henige. *Oral Historiography*. Longman, London, New York and Lagos, 1982, pp. 42 – 43

recipient and a learner. Most often the way the researcher introduced the purpose of the visit was: 'I am doing research on women. I have come to listen to your stories and experiences. I am doing research on how the women of this church live in their family, in church and in society.' Asking to listen to their 'stories' opened up the way to collect personal experiences. One woman exclaimed, 'It is an auspicious time that you have come. It is great that you have come to hear our stories.' Rudestam and Newton also emphasise that in the interview or extended conversation, the researcher has to develop the skills to listen, observe and display empathetic alliance.<sup>249</sup> Christine Obbo in Vaz insists that a collector of oral narratives must be familiar with rapport, listening and writing.<sup>250</sup>

As Henige<sup>251</sup> points out, what has been collected is not some vague unrelated personal stories or experiences, but personal experiences in the context of a larger problem; that of gender practice in the lived experiences of a particular group of women.

## **VI. Ethical Considerations.**

The discussion of ethical issues is given detailed consideration by most of the methodology books. This section of the writing directly depends on Charlotte Aull Davies.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Rudestam and Newton, 1992, p.33

<sup>250</sup> Vaz ed. 1997, p. 62

<sup>251</sup> Henige, 1982, p.106

<sup>252</sup> C. A. Davies, 1999, pp. 45 - 58

#### **A. Informed Consent.**

The focus, framework and objectives of the research were explained to the interviewees and their consent was freely sought. There was no need to reward or pay in cash or kind, except in verbal expression of profuse gratitude.

#### **B. Confidentiality.**

The issue of confidentiality was not difficult. However, most of the women had to be told for what purpose the research was done and whether the researcher would be an 'informant' to any intimidating or threatening element. There was no necessity to carry on any covert research or deception.

#### **C. Permission from Relevant Authorities.**

It has been already noted that the appropriate and necessary permission had been sought from the pastor, the pastorate committee and other leaders to conduct the research.

#### **D. Anonymity.**

In keeping with the concern to keep confidentiality anonymity is kept. The participants of the focus groups have given their names to make it possible for the researcher to identify them. However in the extracts taken from the transcribed material and the text of the analytical chapters fictitious names have been used to protect the identification of the participants.

#### **E. Participant Risk Minimisation.**

The issue of participant risk minimisation has not been forgotten or ignored. However in this particular research there has been no participant risk involved. So it has not been necessary to undertake any risk minimisation procedures.

## **F. Value to those Researched.**

The value of this research to those researched lies in the following areas:

1. It contributes to the self-understanding of the sample group.
2. It will hopefully help the sample group to move towards greater egalitarian patterns and follow biblical models.
3. It will help the sample group and similar groups theologically, pastorally and missiologically.

## **VII. Method of Primary Data Collection.**

For the primary data collection, the method of focus groups was used with six groups of the women of the sample group. According to Kitzinger and Barbour, focus groups are for exploring experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns, and for a study of attitudes and experiences around specific topics.<sup>253</sup> The strength of the use of focus groups is multi-faceted. Focus groups give vivid and rich descriptions, opinions and attitudes, 'what goes on in people's minds' and different points of view, and are in-depth qualitative interviews and not one way information as in one-to-one interview.<sup>254</sup> Focus groups are used to assess many dimensions of a topic and for in-depth work.<sup>255</sup> 'The emphasis is on insights, responses, and opinions rather than specific facts. The result often is a richer understanding of what is

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<sup>253</sup> Kitzinger and Barbour, "Introduction: The Challenge and promise of Focus Group" in Rosaline S. Barbour and Jenny Kitzinger ed. *Developing focus group research: politics, theory and practice*. Sage, London, 1999, p.5

<sup>254</sup> American Statistical Association, 'What Are Focus Groups?', available at American Statistical Association, Alexandria, 1997, PDF, accessed in January 2002

<sup>255</sup> Susan Carol Losh. "Focus Group Basics" from EDF 5481, available at Educational Research Methods.htm, accessed in January 2002 and Rod Davies. 'Focus Groups in Asia', available at A Management Guide.htm, accessed in January 2002

needed.<sup>256</sup> 'Focus groups generate qualitative data -- feelings, fresh ideas, insights, interactivity and a wide expression of views.'<sup>257</sup>

These groups were based on outlines of studies of Bible passages. Kitzinger and Barbour point out that in focus groups the basic outline is provided.<sup>258</sup> This study's outlines are in Appendices 5A, 5B and 5C. The biblical passages were passages crucial to theological gender perspective. This material is also given in the literature review section of chapter two. The composition of the focus groups with some description of the members is given in Appendix 3. The women narrated the stories of their gender practice in their lived experiences in the following areas: 1. relationships in the family including patterns of spousal relationships comprising decision making, handling finance and chores; and treatment of children displayed in child rearing practices. 2. perspectives on education and career 3. religious discourse consisting of their general involvement in church activities, women's roles in church such as preaching and teaching, participation in church administration and women's ordination; and issues such as women's covering their head during worship and headship of husband in the family, arising out of the bible study material distributed 4. social discourse about gender issues such as girl child and related issues, childlessness, dowry, widowhood, single status, single parenthood, domestic violence and response to sex workers, in society. The questions, issues and areas<sup>259</sup> explored are listed in Appendix 6. These issues and

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<sup>256</sup> US Army Family Advocacy, 'Focus Groups Build Excellence', in the focus group handbook.htm, available at the focus group handbook.htm, last modified 16May, 1996, accessed in January 2002

<sup>257</sup> James Ross. 'Focus Groups: What are they and how can they help you?', available at Focus Groups – What Are They.htm, accessed in January 2002

<sup>258</sup> Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999, p.11

<sup>259</sup> 'The specific focus group interview questions, their order, and probes are usually unstandardized (unlike a general public survey). Questions are open-ended. Usually at least a dozen questions are prepared in advance. Questions may have subportions. The order of the questions is usually influenced by the direction the conversation takes. Probing is crucial'. EDF 5481, 'Basics on Focus Groups', available at Educational Research Methods.htm, accessed in January 2002



questions arise from the literature used for constructing the analytical framework, the Bible study material used and inductively from the fieldwork of the narratives themselves. These focus group discussions and interviews were tape-recorded, since the participants were selected persons whose willingness for tape-recording was obtained. Ruth Finnegan states that the acceptability of the use of particular equipment should be considered, because of its effects on relationships, contacts and performance that in turn will influence the research.<sup>260</sup> Especially with the focus groups tape recording makes the data collection richer.<sup>261</sup>

The language used was either Tamil or English or a mixture of Tamil and English (which many of the educated urban Tamil people use in conversation). The flexibility of oral narrative of the experiences of the women in the form of story-telling or testimony sharing, choice of language and the method of recording were chosen to suit the social patterns of communicative norms as elaborately discussed by Charles Briggs.<sup>262</sup> The choice of the language of the people has its limitations and problems. The problems and constraints of transcribing are described in Appendix 4.

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<sup>260</sup> Finnegan. 1992, p. 67

<sup>261</sup> Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999, p. 15

<sup>262</sup> Briggs, 1995. Further, 'Focus Groups are a particularly useful method of data collection in Asia due to our strong oral tradition. Talking and discussing comes naturally... whether it is in the coffee house or on the mobile phone. Asians are naturally social. As people who have visited Asia would know, due to many factors, the exchange of information by word of mouth is central to not only our cultures, but also the way business is done. Business means building up a relationship, and only when you have met and talked to people over an extended time do relationships move to the level of more open exchange of views that are central to good business. And the same applies for consumers. Asian people value their flexibility, and to put something down on paper often signals a commitment that can be referred to later! Life changes so fast that it is a commitment that many don't want to make.

There is an additional benefit of the focus group method just as important as the natural affinity for oral communication referred to above. Many countries like China, Taiwan, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines are multi-cultural. Many consumers in Asia are at least bi-lingual and more often than not people can talk and converse in certain dialects, while to read or write in those dialects is far more difficult. Translating questionnaires often results in changes in the "meaning" of questions, resulting in misunderstanding and invalid results. The focus group setting can reduce a lot of these difficulties.' – 'Focus Groups in Asia' available at Focus Groups in Asia, A Management Guide.htm accessed in January 2002

## **VIII. Data Analysis.**

The data analysis uses the narrative analysis method. So the material collected in the focus groups was transcribed and extracts for particular analytical components were marked with several different colours. The marked extracts of a particular component were then organised into groups falling into various different narrative patterns. These were then used in the analytical chapters to describe and report. The process of the construction of the analytical framework used for the data analysis is described in an earlier chapter.

## **CONCLUSION.**

This chapter has described the research procedures of the fieldwork for data collection with appropriate and adequate theory for each section and each step of the work. It has described how the field and sample for the focused intense fieldwork were chosen. The location of the church to which the participants belong, the socio-economic and cultural setting of the area in which the church is situated, and the socio-cultural and denominational background of the sample have been described. The entry into the field gaining appropriate permissions has been described. The problems faced in terms of gatekeepers and constraints of the conduct of the focus groups have been noted. The status of the researcher in the field as an insider and also an outsider has been explained. Ethical considerations such as informed consent, confidentiality, permission from relevant authorities, participant risk minimisation and value to the participants have been noted. The method of primary data collection was in the focus groups. The six focus groups with their constitutions have been described. The materials distributed in the focus groups are found in appendices 5A, 5B and 5C. The focus group participants are listed in Appendix 3 with the pseudonyms. The problems of recording and transcribing are explained in Appendix 4. Appendix 6 lists the issues and questions raised in the focus groups. Having collected the primary data in the focus groups the researcher subjected them to

narrative analysis. The thesis proceeds to describe the method of presentation and results of the analysis.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FAMILY

#### **I. Introduction.**

The previous chapter presented the methodology, method for data collection and the description of the field work in which the material for the analysis was collected. The analysis of the narratives of the women reveals various patterns. These patterns display the many different strategies the narrators use to construct their stories. The question arises why these women narrators employ these strategies and techniques. The purpose of creation of these stories is pointed out in literature about narrative analysis. According to Berger and Luckman 'the "sociology of knowledge" must focus on "what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday" lives because these commonsense notions constitute "the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist."<sup>263</sup>. This is quite relevant for the consideration of the purpose of construction of stories by the narrators. It is important to recognise and acknowledge the fact that commonsense understandings give meaning to everyday lives.

What do the narrators do to make sense of their lives fitting the commonsense understandings they have? It is recognised that they employ various strategies of construction to achieve their purposes. Finnegan also raises this question.<sup>264</sup> 'How do individuals actually go about constructing meanings for events that happen to them?' Riessman answers this in stating, '... how people look back on an eventful experience to construct a meaningful and coherent

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<sup>263</sup> Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Knowledge. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Doubleday Anchor, New York, 1966, p. 15, cited by Deane, 1995, p.viii

<sup>264</sup> Finnegan, 1998, p. ix

account of it.<sup>265</sup> The analysis of the narratives shows that the women employ several different strategies such as identity construction, rationalisation, justification, explanation, valorisation and glorification<sup>266</sup> to achieve their purposes. In each of the stories it is also found that there are three main moves – the beginning or context setting, the core or the main point and the closure or the end.<sup>267</sup> Riessman also notes that ‘They have shown that narratives have a recognizable beginning, middle and end...’<sup>268</sup> The narrative construction and styles are quite complex and multifaceted. It may be perceived that the narrators employ many different strategies and styles in one and the same piece of narrative. So the complex nature may place the same narrative in various different patterns and styles.

Riessman notes that the purpose of narrative analysis is to ‘... see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives.’<sup>269</sup> She also goes on to say that

A primary way individuals make sense of experience is by casting it in narrative form .... Narrators create plots from disordered experience, give reality “a unity that neither nature nor the past possess so clearly. In so doing, we move well beyond nature into the intensely human realm of value.” .... Precisely because they are essential meaning-making structures, narratives must be preserved, not fractured, by investigators, who must respect respondents’ ways of constructing meaning and analyze how it is accomplished.<sup>270</sup>

This point about the narrators making meaning out of their stories and the way they construct their narratives is quite important. This answers the question raised earlier. Why do the

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<sup>265</sup> Riessman, 1989, p. 743

<sup>266</sup> These and other terms referring to the strategies, methods, techniques or tools the narrators use to construct their stories are explained in a later section.

<sup>267</sup> This separation into three moves or parts is noted by David R. Olson. “Thinking About Narrative” in Bruce K. Britton and Anthony D. Pellegrini ed. *Narrative Thought and Narrative Language*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, Hillsdale, 1990, p. 101

<sup>268</sup> Riessman, 1989, p. 744

<sup>269</sup> Riessman, 1993, p. 2

<sup>270</sup> Riessman, 1993, p. 4

narrators do what they do? What is the purpose of the narrative construction? It is to make meaning out of the experiences of life in the way they construct their stories.

Thus, to make meaning out of their stories, as Charlotte Linde points out

... coherence is both a social demand and an internal, psychological demand. ... Coherence is a property of texts; ... The coherence of a text is created at a number of levels. The first of these levels is imposed by the structure of narrative itself. ... The second level of the creation of coherence is the level of coherence principles – a social level that strongly influences what can count as an adequate account. ... The third (and higher) level of the creation of coherence is the level of coherence systems. These are social systems of assumptions about the world that speakers use to make events and evaluations coherent.<sup>271</sup>

The above quotation from Linde needs explaining. Narrators construct stories with coherence. Their methods of construction impose coherence. To make a story ‘tellable’ there must be coherence. Coherence is a social demand. It is also an internal psychological demand on the part of the story tellers. A narrator does not simply throw out an incoherent piece. It has to be primarily coherent in the minds and to the psychological context of the storyteller. According to Linde coherence may be created at a number of levels. The structure is produced in such a way the story is coherent. The second level of social level of coherence is achieved by producing a ‘tellable story’. The other levels of coherence Linde speaks about are derived from the socio-cultural understanding and world views of the narrators. The purpose of coherence of the narrative is to produce an adequate account. This fits well with Riessman’s further point about the narrative being a ‘tellable story’ and a performance.<sup>272</sup>

Mishler also speaks about strategies that provide coherence and organisation. He holds that if the story makes sense it is coherent and speaks of ‘the “artful” practices through which speakers “do” coherence.’<sup>273</sup> He adds that the ‘... response to each question reflects a general orientation or responsive stance, an intent to present themselves in a particular way and give a

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<sup>271</sup> Charlotte Linde. *Life Stories*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993, p. 220-221

<sup>272</sup> Riessman, 1993, p. 20

<sup>273</sup> Mishler, 1999, pp. 84, 85

sensible account of their experiences.<sup>274</sup> It is important to recognise that the narrators present 'a sensible account of their experiences'.

In the narratives about relationships in the family, spousal and treatment of children, and also in the stories about the opportunities for education and employment for women, one significant theme, namely equality seems to overarch. The narrators do not specifically state at all times that this theme of 'equality' is undergirding their perception and presentation. However being urban educated women in Chennai at the turn of the millennium these narrators have a notion of 'equality'. They might have been impacted by education, religious discourse, media presentation and other sources that have made them aware of gender issues and the notion of equality.<sup>275</sup> There is no formal specific discussion of the concept of 'equality'. The claims to 'equality' in their narratives of women in the family, in society and church also may have various content and concept of 'equality'. This theme of 'equality' supports and characterises their stories.

This study is about the gender practice of Tamil Christian women in Chennai. The term 'practice' as explained earlier is used in the sense Kemmis and Wilkinson use it to refer to its five aspects, namely, the way the individual behaviour appears to an outsider, the patterns of social interaction as they appear to an outsider, subjective internal perspective of the practitioners and the internal social perspective of the members of the community, and the fifth being all these four aspects in their historical dimension.<sup>276</sup> This is used along with the

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<sup>274</sup> Mishler, 1999, p. 23

<sup>275</sup> Shashi Jain. *Status And Role Perception Of Middle Class Women*. Puja Publishers (Regd. ), New Delhi, 1988, p. 322, notes that there is social change in India with regard to the status of women.

<sup>276</sup> Kemmis and Wilkinson, 1998, pp. 26 - 31

significant components that emerge from evangelical theologies regarding gender issues, the aspects that are highlighted in relevant family studies in India and also the salient patterns and themes that arise from the field work of the narratives of the lived experiences of the women of the sample group. The various aspects, themes or categories are analysed and presented in the four analytical chapters. In this first analytical chapter, the aspect of relationships in the family is considered. This comprises the spousal relationship and treatment of children. The following chapters deal with issues of career and education as preparation for career, religious narratives of gender and social narratives of gender issues.

Perceptions of relationships in the family are a significant aspect of the research question of who a woman is. Spousal relationship is spoken of in terms of relationship, finance handling, decision making and chore sharing, both in the parental and the marital homes. For women who are not yet married the stories about their future marital homes are projections of what they envisage. Another important relationship in the family is between the parents and children. In this area the category of treatment of children in the parental and marital homes, in the future homes of not yet married young women and in the discursive material is also analysed in this chapter.

## **II. Description of the Method of Presentation.**

The organisation of the presentation of the results of the narrative analysis follows a particular method. The results are grouped into patterns following the action or strategy that the narrators use to construct their stories such as rationalisation, justification, moralisation and identity construction. Within each group or pattern a further division is made according to the techniques, tools and methods the narrators use to achieve their construction. These may be use of words, elaboration, use of contrast and some such tool. Thus each major subdivision



and further subdivision within the major subdivision is adopted for presentation. This particular method of grouping pertains to the action or strategy employed in the main core of the narrative. The narrative is seen as comprising three parts or moves – the opening, the core and the closure.<sup>277</sup> Within the grouping according to the action of narrative construction employed in the core of the narrative, the narratives of various types of openings are described. After the openings are dealt with the core of the narrative is dealt with according to the action used. Then the ways in which the narratives are closed are described.

### **III. Explanation of terms referring to the Actions or Strategies used by the Narrators.**

The narrators use a variety of strategies, methods or actions to construct their stories and give coherence. These terms are explained below.

**Rationalisation:** This is the strategy of story construction the narrators use when they rationalise their story by attempting to provide a good enough reason for their story to appear acceptable in a situation in which the outsider, the listener or the audience may not see any rational reason.

**Justification:** The method of justification in the narrative construction is slightly different from that of rationalisation in that the story has a good enough reason which appears plausible for the audience. There is already a reason present and the narrator does not have to attempt to provide a reason.

**Explanation:** This technique is a simple use of giving some plain explanation.

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<sup>277</sup> See the section in the introduction to this chapter with the two footnotes citing David R. Olson and Riessman.

**Valorisation:** The narrators use valorisation that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it look noble.

**Juxtaposition:** The method of juxtaposition is one of placing two items side by side.

**Identity construction:** The storytellers use this method, strategy or technique to construct some particular identity.

**Chivalrous identity:** This is one of the identities the narrators seek to construct. It is an identity of nobility, goodness and strength.

**Victimisation:** The narrators use this method to construct stories of a person being victimised or appear to be victimised, in the sense of the person being a victim, a target of some unfair, unjust, helpless, harsh, painful or some such action, attitude or treatment.

**Glorification:** The storytellers use this strategy to glorify, magnify, place on a pedestal, make great, praiseworthy, commendable, good or high.

**Ennobling:** This method of construction is making something or someone noble, good, great or magnificent.

**Eulogising:** The narrators use this strategy to praise, make good or noble.

**Complicating action:** In constructing a story the teller makes it a problem or produces a situation of dilemma or difficulty that needs to be resolved. The narrator may or may not in

the story resolve or indicate how it may be resolved, but the problem is posed in the construction.

**Ambivalence:** This method is used by some narrators in displaying some doubt, a sense of not being certain, not being able to make up their mind or make a final decision.

**Moralising:** The strategy of moralising is used by the narrators in providing a moral claim, explanation or making a story appear morally good or sound.

**Trivialising:** The narrators use this technique to put forward something that attempts to say that a particular point, attitude or action is not important. It is saying, 'It does not matter'.

The narrators construct their stories using these and many other techniques and methods to present a 'self' according to a 'tellable story'.

#### **IV. Pattern of Conformity to Equality.**

The narratives about spousal relationship have one set of stories that are constructed with the claim that there is no problem in the spousal relationship, which conforms to equality. Spousal relationship is a significant aspect of the position of the woman in the family.<sup>278</sup> Many in narrating about their parental homes, their marital homes, their future homes and speaking about women's position construct stories that display a sense of or a picture of well being and a claim of 'equality'.<sup>279</sup> Some of these narratives or their parts may be analysed from a

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<sup>278</sup> Of the many areas explored by Vimala Mehta in her book *Attitude of Educated Women Towards Social Issues*. National Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, woman and her position in the family is a significant area

<sup>279</sup> This pattern of spousal relationship claiming equality seems to resonate with the conclusion of T. K. Sundari Ravindran, 'Female Autonomy in TamilNadu', *Economic and Political Weekly*. April 17, 1999, WS34-WS44, that women in southern states enjoy greater autonomy, freedom and decision-making authority.

different viewpoint of construction or styles, which will be dealt with in the other sections also.

Similarly some of the stories about treatment of children explicitly claim equality.<sup>280</sup> This is woven into the structure of the narratives. I also look into these stories about parental, marital and future homes and equality discourse in this section. In constructing the narratives the participants use various narrative styles in the stories that may be analysed according to the structure of the emerging patterns of the openings, core stories and closures<sup>281</sup>.

#### **A. Narrative Style of ‘Togetherness’.**

Some of these stories display the style of ‘togetherness’ in the claim of equality in spousal relationship which I will examine later in detail. The narrators use various techniques of openings. Udhaya<sup>282</sup>, Kamala<sup>283</sup>, Saguna<sup>284</sup>, Jeyavathy<sup>285</sup>, Bina<sup>286</sup>, Varam<sup>287</sup> and Ranjithamani<sup>288</sup> begin with words such as ‘in our house’. Melody gives a description about her

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<sup>280</sup> Compare this claim of equal treatment to sons and daughters with unequal treatment of daughters by Paul H. L. Nillesen and A. Gelfert, ‘Perception and Prejudice: Uncertainty and Investment in Gender’, *Economic and Political Weekly*. 26Oct.2002, p. 4382

<sup>281</sup> Entrance and exit talk and clearly bounded stories, , Riessman, 1993, pp. 17, 18

<sup>282</sup> The narratives about spousal relationship (SR) are given in Appendix 7. Udhaya - Young Married Woman (YMW), SR9. Acronyms are used to give the description of the narrator the first time a particular narrator is mentioned. Young Married Woman (YMW); Older Married Woman (OMW); Young Unmarried – not yet married – Woman (YUM); Older Unmarried Single Woman (OSM)

<sup>283</sup> Kamala – YMW , SR2

<sup>284</sup> Saguna – Older Married Woman (OMW), SR10

<sup>285</sup> Jeyavathy – OMW , SR11

<sup>286</sup> Bina – OMW, SR3

<sup>287</sup> Varam – OMW , SR12

<sup>288</sup> Ranjithamani – OMW , SR5

parents<sup>289</sup>. Arunkumari<sup>290</sup> prepares the listener by describing the helpfulness of her husband. Mariam<sup>291</sup> indicates that she is talking about her marital home. Amar, Swarna, Jeyam and Sneha give lengthy descriptions. Joy<sup>292</sup>, Melody<sup>293</sup> and Priya<sup>294</sup> specifically state that they talk about their future homes. Lita's<sup>295</sup> opening is quite different in beginning about God's creation. In their own different ways the narrators use these methods of opening to prepare the listener for the story that will follow or to lead into the story.

Having used different techniques for their openings, the 'togetherness' is also constructed in various ways. Some talk about togetherness in a general, overarching manner or in everything without specifying in what aspect or area it is 'togetherness' in the spousal relationship. Melody<sup>296</sup> describes the relationship of her parents as 'sharing' and discussing. Kamala<sup>297</sup> elaborates the style of discussion with the statement that none acted independently. Bina<sup>298</sup> constructs her story in a similar fashion that it was with discussion and not independent. Arunkumari<sup>299</sup> uses the term 'united' and describes the consultative pattern. Ranjithamani<sup>300</sup> speaking of her marital home uses descriptions such as 'combined' and 'not independently'.

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<sup>289</sup> Melody – Young Not yet or Unmarried Woman (YUW) SR1

<sup>290</sup> Arunkumari – YMW , SR4

<sup>291</sup> Mariam – OMW , SR7

<sup>292</sup> Joy – YUW , SR14

<sup>293</sup> Melody – SR15

<sup>294</sup> Priya – YUW , SR16

<sup>295</sup> Lita – OMW , SR19

<sup>296</sup> Melody – SR1

<sup>297</sup> Kamala – SR2

<sup>298</sup> Bina – SR3

<sup>299</sup> Arunkumari – SR4

<sup>300</sup> Ranjithamani – OMW - SR5

Swarna<sup>301</sup> having begun with the initial situation of her marital home in which the husband expected her to do as he instructed moves on to the change in his sharing in 'everything'. Mariam<sup>302</sup> uses the word 'friendly' and constructs her narrative of 'togetherness' in the spouses advising one another and helping. Jeyam's<sup>303</sup> long story about spousal relationship highlights the consultative pattern in handling finance, decision-making and other matters such as chores without further explanations.

Some others specifically mention 'togetherness' in handling finance. Probably this is to put forward that their 'togetherness' is powerful to the extent of handling finance. Udhaya<sup>304</sup> states that her parents used discussive pattern for handling finance. Saguna<sup>305</sup> uses the phrase 'combined'; but this is in handling finance. Jeyavathy<sup>306</sup> about her marital home claims that it was equal and consultative in handling finance and in anything. Varam's<sup>307</sup> marital home displays combined action in budgetting and being helpful to one another.

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<sup>301</sup> Swarna – OMW – SR6. Swarna in this narrative piece about her marital home states that her husband expects her to stay home when the children come home. This in her opinion seems to restrict her freedom. Fransella and Frost also note that some women feel that the children restrict their freedom, see Fay Fransella and Kay Frost. *On being a woman. A review of research on how women see themselves*. Tavistock Publications, London and New York, 1977, p. 110.

<sup>302</sup> Mariam – SR7

<sup>303</sup> Jeyam – OMW, SR8

<sup>304</sup> Udhaya – SR9

<sup>305</sup> Saguna – SR10

<sup>306</sup> Jeyavathy – SR11

Jeyavathy and some other women narrate that finance handling in their homes was consultative. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 123

<sup>307</sup> Varam – SR12

Amar<sup>308</sup> having given an elaborate description clinches her point of ‘togetherness’ with the mode of buying presents for the children. This is one story with this surprising example of how there was togetherness in buying presents for the children. Probably Amar’s use of the word ‘to our satisfaction’ underlines that the ‘togetherness’ is not merely pervasive but also specific even in some act such as buying presents.

Some narrators provide examples of communication, chore sharing and various other points to describe their ‘togetherness’. Joy<sup>309</sup>, Melody<sup>310</sup> and Priya<sup>311</sup> about their future homes construct stories of ‘sharing’ and ‘equality’ in various aspects such as ‘communication’, ‘finance’ and ‘chores’. Priya is specific in stating ‘both of us have to be equal in decision making and in all other things’. Sneha’s<sup>312</sup> long narratives about her expectations for her future home with ‘equality’ in chore sharing and handling finance has an insert of an example of her father making *briyani*, a special rice meal, and also laughs about her not sharing in any chores in her parental home.

Similar to that of Amar, Lita’s<sup>313</sup> story is one of its kind in narrating about equal responsibility in having children. Lita emphasises ‘equal responsibility’ in the aspect of having children noting how this equal responsibility in procreation is equality in God’s creation. Thus using

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<sup>308</sup> Amar – OMW – SR13

<sup>309</sup> Joy – SR14. Joy expresses her expectation that in her future home she wants her husband to share in child care and domestic chores. Fransella and Frost note that there is no questionnaire asking whether men share in child care and domestic chores, p. 35; Joy, Melody and Priya about their future homes and Lita about her marital home speak of the husband sharing in domestic chores. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 125

<sup>310</sup> Melody – SR15

<sup>311</sup> Priya – SR16

<sup>312</sup> Sneha – YUW – SR17, SR18

In her two narratives about her expectation for her future home, Sneha speaks of her adjusting to the situation. Fransella and Frost also note that wives make more adjustment than husbands, Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 109

<sup>313</sup> Lita – SR19

examples or words referring to various aspects of spousal relationship these narrators construct their stories of 'togetherness' in their claims of equality.

These stories may be closed differently. Udhaya closes with her note of 'discussion' and 'equality'. Melody ends with her parents' consultative action. Kamala, Jeyavathy and Varam close with the claim of 'unity'. Arunkumari and Ranjithamani end with consultative action and discussion. Saguna does not seem to have a formal closure probably because she feels that her construction of 'togetherness' needs none. Bina closes firmly with the claim that 'it is a point'. Amar ends indicating 'satisfaction'. Both Mariam and Jeyam about their marital homes close their narratives with the statement about the husbands' help with the chores. Melody ends with the note of 'consultation' while Sneha's closure is about 'mutual understanding' and 'cooperation'. Lita winds up reiterating her point about God having created us equally. Thus these various closures reiterate and firm up the point of 'togetherness' in these narratives.

Thus one may find that these women construct stories of 'togetherness' displayed in spousal relationship in a general manner, by sharing, not acting independently, in a united, consultative pattern, in a friendly way of advising and helping one another, togetherness in handling finance, buying presents for the children, communication and chore sharing. For these women 'togetherness' in spousal relationship means equality, freedom and empowerment. Any story that may not portray 'togetherness' may use strategies such as rationalisation and justification to negotiate with the situation of lack of togetherness. Such stories will be examined in later sections describing strategies used to handle the situation of lack of togetherness.



## B. Claim of 'Equal Treatment' of Children.

Many of the narrators claim equal treatment for children<sup>314</sup> in the parental, marital and future homes. The openings and closures may use various techniques to strengthen the core of the 'equality' claim. Udhaya<sup>315</sup> and Amar<sup>316</sup> in some narratives have a brief opening using words such as 'children', 'sisters' and 'brother'. Melody's<sup>317</sup> brief opening begins with the parents' taking care of the studies of the children. Priya<sup>318</sup>, Joy<sup>319</sup>, Swarna<sup>320</sup>, Bina<sup>321</sup> and Saguna<sup>322</sup> in one story each explicitly indicate that they are talking about children. Flora's indication about treatment of children<sup>323</sup> strangely has a story of lack of mother's love and concern equally to daughters and sons. Ranjithamani<sup>324</sup> and Lila<sup>325</sup> go straight into the story. Amar in one story<sup>326</sup> has a description of her mother's impartial disciplining of the daughters and the son which leads into the core and in another<sup>327</sup> begins with her children's obedience. Jeyam<sup>328</sup> and

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<sup>314</sup> Compare this claim of equal treatment to sons and daughters with unequal treatment of daughters noted by Paul H. L. Nillesen and A. Gelfert, 26Oct.2002, p. 4382

<sup>315</sup> Udhaya – TC(Treatment of Children)1. The narratives about Treatment of Children are found in Appendix 8. Many such as Udhaya, Amar, Ranjithamani, Melody, Priya and others explicitly and implicitly in these narrative pieces claim that there was no differential treatment between sons and daughters. This is similar to the finding of Shashi Jain in her book, 1988, p. 61, that there is no differential treatment in mother's attitude towards dispute between sister and brother.

<sup>316</sup> Amar – TC3

<sup>317</sup> Melody – TC11

<sup>318</sup> Priya – TC12

<sup>319</sup> Joy – TC13

<sup>320</sup> Swarna – TC15, TC16

<sup>321</sup> Bina – TC6

<sup>322</sup> Saguna – TC7

<sup>323</sup> Flora – OMW, TC14

<sup>324</sup> Ranjithamani – TC9, TC18

<sup>325</sup> Lila – TC10

<sup>326</sup> Amar – TC4

<sup>327</sup> Amar – TC5

Saguna<sup>329</sup> in another story begin with chore allocation. Compared to the narratives about spousal relationship it may be said that the stories of treatment of children have no elaborate setting, description of the context or background. The openings are quite brief or bald. It may be surmised that the narrators feel the necessity of elaborate opening for spousal relationship because of the possibility of challenge for equality in this aspect. On the other hand it is possible that the area of treatment of children may go unchallenged when equality is claimed.

The construction of the core of the narratives of claims of equality in the treatment of children use various tools and strategies. Udhaya<sup>330</sup> uses words such as 'both boys and girls' and 'equal rights'. Amar<sup>331</sup> in citing the case of marriage claims that it was not special for the brother or the sisters. In another narrative<sup>332</sup> she repeatedly uses 'not a different treatment', 'in the same way' and 'no difference' in the treatment and sibling relationship. In her story<sup>333</sup> of her mother's disciplining the children she elaborates with phrases 'not more for the boy' and 'not more for the girl'. In her narrative about her children's obedience<sup>334</sup> Amar uses the word 'all three' repeatedly to emphasise equality. Bina<sup>335</sup> uses the word 'equal' elaborating it with the explanation that children are 'like friends'. Saguna<sup>336</sup> explicitly uses the statement that there

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<sup>328</sup> Jeyam – TC17

<sup>329</sup> Saguna - TC19

<sup>330</sup> Udhaya – TC(Treatment of Children)1

<sup>331</sup> Amar – TC2

<sup>332</sup> Amar – TC3

<sup>333</sup> Amar –TC4

<sup>334</sup> Amar –TC5

<sup>335</sup> Bina – TC6

<sup>336</sup> Saguna – TC7

was no difference for her children. Joy<sup>337</sup> speaking of her future home in the aspect of treatment of children uses the phrase 'same to both the sex'.

Some narrators explicitly use the phrases 'no partiality' and 'equal treatment'. Ranjithamani<sup>338</sup> constructs her narrative about her parental home in this manner using repeatedly words such as 'all alike' and 'all children' in treatment and disciplining. Lila<sup>339</sup> emphatically uses 'no partiality' again and again. Melody<sup>340</sup> also uses the term 'no partiality' and 'treated equally'. Priya<sup>341</sup> claims 'no preference for one kid'. Joy<sup>342</sup> states in what area her mother displayed equality in wanting all the boys and girls to learn. While this is the case with the self-perception of this participant of the focus group of this sample taken for this research, some other writers note a situation that is different. Shashi Jain writes that the education of the male child takes precedence.<sup>343</sup> Tellis-Nayak notes in her book that according to the census of 1971 the literacy rate for women in India was lower than that of men and the enrolment and dropout for girls at all levels of education displayed disparity.<sup>344</sup>

Flora<sup>345</sup> narrates her mother's lack of love and concern in sending the children to government school that is supposed to be cheap education. The claim of equal treatment is that both herself

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<sup>337</sup> Joy – TC8

<sup>338</sup> Ranjithamani – TC9

<sup>339</sup> Lila – OMW - TC10

<sup>340</sup> Melody – TC11

<sup>341</sup> Priya – TC12

<sup>342</sup> Joy – TC13

<sup>343</sup> Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62

<sup>344</sup> Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 46-47

<sup>345</sup> Flora – TC14

and her younger brothers and sisters were not given freedom or any care for development and growth.

Swarna's parental home<sup>346</sup> displayed equal treatment for the son and the daughters in that there was no disparity in buying gifts. Similarly in her marital home<sup>347</sup> also she claims equal treatment for her son and daughter in buying presents and in disciplining.

Jeyam<sup>348</sup> narrates equal treatment for daughters and sons in her parental home in chores. Ranjithamani<sup>349</sup> also claims equal treatment for her daughter and son in the area of sharing chores. Saguna<sup>350</sup> about chore allocation in her marital home claims equal treatment for her three children. Thus in various ways of constructing the core of the story the narrators use words, phrases, repetition for emphasis and specify the category in which equal treatment was given.

The story tellers may use various methods of closure. Udhaya, Amar, Lila, Melody, Priya, Joy, Swarna, Bina, Ranjithamani in one story and Saguna close with the claim of equal treatment. Some others have a brief closure such as Ranjithamani's narrative about her parental home with the statement of well being, Flora's bemoaning of the lack of mother's love and concern or Jeyam's claim of her father not having to do chores. There is not much elaborate closure as in the case of opening. Probably as has been already noted the claim of equality in the aspect

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<sup>346</sup> Swarna – TC15

<sup>347</sup> Swarna – TC16

<sup>348</sup> Jeyam – TC17

<sup>349</sup> Ranjithamani – TC18

Ranjithamani speaks of both the son and the daughter having to do domestic chores. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 35

<sup>350</sup> Saguna TC19

of treatment of children does not necessitate any elaborate opening or closure. The issue may have been taken for granted by the narrators such that there is no room for any debate or questioning. Such a construction with firmness leaving no room for any debate or questioning may point to the clear and strong perceptions of these women about themselves. They seem to know what they are talking about and also articulate by the way they construct their stories to display their perceptions.

## **V. Stories Using Rationalisation, Justification and Explanation.**

In the stories about spousal relationship, one of the patterns consists of the narrators constructing their stories that do not appear to be or are not claims of 'equality'. However, some rationalisation, justification, or explanation<sup>351</sup> is given to establish the claim made or the description given.<sup>352</sup> Many of the stories about treatment of children also display rationalisation and justification. Stories of these patterns are considered together because of the thin line of difference seen between these actions in these stories. I examine how these women employ these strategies of rationalisation, justification and explanation. These three strategies share the common structure of explaining the core point of their stories by giving a reason, trying to find a reason or providing an explanation that serves as a reason. So these stories are grouped together. In the stories of rationalisation the storytellers seek to find a good enough cause or reason to make their stories look plausible or valid. In the stories employing justification the narrator justifies by providing a reasonable explanation. She does not have to

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<sup>351</sup> Explanation, , Riessman, 1993, p. 3 and Justification, , Riessman, 1993, pp. vi, 21, citing , Riessman, 1990a; F. N. Akinaso and C. S. Ajitotutu. 'Performance and ethnic style in job interviews', in Gumperz, John J. ed. *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 120, 128; Deborah Schiffman. 'Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic construction of identity', *Language in Society*. 25:2, 1996, p. 171; Mishler, 1999, p. 44; for justification see also – Riessman, " *Journal of Narrative and Life History*. 7(1-4): 155-159. (Special volume on "Oral Versions of Personal Experience: Three Decades of Narrative Analysis), 1997, p.155

<sup>352</sup> See section III of this chapter for an explanation of these terms referring to the actions employed by the story tellers to construct their narratives.

attempt to look for a good enough cause, but it is an already existent rationale. Thus, it makes the claim valid. At times, it is not easy to label the action the women employ. The structures of rationalisation, justification and explanation are not clearly demarked. However, I shall look into these separate categories in considering the narrative styles adopted in the core construction.

Gem's provision of the context for her story about spousal relationship is clear with her statement that her husband did everything according to his will and wish, and it was difficult<sup>353</sup>. This probably prepares the audience for the necessity of rationalisation just as in the stories of Sneha beginning with a description of the context<sup>354</sup> of her future home. One story of Jeyam<sup>355</sup> begins with the indication of the context of the parental home. Lovely begins her story with the description of the context of freedom she had in her parental home.<sup>356</sup>

Gem<sup>357</sup> begins another story with a statement that makes clear the subject matter of treatment of children. Bina<sup>358</sup> and Udhaya<sup>359</sup> indicate the subject matter of bringing up children at the beginning of their stories. Ranjithamani<sup>360</sup>, Priya<sup>361</sup>, Joy<sup>362</sup>, Heera<sup>363</sup>, Bina<sup>364</sup>, Mariam<sup>365</sup> and

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<sup>353</sup> Gem - OMW , SR36

<sup>354</sup> Sneha – SR17

<sup>355</sup> Jeyam – SR21

<sup>356</sup> Lovely - YMW – SR35

<sup>357</sup> Gem – TC33

<sup>358</sup> Bina – SR33

<sup>359</sup> Udhaya – TC26

<sup>360</sup> Ranjithamani –TC51

<sup>361</sup> Priya –TC48

<sup>362</sup> Joy – TC8

Lovely<sup>366</sup> are brief in opening their stories about treatment of children. The brief opening leads the listener into the core without much delay. This brief style is adopted by Arunkumari<sup>367</sup> in displaying her theme in the beginning of her story about treatment of children.

Bina, Varam, Sweety, Betty, Heera, Tiny, Lita, Amar, Saral, Sneha, Swarna, Jeyam and Lovely in their stories about treatment of children are elaborate in their openings which not merely give a clue about what they are about to say but also set the stage in detail. Arunavathy's<sup>368</sup> story about her son is elaborate and descriptive in stating that it is difficult to discipline her teenage son at his age, that the parents cannot beat him and they can leave him to his ways while continuing to pray for him.

Gem opens her stories of treatment of children with the cultural context of not sending the daughters but the sons out for errands.<sup>369</sup> Amar<sup>370</sup> in speaking about marketing, Arunavathy<sup>371</sup> about bringing water from a roadside tap and Lila<sup>372</sup> about not mingling with boys also use the cultural context. Lila<sup>373</sup> in one story opens with the claim of 'no partiality'. Saguna<sup>374</sup> in one

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<sup>363</sup> Heera - OMW , TC21, TC22

<sup>364</sup> Bina – TC25

<sup>365</sup> Mariam – SR42

<sup>366</sup> Lovely – TC32

<sup>367</sup> Arunkumari – TC24

<sup>368</sup> Arunavathy - OMW , TC20

<sup>369</sup> Gem – TC82, TC33, TC34

<sup>370</sup> Amar – TC55, TC35, TC36

<sup>371</sup> Arunavathy – TC37

<sup>372</sup> Lila – TC38

<sup>373</sup> Lila – TC10

<sup>374</sup> Saguna – TC7

story has an unusual beginning as if she began to say about children and then picks up the point of the daughter that has been forgotten. This point about the father loving the daughter more seems to prepare the listener for the main point. Betty's detailed count of children<sup>375</sup> in her parental and her father's parental homes is meant probably to prepare the audience. Lila<sup>376</sup> also begins one story with the count of the children and a disclaimer that there was no partiality. Tiny's story<sup>377</sup> begins with a lead of special tenderness towards the daughter.

Bina<sup>378</sup> has a formal opening of stating her opinion that girls are particularly affectionate towards the parents. Amar<sup>379</sup> also has a formal opening about her brother's discipline taken care of by his teachers in expressing their concern about the friends her brother would have. Heera's two stories about her daughters<sup>380</sup> open formally stating that it is about their education and marriage. Tiny<sup>381</sup> begins another story with the cause for the situation that has to be rationalised. Saguna<sup>382</sup> opens her story about her children's education with a religious claim that it was by God's grace. Swarna<sup>383</sup> goes directly into the point of her story about treatment of children in her parental home. These various styles of opening such as providing the context, being descriptive or brief, indicating the subject matter, being formal and rooting in the cultural or religious claim are used by the narrators.

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<sup>375</sup> Betty - OMW – TC40

<sup>376</sup> Lila – TC91

<sup>377</sup> Tiny - OMW– TC41

<sup>378</sup> Bina – TC42

<sup>379</sup> Amar – TC74

<sup>380</sup> Heera – TC21, TC22

<sup>381</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>382</sup> Saguna – TC23

<sup>383</sup> Swarna – TC31



## **A. Stories Employing Rationalisation.**

Several of the narrators rationalise their perception or practice. They try to find or give a good enough reason. Their rationalisation shows that they have good enough reasons for themselves and therefore they think that others should accept them.

### **1. Rationalisation of Separation of Domestic and Social Spheres.**

In narrating about domestic work<sup>384</sup>, Ranjithamani and Joy rationalise the division of labour as social and domestic<sup>385</sup> with the claim that the employing of a domestic help means that men do not need to share in the chores. Jeyam does a similar rationalisation with regard to domestic work in her parental home with the rationalisation that the children helped the mother.<sup>386</sup> It is rational for Sweety that her husband was quite busy with church work while she shouldered the responsibility for the domestic realm.<sup>387</sup> Joy rationalises her father's taking care of the financial responsibility without any further explanation.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> Ranjithamani - SR5  
Joy - SR20

<sup>385</sup> Some such as Joy rationalise the division of labour as domestic and social. With respect to division of labour as domestic and social, '...sex roles, or the division of tasks by sex, do not necessarily imply inequality of economic, social, or political status; relationships of subordination and dominance; or hierarchies of values, worth, autonomy, or decision-making power....in some nonstate societies, the sexes or their roles and responsibilities may be sharply separated yet may be viewed as equal in worth and status.' - Bleier, 1984, p. 146

<sup>386</sup> Jeyam - SR21

<sup>387</sup> Sweety - OMW - SR22

This pattern of an educated wife shouldering extra responsibilities such as going to the bank, ration shop and the doctor, is noted by Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, p. 104

<sup>388</sup> Joy - SR23

## 2. Rationalisation Using Defense Styles.

Some use defense strategies in this style of construction. Bina uses rationalisation to defend her behaviour of short temperedness and her husband's criticising her<sup>389</sup>. Betty's rationalisation is used in an entirely different area. She defends herself in the financial freedom she had in her parental home. She proceeds to rationalise her situation of not having financial freedom in her marital home with the moralising that God's grace helped her<sup>390</sup>. Heera<sup>391</sup> defends her position with the rationalisation that her situation of having all conveniences was different from that of other women who had to do all the house work without any help and also teach in college. Tiny describes her father's behaviour of buying clothes for the children uniformly, rationalising it with his work background of the police department and the fact that there were no struggles.<sup>392</sup> In her story about her marital home also she defends the situation with the claim of smooth sailing. Tiny rationalises the treatment of children in her parental home with several points of defense style such as her father being a police officer, her mother subduing the grumbling children, the children not being able to see the father much and the father having a soft heart towards the children especially the daughter. Heera rationalises the conflicts over finance in spousal relationship in her parental<sup>393</sup> and marital<sup>394</sup> homes. Amar<sup>395</sup> rationalises her giving finance management to her husband when the husband retired from the military and came home to stay. Her rationalisation of sending

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<sup>389</sup> Bina – SR24

<sup>390</sup> Betty – SR25

<sup>391</sup> Heera – SR26

Heera's story is a self-representation, , p. 11

<sup>392</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>393</sup> Heera – SR28, SR29

<sup>394</sup> Heera – SR30, SR31

<sup>395</sup> Amar – SR13

the men for outside work rests on the claim that the men took over the responsibility.<sup>396</sup> Bina rationalises her inability to take proper care of her children because of her work.<sup>397</sup> Saral's story is elaborate in her rationalisation of her own initial negative attitude towards her husband because she did not like him, his low paid job and the inconvenient housing. She also rationalises her husband's not attending church while he is participating in the Jesus Calls ministry and prays well.<sup>398</sup> Sneha rationalises her expectation of spousal relationship in her future home.<sup>399</sup> Because of the liberty she has in her parental home she expects liberty while not wanting to demand equal participation in chores based on her lack of participation in domestic chores in her parental home.

Swarna rationalises her not fighting against her husband's initial dominating behaviour with her own response of praying for him.<sup>400</sup> Arunavathy rationalises her stand about how she should deal with her son making a religious claim that they could pray and leave it to God while not wanting to beat a teenage son and discipline him.<sup>401</sup> Heera rationalises her daughters' education and marriage with moralising with a religious claim<sup>402</sup> that they left it to God's will and a disclaimer that they did not seek influence to get a medical seat. Saguna rationalises her story about the education of her children with a religious claim and moralising

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<sup>396</sup> Amar - SR32

<sup>397</sup> Bina – SR33

<sup>398</sup> Saral - OMW – SR34

<sup>399</sup> Sneha – SR17, SR18

In her two narratives about her expectation for her future home, Sneha speaks of her adjusting to the situation. Fransella and Frost also note that wives make more adjustment than husbands, Fransella and Fay, 1977, p. 109

<sup>400</sup> Swarna – SR6

<sup>401</sup> Arunavathy – TC20

<sup>402</sup> Heera – TC21, TC22

that it was by God's grace that they did well in studies.<sup>403</sup> Arunkumari rationalises her questioning the husband's leniency towards the children, her husband's defense of his treatment of the children and her feeling the difference between her parental and marital homes.<sup>404</sup> Bina has a brief but clear rationalisation of what she could not do for the children as a working woman using trivialisation which is claiming that it does not matter.<sup>405</sup> Udhaya rationalises her taking care of the child because the husband is busy.<sup>406</sup> Gem rationalises gender discrimination in her marital home with her claim of having been used to it in her parental home.<sup>407</sup> Sneha<sup>408</sup> builds her elaborate rationalisation with moralisation of being open and trustworthy. Her second piece in the same story and her second story are constructed to rationalise her lack of participation in domestic chores. Her third story of giving freedom to children is rationalised using the situation of the year 2000 when there is advancement in many fronts and she does not explain it further.

Swarna<sup>409</sup> claims that in her parental home freedom to spend and shop was given to the children. She goes on to add that they would go with the mother to buy clothes. Probably she recognises that this may raise a question about the freedom. So she immediately defends the freedom given to them in shopping attempting to rationalise with the claim that they went with the mother because they felt that it would be better or nicer to go with the mother. Jeyam

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<sup>403</sup> Saguna – TC23

<sup>404</sup> Arunkumari – TC24

<sup>405</sup> Bina – TC25; See , Riessman, 1989, p. 743 where she points out that trivialisation is one strategy in narrative.

<sup>406</sup> Udhaya – TC26

<sup>407</sup> Gem – TC27

<sup>408</sup> Sneha – TC28, TC29, TC30

<sup>409</sup> Swarna – TC31

rationalises her father's lack of participation in chores with the children helping.<sup>410</sup> Lovely rationalises her story with the difference in upbringing between her and her husband.<sup>411</sup> Her husband was brought up trained in frugality while she was not so and was more interested in books rather than in finance. This difference appears to spring from the family background and how each family functions. The phrase used is 'totally different'. She also rationalises the 'fair, clear, open-cut relationship'<sup>412</sup> between her and her parents. This she evidences with the statement that she used to recite everything to the mother who was like a friend. Lovely continues to rationalise saying that the relationship is damaged the moment children begin to hide.<sup>413</sup> Thus, she emphatically rationalises the pattern of treatment of children in her parental home.

These women in their construction of rationalisation use various strategies of defending or moralising. This enables them to produce a good enough or satisfactory story. Producing a good enough or satisfactory story is their strategy of rationalisation. It may not necessarily be satisfactory to the listener or an outsider; but it may be satisfactory to the narrator. The narrator may try to project it as a satisfactory story. In sum, what does using the analysis of rationalisation tell us about what the women are prepared to accept: they are prepared to accept and give reasons for a range of differences in the treatment and behaviour of men and women, of husbands and wives and the treatment of children.

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<sup>410</sup> Jeyam – TC17

<sup>411</sup> Lovely – SR35

<sup>412</sup> Lovely uses the term 'an open-cut relationship'. Probably she means that it is a relationship of trust and honest sharing without hiding. This may be surmised from the rest of the story in which she says that she used to tell her mother of everything that happened in school or college and also that the moment children try to hide there is no proper honest and open or transparent relationship.

<sup>413</sup> Lovely – TC32

Lovely moralises her husband's frugal ways of handling finance, see , Riessman, 1993, p. 3, making a moral point

### 3. Style of Conformity to Culture used for Rationalisation.

The conformity to culture or custom is a rational cause in the stories of Gem<sup>414</sup>, Amar<sup>415</sup> and Arunavathy<sup>416</sup> about treatment of children. For Lila not conformity but breaking of it is rationalised.<sup>417</sup> Amar rationalises her mother allowing her brother to join the Air Force because of his interest.<sup>418</sup> Lila elaborately constructs her story of rationalising the differential treatment given to the brother and the sisters. She seems at some points not to rationalise but bring back her story in line with her opening claim of 'no partiality'.<sup>419</sup>

### 4. Tenderness towards the Daughter used as a Style of Construction.

Saguna in one story rationalises in detail the differential attitude and treatment given to her children in the celebration of their birthdays.<sup>420</sup> But it is in contrast with the story of Lila in which the son is given a preferential treatment. Lila rationalises the difference in the freedom given or restriction imposed.<sup>421</sup> It is surprising that Saguna rationalises the differential treatment from the standpoint of the sons that they did not mind it. Betty rationalises the pampering she received in her parental home with the fact that she was the first girl child in a

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<sup>414</sup> Gem – TC33; Gem speaks about keeping the tradition, see Derne, 1995, p.8

Gem – TC34

Shashi Jain also notes that household work is the responsibility of women. Shashi Jain, 1988, pp. 122-25; see also Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 115

Gem notes that men were not compelled to do the domestic chores. Patricia Caplan. *Class & GenderIn India*. Tavistock Publications, London, 1985, pp. 95-96

<sup>415</sup> Amar – TC35, TC36

Men do the shopping and not the women as also noted by Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 135; also Derne, 1995, p. 24

<sup>416</sup> Arunavathy – TC37

<sup>417</sup> Lila – TC38

<sup>418</sup> Amar – TC39

<sup>419</sup> Lila – TC10

<sup>420</sup> Saguna – TC7

<sup>421</sup> Lila – TC10

family whose father had no sister. She sharpens the rationalisation with the provision of the detail of her not knowing how to wash clothes until she was married.<sup>422</sup> Tiny rationalises her father's affectionate attitude towards her with the claim of his soft heart.<sup>423</sup>

## **5. Styles of Discourses Using Rationalisation.**

Bina's story of discourse about the pros and cons of having sons and daughters is constructed elaborately with much rationalisation.<sup>424</sup> She opines that it is easier to give some education to a daughter and get her married off. It may be difficult to discipline a son who has not fared well in education and career, because the parents will have to take responsibility for such sons. She continues to rationalise saying that the presence of a son is helpful because he can be sent with the daughter as an escort and also be sent for outdoor errands. Amar also constructs detailed rationalisation of the advantages and disadvantages of having daughters and sons.<sup>425</sup> In her opinion daughters are affectionate towards the parents while the sons may leave the parents and go away to foreign countries.

In sum, the analysis of rationalisation tells one about what the women are prepared to accept: they are prepared to accept and give reasons for a range of differences in the treatment and behaviour of men and women, of husbands and wives and of children. The separation of domestic and social spheres is rationalised. It does not in any way undercut their ideas and perceptions of 'equality' in the spousal relationship and treatment of children. For example,

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<sup>422</sup> Betty – TC40

<sup>423</sup> Tiny – TC41

<sup>424</sup> Bina – TC42, TC43

<sup>425</sup> Amar – TC44

Jeyam (SR21)<sup>426</sup> does not find it difficult to accept the fact that her father did not get involved in chores. She rationalises it by saying that the father gave the responsibility for everything to her mother and that there was no need for the father to do any domestic chore when there were the children to help the mother. Some may use the style of defense to rationalise. Betty (SR25)<sup>427</sup> defends her husband asking her to submit account for her expenses by claiming the grace of God who sustained her. Another strategy the women use to construct their stories of rationalisation is conformity to culture. It is all right for men to do the marketing and not the women, because this conforms to the culture. In fact the women would perceive themselves as culture keepers and derive a sense of satisfaction and well being from it. The display of tenderness towards a daughter in the stories of Saguna and Tiny do not portray any discrimination or partiality. It is rationalised in Saguna's story with how the sons did not mind it and the husband was also loving towards the sons. In Tiny's story, it is rationalised with the father's soft heart. Bina does not seem to slip into any partiality in her discourse about the pros and cons of having sons and daughters. She rationalises every point as shown above in the previous paragraph.

## **B. Use of Justification.**

These stories differ from the ones that use rationalisation in that these give a good reason without trying to find a good enough reason.

### **1. Justification using Family Circumstances.**

Gem<sup>428</sup> justifies her husband taking his own decisions and handling finance with the good

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<sup>426</sup> See footnote 93

<sup>427</sup> See footnote 128

<sup>428</sup> Gem – SR36



reasoning that they had to manage with one person's income. This is because of her not working while they lived in North India according to her husband's wish. Further she had mentally socialised herself to the situation with the reasonable cause that they had to avoid debt. Lovely<sup>429</sup> narrates her story of her smart mother and justifies the mother shouldering all responsibilities along with the reason that her father was stationed in a different town. Her long story of her marital home also uses justification.<sup>430</sup> She justifies herself for not taking full responsibility for finance and for wanting to go out for a meal once a month. She justifies her husband's frugal ways with his background and display of understanding.

**2. Using Ethical and Faith Claims to Justify.**

Lita<sup>431</sup> is another person who employs justification of her actions because she would go out for involvement in church or school only after having completed her domestic duties. This is good enough reason why she could do what she wanted to. Jeyam<sup>432</sup> justifies her handling finance and her husband not being able to help with the domestic chores. Her justification of the spousal relationship emerges from the fact that her husband also had recognised God's hand in giving them a son after ten years and several miscarriages. In these stories of justification, these storytellers employ reasons that appear to be just in their perspective.

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<sup>429</sup> Lovely – SR37

<sup>430</sup> Lovely – SR35

<sup>431</sup> Lita - SR38

<sup>432</sup> Jeyam – SR8

### 3. Justifying Interest in the Welfare of Children.

Gem finds it proper that her only son helped her in chores.<sup>433</sup> This does not flout the tradition<sup>434</sup> or custom of the family. Lita<sup>435</sup> justifies her attitude towards her daughter-in-law who is an ordained priest with a claim of giving freedom and support and presenting her view toward women's ordination. Devar<sup>436</sup> finds it reasonable that they gave their son pocket money in two lots. Joy<sup>437</sup> finds it justifiable to allow her future children to do what they want and also the children's choosing what is good. Melody<sup>438</sup> lets the final decision be made by her future children justifying personal interest. Priya<sup>439</sup> also like Joy and Melody finds interest and goodness justifiable causes to allow her future children to make their choices. However, her story has a slight difference. She tempers her justification with the fact that by then she would have more experience. For Amar<sup>440</sup> the interest of the children is just cause for them to choose the education the children wanted. Her justification is heightened with her pointing out the negative effect of the parents enforcing their will and choice upon the children.

### 4. Justifying Lack of Discrimination.

Ranjithamani<sup>441</sup> justifies her parental treatment because it was impartial and without gender discrimination. In her story about her marital home she justifies the son not having studied

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<sup>433</sup> Gem – TC34

<sup>434</sup> Keeping the tradition, Derne, 1995, p. 8

<sup>435</sup> Lita – TC45

<sup>436</sup> Devar - OMW – TC46

<sup>437</sup> Joy – TC8

<sup>438</sup> Melody – TC47

<sup>439</sup> Priya – TC48

<sup>440</sup> Amar – TC49

<sup>441</sup> Ranjithamani – TC9

much with his lack of interest and is careful not to attribute it to discrimination.<sup>442</sup> Saguna<sup>443</sup> finds lack of discrimination a just cause for allocation of chores.

## **5. Discipline a Core Concern in the Narrative Style.**

Sampoorna's story of justification of her mother's handling the children is descriptive of the rigorous discipline maintained.<sup>444</sup> Ranjithamani<sup>445</sup> justifies her father's disciplining her brother when he refused to study. Devar<sup>446</sup> justifies their not being able to enforce much involvement in church activities for their premature son. She explicitly gives this reason. She also firms up her justification by indicating that they might have liked to have more of his involvement in church activities if it had not been for his frail health. Jeyam's story about her mother is not only constructed about her preference for the sons but also about her strict discipline in making the children write Scripture exams.<sup>447</sup> Jeyam justifies her mother and moralises with the benefit Jeyam has reaped. Jeyam's story about her marital home<sup>448</sup> is worked out with justification and moralisation with a religious claim of having received a son after ten years of perseverance with God.

Both in their stories of spousal relationship and treatment of children the women justify some behaviour, treatment, attitude or situation with various ways of justifying with a plausible

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<sup>442</sup> Ranjithamani – TC18

<sup>443</sup> Saguna - TC19

<sup>444</sup> Sampoorna - Older Unmarried Single Woman (OSW) – TC50

<sup>445</sup> Ranjithamani – TC51

<sup>446</sup> Devar – TC52

<sup>447</sup> Jeyam – TC53

<sup>448</sup> Jeyam – TC54

reason present in their stories. Gem (SR36)<sup>449</sup> justifies her husband taking decisions and handling finance with the situation of the family. Jeyam justifies her handling finance and her husband not helping her with domestic chores with the faith claim that the husband understood that it was God's grace that helped them have a son after nine years of marriage. Some like Amar justify their giving freedom to the children with their interest in the welfare of the children. Ranjithamani justifies the treatment of children in her parental home with the claim that there was no discrimination. For her the fact that her father would restrict her movement outside the home after her attaining age, does not harm the good treatment they received. Sampoorana likewise justifies the equal treatment of discipline all children received in her parental home with the point of discipline being a core concern. The justification helps the women to portray their spousal relationships and treatment of children in a way that any doubt or question about equality, well being or freedom is dismissed.

### **C. Stories Displaying Explanations.**

A few of these stories employ explanation to make them appear good enough for the narrator and also in the narrator's perspective of what is being projected or portrayed before the audience. Priya in describing her father's role does not attempt to rationalise or justify but simply explains that he would not do chores but would help with the shopping.<sup>450</sup> Varam explains<sup>451</sup> how her mother managed the family beautifully when the family had fallen into bad times. Betty's story of rationalisation also has explanation<sup>452</sup> how God's grace helped her

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<sup>449</sup> See footnote 91

<sup>450</sup> Priya – SR39

<sup>451</sup> Varam – SR40

<sup>452</sup> Betty – SR25

and she did not feel the difficulty of economic strictures in her marital home. Swarna<sup>453</sup> explains how her mother took care of the family responsibilities while her father was away and could have workers to take care of the lands. She explains why her father later took care of handling finance because her mother was not careful. However the mother also had financial freedom. Mariam<sup>454</sup> also uses the strategy of explanation to describe how her mother encouraged the children in education and involvement in church. Her story about her marital home is also one of explanation of how she and her husband correct and advise one another and handle finance and chores.<sup>455</sup> She explains why she did not take the responsibility for finance handling because of her work and having to take care of the children. Thus I find some narrators use explanations that produce good enough stories.

In closure the participants use various styles. Gem, Sneha, Swarna and Mariam reiterate their points to give a firm closure to their stories about spousal relationship. Sweety claims that she is also involved in church activities and this in her story seems to rationalise further the point she has made. Similarly, Tiny, Lita, Amar, Saral, Jeyam and Lovely also make points that serve their purpose of producing the story they want. Gem, Amar, Arunavathy and Bina close their stories about treatment of children with a firm affirmation.

The stories of Ranjithamani, Priya, Joy and Bina seem to end abruptly just as they began abruptly. This may be because they want to rationalise the point by ending abruptly.

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<sup>453</sup> Swarna – SR41

<sup>454</sup> Mariam – SR42

<sup>455</sup> Mariam – SR7

Arunkumari's story of rationalisation ends abruptly which is probably meant to be the closure. Bina, Varam and Heera in one of her stories close stating that it was so. It seems that no further discussion is allowed. Betty's claim of God's help gives an end leaving no room for any question. Heera's rationalisation itself serves as the end. Amar's story about her brother ends with a rationalisation of her mother's decision. Lila closes her story with a claim about her mother following the discipline of her grandmother adding to the strength of her rationalisation. Devar about her son closes with the justifying cause. Heera's stories end with the religious note that is probably supposed to buttress her moralising. Saguna having rationalised the treatment of children brings back her story to a well constructed closure of non-discrimination. Another of Saguna's stories ends with the religious claim. Lovely closes her story with the moralisation of her husband's frugal ways.<sup>456</sup>

Bina in her story of discourse about children leaves the end open that helps her to make her rationalisation firm and explicit. Amar carrying on her thinking through the negative effect closes her story with what might have happened if the children had been forced against their interest. Thus, she ends her story with valid justification. Ranjithamani's story about her children appears to end with no relationship with the main point; but in fact her rounding off is sealing her justification. The closure is abrupt giving effect to the story. Swarna's closure is an emphatic and clear statement and claim. Gem's emphatic closure seems to leave no room for any counter argument. Lita's story also ends emphatically. Joy, Melody and Priya all close their stories with reiteration probably for emphasis. Saguna reiterates her point in closing probably to emphasise it<sup>457</sup>. Sampoorana's story just as it began has an emphatic statement at

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<sup>456</sup> Riessman, 1993, p. 3, making a moral point

<sup>457</sup> Repetition for emphasis, , Riessman, 1993, p. 37; Susan E. Bell. 'Becoming a Political Woman: The Reconstruction and Interpretation of Experience Through Stories', in A. D. Todd & S. Fisher eds. *Gender and discourse: The power of talk*. Ablex, Norwood, 1988, p. 114; F. N. Akinnaso and C. S. Ajiroto, 1982, p. 128

the end. Ranjithamani's one story ends briefly, but firmly. Jeyam closes her story about her marital home with an emphatic claim that mentions the husband's recognition of God's grace. This gives strength to her religious claim of persevering with God.

Betty simply closes with the statement of the extent of pampering. Tiny also simply closes with the father's soft heart. Amar's story closes with a well rounded off finish to her point. Gem closes her rationalisation with a statement about her son helping her in chores. Sneha closes her stories with a claim that she would do the chores if necessary that lets her off the hook. The description by Jeyam about chores in her parental home closes the story. Thus the narrators use styles such as reiteration, emphasis and abrupt ending. Just as it was seen in the constructions of rationalisation and justification, explanation helps the narrators to hold to their perceptions of equality, well being, strength and freedom.

## **VI. Stories of Women's Control.**

One pattern of the narratives is that of women describing women's control, claiming the rights or control by women. This section describes these stories about spousal relationship. The narratives about treatment of children do not display this pattern.

In opening her story Arunavathy in spite of talking about bringing up children constructs a story about women in control. Her opening is quite descriptive<sup>458</sup> leading into the main point about women's control. Amar<sup>459</sup>, Swarna<sup>460</sup> and Mariam<sup>461</sup> have descriptive and explanatory

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<sup>458</sup> Arunavathy – TC110

<sup>459</sup> Amar – SR13

<sup>460</sup> Swarna – SR41

<sup>461</sup> Mariam – SR42

openings. Jeyam begins one story with the point of the story<sup>462</sup> and another with an elaborate description<sup>463</sup> about how decisions were made in her parental home.

Devar<sup>464</sup>, Sweety<sup>465</sup>, Mallimalar<sup>466</sup>, Kamala<sup>467</sup>, Sampoorna<sup>468</sup>, Heera<sup>469</sup> and Lovely<sup>470</sup> go straight into the point of the story explicitly stating with the use of appropriate words or phrases which indicate that they talk about their families.

Priya's lead does not seem to give a clue about her construction except that the listener may know that she is talking about her future marital home<sup>471</sup>. Varam also uses a strategy of beginning with a point other than her main story<sup>472</sup>. Arunkumari's two stories begin differently. However, the focus is upon her, upon what she says and what she does. Thus, the women employ various styles to enter into the main point of their stories.

Within the commonality of their stories of the women being in charge or control, these narrators construct stories about various aspects of the family life – some talk about finance,

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<sup>462</sup> Jeyam – SR21

<sup>463</sup> Jeyam – SR8

<sup>464</sup> Devar – SR47

<sup>465</sup> Sweety – SR44

<sup>466</sup> Mallimalar – OMW – SR45

<sup>467</sup> Kamala – SR43

<sup>468</sup> Sampoorna – SR46

<sup>469</sup> Heera – SR49

<sup>470</sup> Lovely – SR37

<sup>471</sup> Priya – SR16

<sup>472</sup> Varam – SR40



some about total home management, some about rearing children<sup>473</sup> and some about being the breadwinner<sup>474</sup>. Thus, these women achieve in various ways their purpose of projecting an image of the woman being in control.

Priya<sup>475</sup> in her projection of her future life demands her right to be in charge of her life and of the family in participation with the husband. This right she specifically wants in the areas of overall responsibility in everything and in decision making, handling finance and chore sharing.

Sweety's<sup>476</sup> story about her marital home, Kamala's<sup>477</sup> and Mariam's<sup>478</sup> stories construct an image of the women being in charge of the overall management of the family and not in specific details.

Varam's<sup>479</sup>, Sweety's story about her parental home<sup>480</sup>, Mallimalar's<sup>481</sup> and Sampoorna's<sup>482</sup> stories focus on the mothers being the breadwinners. This presents a powerful image of these

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<sup>473</sup> This is similar to the idea that childrearing and household tasks are female work as noted by Alfred de Souza ed. *Women In Contemporary India. Traditional Images and Changing Roles*. Manohar, New Delhi, 1975, pp. xvi, xvii and xx.

<sup>474</sup> Women's economic self-sufficiency, , Riessman, 1993, p. 10

<sup>475</sup> Priya, SR16

<sup>476</sup> Sweety – SR22

<sup>477</sup> Kamala – SR43

<sup>478</sup> Mariam, SR42

<sup>479</sup> Varam, SR40

<sup>480</sup> Sweety – SR44

<sup>481</sup> Mallimalar – SR45

<sup>482</sup> Sampoorna – SR46

women. In the stories of all these four women the mothers took up employment to be the breadwinners for the family when the fathers were not able to bring in enough income to run the family.

Devar's<sup>483</sup>, Mallimalar's<sup>484</sup>, Heera's<sup>485</sup>, Amar's<sup>486</sup>, Swarna's<sup>487</sup>, Lovely's<sup>488</sup> and Jeyam's<sup>489</sup> construction is about the woman managing the family including finance. The specific statement that the women managed the finance is probably meant to show that the women in the family had power and authority.

Interestingly Arunavathy's core story is constructed about the rights of women to rear and discipline children.<sup>490</sup> She perceives women to be the rightful controllers. Thus women are perceived to be able to have the right to control. A similar picture is seen in the stories by Arunkumari<sup>491</sup> in claiming the rights of the woman to control and discipline children.

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Sweety, Varam, Mallimalar and Sampoorina narrate that their mothers were breadwinners for the family. Compare Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 21

<sup>483</sup> Devar, SR47

Devar about her mother and herself, Sweety about her mother, Sampoorina about her mother, Mallimalar about her mother and Heera about her mother note that the women managed the family finance. This is noted by Shashi Jain also, 1988, pp. 129

<sup>484</sup> Mallimalar – SR48

<sup>485</sup> Heera – SR49 SR30

<sup>486</sup> Amar – SR13

<sup>487</sup> Swarna – SR41

<sup>488</sup> Lovely – SR37

<sup>489</sup> Jeyam – SR21

<sup>490</sup> Arunavathy – SR50

<sup>491</sup> Arunkumari - SR51, SR52

Having made her claim Arunavathy closes with an assertion that only women and not men know how children should be reared. Devar and Swarna end with a claim of 'no hitch' probably to defend the pattern of the woman being in charge. They also probably mean that there was 'no hitch' by way of problem or conflict in the pattern of the woman being in charge. Priya and Arunkumari in one story seem to be giving some allowance at the end. Varam, Arunkumari in another story and Mallimalar about her marital home close with reiteration possibly to strengthen their stories. Sweetly and Lovely ending with the focus on the woman probably emphasise the main point. Mallimalar's story about her parental home has a peculiar closure that contrasts the father with the mother in charge. This again probably is to reinforce her point. This contrast strategy is used by Kamala also at the end of her story. Sampoorna has a strong ending defending the correctness of her mother having been in control. Similarly, Heera also has a glorious report of her mother's management of the family because the father was a camping officer and could not take care of the family as the mother did. However, her story about herself ends with a negative note of her lack in handling finance. Amar's and Mariam's stories close with a positive note but not merely of the woman being in control but of a participatory mode of action. Jeyam in both her stories having constructed stories of women in charge lets the men off the hook of taking responsibility for the family. Thus these various stories portray a picture of women in control either in overall management of the family, in being the breadwinner, in making major decisions or in taking care of control and discipline. This helps their building a picture of these women empowered, strong and bold.

## VII. Valorisation.<sup>492</sup>

Some of the narrators in describing the spousal relationship valorise their practice or construct a valorised discourse. The narrators use valorisation that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it to look noble. This pattern of valorisation<sup>493</sup> is seen also in the stories of treatment of children. Some valorise either the treatment they have had in their parental home, the one they have given to their children in their marital homes, the one they hope to give to the children in their future home or some aspect of treatment of children in a discourse.

Gem's opening in her narrative about spousal relationship appears to be a claim for men also to share in chores that gives a clue to the subject matter of the story to follow.<sup>494</sup> Her construction that follows the opening will show what she says and how she achieves valorisation as explained below in the description of the core of the story. Similarly Ranjithamani's story of valorising her parental treatment of children gives the clue right at the beginning<sup>495</sup> of what is to follow with the phrase 'a good type only' which is the pattern followed by Arunkumari<sup>496</sup> about her father's upbringing in her parental home. In their stories about the treatment of children, Gem<sup>497</sup>, Amar<sup>498</sup>, Arunavathy<sup>499</sup>, Saguna<sup>500</sup>, Kamala<sup>501</sup>,

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<sup>492</sup> Valorisation, Mishler, 1999, p. 40

<sup>493</sup> Valorisation: The narrators use valorisation which is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it to look noble.

<sup>494</sup> Gem – SR54

<sup>495</sup> Ranjithamani – TC59

<sup>496</sup> Arunkumari – TC95

<sup>497</sup> Gem – TC34

<sup>498</sup> Amar – TC55, TC68

<sup>499</sup> Arunavathy – TC37

<sup>500</sup> Saguna – TC19

Tiny<sup>502</sup> in one story, Heera, Udhaya, Flora<sup>503</sup>, Gem about her parental home, Saral<sup>504</sup> and Sneha reveal the subject matter of their stories which is treatment of children. In other stories, Lita, Ranjithamani<sup>505</sup>, Lila<sup>506</sup> and Amar<sup>507</sup> begin with a claim about treatment of children in various aspects such as allowing them to make their choices or treating without partiality. Devar opens her story saying indicating when their son was quite young. This adds to the valorisation she is about to construct<sup>508</sup> because of the parents' desire for the son at a young age. Swarna's statement about what she is speaking also adds to the valorisation. Priya's story about her future children begins with a claim<sup>509</sup> that is in line with her valorisation. Lila begins with the rationale<sup>510</sup> for her valorisation. Sweety<sup>511</sup>, Arunkumari<sup>512</sup> and Ranjithamani<sup>513</sup> begin with a religious claim about treatment of children.

Ranjithamani about spousal relationship in her marital home, Priya about chores in her parental home, Lila about finance in her parental home, Varam about her mother's overall

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<sup>501</sup> Kamala – TC77

<sup>502</sup> Tiny – TC78

<sup>503</sup> Flora – TC73

<sup>504</sup> Saral – TC62, TC63

<sup>505</sup> Ranjithamani – TC9

<sup>506</sup> Lila – TC10

<sup>507</sup> Amar – TC2

<sup>508</sup> Devar – TC46

<sup>509</sup> Priya – TC48.

<sup>510</sup> Lila - TC38

<sup>511</sup> Sweety – TC71

<sup>512</sup> Arunkumari – SR52

<sup>513</sup> Ranjithamani – TC72

management, Arunkumari about her husband's helpfulness and Sweety about her taking care of all domestic affairs in her marital home use the device of no formal opening to lead the listener directly into the story. Bina, Jeyavathy, Tiny, Arunkumari, Mallimalar, Saguna about her children, Sneha about her future children and Jeyam go straight into the point of the story in which a bald opening shows the sharpness of the point.

Saguna<sup>514</sup> begins her stories with a claim about her childhood that is different from the main point about spousal relationship in her parental home. Varam<sup>515</sup> in one story and Mallimalar<sup>516</sup> use the strategy of beginning with an entirely different statement. These narrators probably use this style of beginning with a point different from the main or core point of the story to make the listener curious.

In their stories about spousal relationship Joy in one of her stories, Jeyavathy, Bina, Varam, Sweety, Betty, Heera, Tiny, Amar, Swarna, Jeyam and Lovely have descriptive openings. Varam, Heera, Saguna about the parental home, Mariam, Jeyam about her son and Lovely about her parental home begin with a description of the background. Just as has been seen in the other patterns, in this pattern of valorisation of spousal relationship and treatment of children, these narrators use several different styles such as making a point or a claim, making a religious claim, having no formal opening or bald opening, using an entirely different point and giving a descriptive opening in the beginning of their stories.

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<sup>514</sup> Saguna – TC58

<sup>515</sup> Varam – TC70

<sup>516</sup> Mallimalar – TC80

### A. Styles of Explanation Used for Valorising.

Saguna<sup>517</sup> valorises her husband's handling finance with the explanation that he is wiser. Similarly Lovely<sup>518</sup> claims the smartness of her mother for valorisation of her mother's handling finance and management of the family. Lila<sup>519</sup> uses the naivete of the children in her parental home in the children not knowing about finance to explain the valorisation of her parents' spousal relationship. Amar valorises her handing over finance to her husband<sup>520</sup> and the menfolk doing the shopping.<sup>521</sup> Amar<sup>522</sup> valorises the practice of not sending out girls for shopping in her parental home with the explanation that 'full responsibility was upon the younger brother'. Such valorisation is found in her story<sup>523</sup> about shopping in her marital home. Her valorisation about the marital homes of her children is found in the statement that the women did not have the responsibility and only the menfolk took care of it<sup>524</sup>. Lovely also valorises her husband's handling finance and his concern for her desire to eat out once a month<sup>525</sup>. Amar<sup>526</sup> valorises her opinion of the affection that daughters display towards parents with explanation of how this happens. Bina uses words such as 'in a good manner' and 'my mother did everything' to valorise the role of her mother<sup>527</sup>. Gem valorises her having been

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<sup>517</sup> Saguna – SR10

<sup>518</sup> Lovely – SR37

<sup>519</sup> Lila – SR53

<sup>520</sup> Amar – SR13

<sup>521</sup> Menfolk doing the shopping, Derne, 1995, p. 24

<sup>522</sup> Amar – TC55

<sup>523</sup> Amar – TC35

<sup>524</sup> Amar – TC36

<sup>525</sup> Lovely – SR35

<sup>526</sup> Amar – TC44

<sup>527</sup> Bina – TC56

used to discrimination with an explanation of trivialisation<sup>528</sup>. Thus the valorisation of practices and attitudes is achieved with explanations in the aspects of spousal relationship, handling finance, chores and treatment of children.

### **B. Rooting in Custom to Valorise.**

Gem constructs her story to valorise her practice of not letting her husband do chores<sup>529</sup>. She repeatedly and emphatically uses reasons such as 'I do not like', 'It is not the custom of our family' and 'I do not allow'. Gem having quoted the custom of her family that only girls did the chores, valorises her only son having helped her in domestic chores with 'he did every thing as a help for me' and 'he was like that only'. It is interesting to note how she would not let her husband do chores while valorising her only son helping her in chores.

### **C. Valorising Using Negotiating Strategies.**

Finding other ways of handling chores becomes a negotiating strategy. Ranjithamani in her marital home<sup>530</sup>, Priya<sup>531</sup>, Joy<sup>532</sup> and Jeyam<sup>533</sup> about their parental homes valorise such negotiation strategy to find other ways of handling chores. Udhaya<sup>534</sup> valorises her taking care of the child with the disclaimer that her husband has a busy life. These women valorise their pattern of handling chores and childcare using negotiating strategies.

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<sup>528</sup> Gem – TC27

<sup>529</sup> Gem – SR54

<sup>530</sup> Ranjithamani – SR5

<sup>531</sup> Priya – SR39

<sup>532</sup> Joy – SR20

<sup>533</sup> Jeyam – SR21

<sup>534</sup> Udhaya – TC26



#### **D. Making a Claim for Valorisation.**

Varam<sup>535</sup>, Mallimalar<sup>536</sup> and Swarna<sup>537</sup> valorise the mother's role saying that she maintained the family beautifully. This vision of handling beautifully is found in Arunkumari's<sup>538</sup> valorising of her pattern of handling children. She also valorises the spousal relationship with the claim of mutual help and consultation<sup>539</sup>. Tiny<sup>540</sup> effectively uses valorisation of her mother's subduing the children who grumble about the father and her own giving in when her husband would not accept her decision. She uses the word 'soft heart' to valorise her father's attitude towards children<sup>541</sup>. Saguna wraps up her story about her parental home in valorising her happy childhood<sup>542</sup>. Ranjithamani uses valorisation to describe her father's attitude towards her mother<sup>543</sup>. Amar glorifies the tenderness of her husband to valorise<sup>544</sup> their treatment of children. These narrators make claims using descriptions of attitudes and feelings to display the valorisation as it is described in this paragraph.

Some narrators use phrases and words to achieve their construction. Ranjithamani constructs the main point of her valorisation of treatment of children in her parental home using terms and phrases such as 'father a good type', 'of a good conduct' and 'brought us up in good

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<sup>535</sup> Varam – SR40

<sup>536</sup> Mallimalar – SR45

<sup>537</sup> Swarna – SR41

<sup>538</sup> Arunkumari – TC57

<sup>539</sup> Arunkumari – SR4

<sup>540</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>541</sup> Tiny – TC41

<sup>542</sup> Saguna – TC58

<sup>543</sup> Ranjithamani – SR55

<sup>544</sup> Amar – TC59

upbringing'<sup>545</sup>. Thus she valorises the restriction for her after she came of age not to go out collecting water.<sup>546</sup> Joy in her story about her second home valorises making tall claims about her proposed pattern of sharing chores with repeated statements such as 'I don't find anything wrong' and 'I don't mind'<sup>547</sup>. Amar in speaking about her three children uses words 'all three children', 'obedient', 'giving respect' and 'doing everything'<sup>548</sup>. Bina valorises her treatment of the children with 'they are like friends'<sup>549</sup>. Jeyavathy also has a similar story using terms such as 'rights', 'freedom', 'friendly' and 'the family being united'<sup>550</sup>. Priya uses words such as 'open to them', 'very good to them', 'whatever they want' and 'I would have more experience by then'<sup>551</sup>. Amar in the story about her mother's treatment of the daughters and the son uses phrases such as 'as they wanted', 'not special for the brother' and 'according to their capacity'<sup>552</sup>. Ranjithamani in another story uses 'all children alike'<sup>553</sup>. Lila valorises making claims with phrases 'all for good', 'foolishly', and 'not at all necessary'<sup>554</sup>. Saral repeatedly uses the word 'well' in her stories about her parents-in-law and about her children<sup>555</sup>. Sneha also constructs her story of valorisation with words such as 'good', 'gems', 'God's children', 'best examples', 'caring' and 'balanced'<sup>556</sup>. Swarna<sup>557</sup> makes her valorising

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<sup>545</sup> Ranjithamani – TC60

<sup>546</sup> Restricting women's movement outside the home, Derne, 1995, p. 24

<sup>547</sup> Joy – SR14

<sup>548</sup> Amar – TC5

<sup>549</sup> Bina – TC6

<sup>550</sup> Jeyavathy – TC61

<sup>551</sup> Priya – TC48

<sup>552</sup> Amar – TC2

<sup>553</sup> Ranjithamani – TC9

<sup>554</sup> Lila – TC10

<sup>555</sup> Saral – TC62, TC63, TC64

<sup>556</sup> Sneha – TC65, TC66

claim about freedom to shop given to children in her parental home with words ‘free’ and ‘it will be good’. She states that they always accompanied their mother because they considered it to be good. Mariam<sup>558</sup> uses the word ‘encourage’ to show her valorisation. Lovely uses phrases such as ‘full liberty’, ‘more or less friend’, ‘still remember’, ‘so in fact’ and ‘totally different’,<sup>559</sup>.

Another strategy used is making a claim rooted in cultural practices. Arunavathy’s story about her son not wanting to send the sister to the roadside pump to collect water is valorised with her claiming that the son did not do that earlier but is taking care of it<sup>560</sup>. Amar valorises the pattern of finding a bride for her brother with the claim that the brother left it to the care and satisfaction of the mother<sup>561</sup>.

Lita’s attitude towards her daughter-in-law is valorised with the claim that the daughter-in-law has her own identity and that the parents-in-law are supportive<sup>562</sup>. Devar valorises their practice of giving pocket money to their son with the claim that he also should learn to handle finance<sup>563</sup>.

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<sup>557</sup> Swarna – TC31

<sup>558</sup> Mariam – TC67

<sup>559</sup> Lovely – TC32

<sup>560</sup> Arunavathy – TC37

<sup>561</sup> Amar – TC68

<sup>562</sup> Lita – TC45

<sup>563</sup> Devar – TC46

Thus many narrators use various tools such as different phrases and words or methods to make a claim to valorise the spousal relationship and treatment of children. Some describe how the mother managed beautifully, how the children are handled, what the spousal relationship is or how their childhood has been.

#### **E. Valorising with a Religious Claim.**

Several of the narrators, Jeyavathy<sup>564</sup>, Bina<sup>565</sup>, Varam<sup>566</sup> in her two stories about her marital home, Sweety<sup>567</sup>, Betty<sup>568</sup>, Tiny<sup>569</sup>, Swarna<sup>570</sup>, Jeyam<sup>571</sup> and Mariam<sup>572</sup> use religious claims to achieve valorisation about spousal relationships. Amar<sup>573</sup> and Arunkumari<sup>574</sup> valorise the treatment of children with a religious claim. Arunavathy<sup>575</sup> valorises her story about disciplining her son with a religious claim that she left it to God in prayer. Varam's story about the son having died is valorised with a religious claim that God took him<sup>576</sup>. Sweety in her valorisation of her mother-in-law uses<sup>577</sup> terms such as 'a spiritual mother', 'I learnt a lot

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<sup>564</sup> Jeyavathy – SR56

<sup>565</sup> Bina – SR24

<sup>566</sup> Varam – SR57, SR12

<sup>567</sup> Sweety – SR22

<sup>568</sup> Betty – SR25

<sup>569</sup> Tiny – SR58

<sup>570</sup> Swarna – SR6

<sup>571</sup> Jeyam – SR8

<sup>572</sup> Mariam – SR7

<sup>573</sup> Amar – TC69

<sup>574</sup> Arunkumari – TC57

<sup>575</sup> Arunavathy – TC20

<sup>576</sup> Varam – TC70

<sup>577</sup> Sweety – TC71

from her' and 'devotedness'. Arunkumari<sup>578</sup>, Heera<sup>579</sup> and Ranjithamani<sup>580</sup> also use religious claims to valorise their treatment of children. Heera in one story indicates it with the phrase 'in the Lord'. Ranjithamani narrates that her daughter became a child of God at a young age. Saguna<sup>581</sup> in her valorisation claims that she was brought up in prayer. About her children she uses phrases such as 'by God's grace', 'no problem' and 'God did everything'. Flora<sup>582</sup> also with a religious claim valorises her taking care of the spiritual nurture of the children. Jeyam<sup>583</sup> valorises her mother's strict discipline in spiritual nurture. Her story<sup>584</sup> about her having a son after nine years of marriage uses a religious claim.

#### **F. Contrast Styles.**

Heera<sup>585</sup> constructs her story of her reaction to the situation of women in families using the style of contrast for valorisation of her reaction to the situation of other women and her own situation.

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<sup>578</sup> Arunkumari – TC57

<sup>579</sup> Heera – TC21, TC22

<sup>580</sup> Ranjithamani – TC72

<sup>581</sup> Saguna – TC58, TC23

<sup>582</sup> Flora – TC73

<sup>583</sup> Jeyam – TC53

<sup>584</sup> Jeyam – SR8

<sup>585</sup> Heera – SR26

## G. Descriptive Styles.

Saguna's<sup>586</sup> valorisation of treatment of children in her marital home describes how the chores were allocated. Bina<sup>587</sup> valorises her opinion about the affection of daughters with description. She elaborately narrates how a girl child behaves properly and 'definitely got its advantages'. She goes into lengthy description of the birth of her daughter and son. Valorising the affection of girls, she in great detail describes her own experience of having her mother live with her and how her mother finally died out of loneliness. While Bina had to go abroad her mother had to shift to Bina's brother's house. There the mother had to stay in a ground floor room because she could not climb upto the first floor where the rest of the family lived. So the mother could not bear the loneliness. It is interesting to note that Bina tells that one may dress up a girl nicely. She valorises having a girl with the phrase 'one grade superior'. Amar uses description of what measures of discipline her mother used in valorising the discipline her mother followed<sup>588</sup> and the concern her brother received from his teachers<sup>589</sup> displayed in the teachers keeping a watchful eye on her brother. In another story<sup>590</sup> Amar uses phrases and words such as 'not unnecessary', 'what is necessary', 'not lavish' and 'disciplined and modest'. Her use of the phrase 'to the satisfaction'<sup>591</sup> valorises the treatment of her children. Kamala's<sup>592</sup> valorisation is descriptive and effected with the claim that she did what the children needed. Similarly Tiny<sup>593</sup> valorises the treatment of her children by her husband with

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<sup>586</sup> Saguna – TC19

<sup>587</sup> Bina – TC42, TC43

<sup>588</sup> Amar – TC4

<sup>589</sup> Amar – TC74

<sup>590</sup> Amar – TC75

<sup>591</sup> Amar – TC76

<sup>592</sup> Kamala – TC77

<sup>593</sup> Tiny – TC78

the description and the claim that he did well. Arunkumari<sup>594</sup> also uses description of how she treated her children by taking them to the bakery once a week and taking care of their spiritual nurture. Mallimalar gives evidence that her mother saved even from her meagre earnings to take care of the children.<sup>595</sup> She also claims that her mother did everything. Another story of Mallimalar uses valorisation of her father's advice not to hurt her mother who took care of the family<sup>596</sup>. Varam valorises how her mother beautifully managed the family when the family went through hard times and uses humour about school uniform being bought instead of the new clothes for the festival.<sup>597</sup>

Thus these narrators use different styles in constructing their stories of valorisation. In the closure they also follow a variety of styles. In some of these stories, the valorisation itself is the closure. Gem, Ranjithamani about domestic chores in her marital home, Priya, Joy, Saguna in her story about her marital home, Lila, Jeyavathy, Varam about her marital home, Arunkumari, Sweetie, Betty, Heera, Tiny, Ranjithamani about her parental home and Amar in one story appear not to provide any formal closure for their stories of spousal relationship. Bina seems to leave one story about treatment of children open that probably is meant for the listener to accept the point without any questioning. Udhaya's and Gem's valorisation itself serves as the closure.

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<sup>594</sup> Arunkumari – TC57

<sup>595</sup> Mallimalar – TC79

<sup>596</sup> Mallimalar – TC80

<sup>597</sup> Varam – TC81

Joy in her story of her expectation about spousal relationship, handling finance, chore sharing and treatment of children in her future home, Bina in her stories about daughters and sons, Varam about her parental home about financial difficulties which made them buy only school uniform as new dress for a festival and Amar in another story about the treatment of children in her marital home use elaborate descriptions. Arunkumari in one story, Mallimalar, Saguna about her parental home, Swarna, Jeyam, Lovely and Mariam provide a brief closure of affirmation of the spousal relationship. In stories of treatment of children Ranjithamani rounds off her story with the statement that the seven children have been brought up well. Gem also affirms with the claim that her son was like that. Bina in another story closes with the claim that she thought of a girl child as superior. Jeyavathy's claim about the family being united closes the story. Devar's explanation closes her story. Priya closes her story with moralising about her not helping in the domestic chores but in outside shopping and errands. Lila and Sneha use contrast to close the story that brings out the valorisation. Varam in claiming God's act in her son's premature death, Sweety in claiming her mother-in-law to be a godly mother, Arunkumari in bringing up her children in spiritual nurture, Heera in her daughters' education and marriage, Saguna in claiming God's grace in her children's education and her having been brought up with prayer, Ranjithamani in claiming the spiritual bent of her children and Flora in claiming her taking responsibility for the spiritual nurture of her children use their religious claims to close their stories. In one story, Sneha in closure uses a disclaimer of not taking responsibility for the situation in her future home in which she may have to work and also take care of the family.

Amar in her stories, Arunavathy, Saguna, Bina, Lila, Kamala, Tiny, Arunkumari, Mallimalar, Varam, Heera, Saguna, Sneha and Lovely close with reiteration of the point made about the



treatment of children. Lita, Tiny, Sneha, Swarna, Mariam and Jeyam close by emphasising their claims.

The narrators use the method of constructing stories of valorisation to portray a picture of goodness and strength. Lovely (SR37) explains how her mother was smart to manage everything. Gem (SR54) valorises her not allowing her husband to do the chores by rooting it in the custom of the family. Many such as Ranjithamani use the construction of negotiating strategy by valorising her employing domestic help. For her it is immaterial that the husband did not do domestic chores. This does not jeopardise her sense of equality and freedom. Varam, Mallimalar and Swarna valorise their mothers' managing the family by stating that they did it beautifully. The use of a religious claim (Section E above) to valorise spousal relationship and treatment of children is perfectly all right for these narrators in their perspective. Heera valorises her situation by contrasting it with other women who are in oppressive situations. Amar is descriptive in her valorisation of the discipline the children received and the concern her brother received from his teachers (TC74). They would go to the mother and caution her about the friends he would have. This for Amar is not oppression.

### **VIII. Stories Claiming Conformity to Culture.**

One significant pattern in the construction of stories about treatment of children or rearing children is making a claim of conformity to culture. It appears as if the women who make this claim also feel satisfied that they or their parents are not culture or tradition breakers.

Ranjithamani's<sup>598</sup> opening sets the mood for the narrative. Her claim 'my father a good type' prepares the listener for what is to follow about how her father followed culture in rearing

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<sup>598</sup> Ranjithamani – TC60

children. One story of Gem<sup>599</sup> uses an introduction, ‘an only son’ that gives a clue to what her story is about. Amar<sup>600</sup> and Arunavathy<sup>601</sup> indicate in what aspect they followed tradition.

Tiny’s<sup>602</sup> opening about the father also prepares one for the story about her father conforming to culture in treatment of children. Apart from these styles of opening in which the narrators set the scene for the story to follow, Gem in two stories goes directly to the point of following culture.

### **A. Praising the Following of Culture.**

Ranjithamani<sup>603</sup> constructs her story about the restriction for daughters to go out freely to display the conformity to culture with words such as ‘good type’, ‘good conduct’ and ‘good upbringing’.

### **B. Style of Sheer Description.**

Gem’s<sup>604</sup> bald description of what the mother and she did helps her indicate the cultural conformity. In describing what she did she uses the phrase ‘that in ours...’ which seems to assume some knowledge of the practice on the part of the listener. Her mother would send only her brother to hire a cart. Gem followed culture in not allowing the men of the family to do chores. Amar<sup>605</sup> in her stories just describes the pattern of behaviour, such as the menfolk

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<sup>599</sup> Gem – TC33

<sup>600</sup> Amar – TC36

<sup>601</sup> Arunavathy – TC37

<sup>602</sup> Tiny – TC84

<sup>603</sup> Ranjithamani – TC60

<sup>604</sup> Gem – TC82, TC33, TC34

<sup>605</sup> Amar – TC83, TC35, TC36, TC68

doing the shopping and the mother finding a bride for the son, to display that they followed the culture. Arunavathy<sup>606</sup> also similar to the construction of Amar describes that her son does not allow his sister to go out to collect water in order to show the conformity.

### **C. Explicit Indication of Conformity to Culture.**

Gem in one story is explicit, 'We kept the tradition'<sup>607</sup>. Tiny uses phrases such as 'of those olden days' and 'controlling and strict' to construct her story.<sup>608</sup> These narrators use particular terms and phrases or describe the custom or practice to construct their stories of cultural conformity.

Most of these women close their stories with reiteration – Ranjithamani's 'brought up well'; Gem's 'did not send us', 'difficult' and 'he was like that'; Amar's 'did not send us', 'only the son bought', 'only the menfolk took care of shopping' and 'married to the satisfaction of the mother'; Arunavathy's 'You should not come out; only I shall collect the water' and Tiny's 'It was like that'. These emphasise how these narrators construct stories of keeping the tradition or following the culture. Following the culture in the perception of these women is something good. For Ranjithamani it was not restricting her movement when she came of age, because her father was of a good type. Arunavathy simply describes her son following the culture in not allowing the sister to go out to take water from the roadside pump. Instead he did that chore. This is good according to Arunavathy's portrayal and construction. Following the culture that is in the books portrayed as patriarchal and oppressive for women is not at all a problem for these narrators because of the way they construct their stories.

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<sup>606</sup> Arunavathy – TC37

<sup>607</sup> Gem – TC33

<sup>608</sup> Tiny – TC84

## **IX. Pattern of Non-conformist Experiences Using ‘But I’ Style.**

Some of the stories about the treatment of children display a pattern of the non-conformist in their construction.<sup>609</sup> Two participants use this strategy. The stories of Lita about how her parents brought her up<sup>610</sup> and Lila telling about the freedom she has given to her daughter<sup>611</sup> are examples of this pattern. The construction of these stories are considered descriptively in the paragraphs below.

Both Lita and Lila use the same type of strategy to open their stories of non-conforming behaviour. Lita<sup>612</sup> begins with her being a girl child and Lila begins<sup>613</sup> with her social behaviour having been affected by not having had much exposure to mingle with the opposite sex. How these stories display non-conformist action is described below

Lita constructs an elaborate description of several evidences of breaking the mould. Her narration is a ‘but I’ type.<sup>614</sup> She uses several forceful statements such as ‘all said’, ‘I was also like that’, ‘You consider those days’, ‘In my days none did that’, ‘like that’ and ‘I had done a man’s role’. The action of not conforming is heightened by the reaction of the relative. It is further deepened by her father’s response about allowing the daughter to do what girls in those days did not do such as going for marketing. Lila is also elaborate but not long. She repeats the phrase ‘to some extent’ and explicitly states that they do not mind sending their children out.

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<sup>609</sup> Individuals negotiating and contesting cultural norms and meanings, Derne, 1995, p. 2

<sup>610</sup> Lita – TC85

<sup>611</sup> Lila – TC38

<sup>612</sup> Lita – TC85

<sup>613</sup> Lila – TC38

<sup>614</sup> Riessman , 1993, p. 3

However the two narrators round off their stories of non-conformists in different manners. Lita in closure emphatically reiterates the breaking of the conforming role she had adopted based on the teaching and nurture she had received. She had not been given the idea or feeling that a woman should be a subordinate and submissive. Lila also roots her narrative in the socialisation process. But she goes back to her limitation effected by socialisation. She also powerfully ends her story with the strong description that if she had peeped outside and her brother chased her in, she had to go in immediately. She was taught and nurtured into socialisation of subordinate and submissive role. However in the case of her daughter she has broken this cultural mould of the girl having to be subordinate and submissive. It is interesting to note that both these stories of non-conformists are about the bringing up of a girl child. These two women do not have any problem in constructing their stories as non-conformists. It adds to their picture of these women who are strong, bold, free and independent.

#### **X. Contrast Used in the Stories.**

One strategy the storytellers use is that of contrast. There are some stories that may not be classified as those of non-conformist behaviour such as those in the previous section, but are to be described as using a contrast pattern.

Lita takes some pain to describe the context of her marital home when she was married. Amar and Swarna use elaborate descriptions that clearly set forth the context. Saral's narration is long woven with many brief pieces of contrast and descriptions. Sampoorina's context is elaborate. Lovely begins with an elaborate description about her parental home that sets the background for her later construction.

Varam's opening is brief but clear conveying the context<sup>615</sup> of her married life and her situation at the time of the interview. Jeyavathy<sup>616</sup>, Arunkumari<sup>617</sup>, Sweety<sup>618</sup>, Sampoorna<sup>619</sup>, Betty<sup>620</sup>, Mallimalar<sup>621</sup>, Kamala<sup>622</sup>, Heera<sup>623</sup>, Mariam<sup>624</sup> and Lovely<sup>625</sup> also use brief openings such as 'in our house'. But it leads into the story and shows what the narrator is about to tell.

Amar's story about sending daughters for shopping and Jeyam's story about her parental home go directly into the subject matter of treatment of children. Lita's and Lila's stories fall into different categories. They begin with formal statements. Arunkumari's<sup>626</sup> and Amar's<sup>627</sup> openings display the contrast they are about to use. The first word is 'but'. Saguna<sup>628</sup> also begins with a word 'no' that leads into her point. Bina<sup>629</sup> opens with a statement of her opinion that girl children are better than boys. Lila<sup>630</sup> opens one story with an indication of about what

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<sup>615</sup> Varam – SR60, SR12

<sup>616</sup> Jeyavathy – SR56

<sup>617</sup> Arunkumari – SR61

<sup>618</sup> Sweety – SR44

<sup>619</sup> Sampoorna – SR46

<sup>620</sup> Betty – SR25

<sup>621</sup> Mallimalar – SR63

<sup>622</sup> Kamala – SR2, SR43

<sup>623</sup> Heera – SR28

<sup>624</sup> Mariam – SR42

<sup>625</sup> Lovely – SR35

<sup>626</sup> Arunkumari – TC86

<sup>627</sup> Amar – TC2

<sup>628</sup> Saguna – TC7

<sup>629</sup> Bina – TC42

<sup>630</sup> Lila – TC91

she is to speak by giving the count of children in her parental home. Arunkumari<sup>631</sup>, Arunavathy<sup>632</sup> and Flora<sup>633</sup> indicate that they are talking about treatment of children. Sweety<sup>634</sup> begins with the point of her story of her learning from her mother-in-law. Arunkumari<sup>635</sup> in her story about the change in her parents' attitude towards her begins with her perception of the cause of the change.

Tiny<sup>636</sup> and Saral<sup>637</sup> in two stories begin with the effect of what happened in the parental home. Tiny begins with the observation that the way her father treated the children was similar to the functioning of the police department. Saral in her story about treatment of children strangely begins with her parents' relationship of the stepmother dominating the father and not taking the responsibility for getting the stepdaughters married<sup>638</sup>. From these varied openings I move on to look at the various tools used to construct the core of the stories and at the end the ways in which the narrators close their stories.

#### **A. Style Using Several Details and Description.**

Lita<sup>639</sup> constructs the contrast between her background and the background of her husband. She uses several phrases such as 'I was like that, but not so in the house of my mother-in-law',

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<sup>631</sup> Arunkumari – TC88

<sup>632</sup> Arunavathy – TC87

<sup>633</sup> Flora – TC73

<sup>634</sup> Sweety – TC71

<sup>635</sup> Arunkumari – TC86

<sup>636</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>637</sup> Saral – TC89, TC90

<sup>638</sup> Saral – TC89

<sup>639</sup> Lita – SR59

‘only male domination’, ‘terrible village’, ‘rural areas’ and ‘those ideas’. She<sup>640</sup> with many details about the way she was brought up and her husband’s background powerfully and effectively constructs her story of contrast. The contrast is between the traditional pattern and the way in which her parents brought her up allowing her to play a ‘man’s role’.

Varam’s story<sup>641</sup> also has several details to accentuate the contrast – domination of the parents-in-law to the extent of controlling the time of eating, watching the television, reading the newspaper and the time of going to bed. Her construction of contrast has an interesting turn of her later well being of having been cured from mental illness and being reunited with her husband, after separation from him. Varam provides several details not just to give interesting details but also to bring out the contrast sharply. Varam’s story<sup>642</sup> about the contrast between the earlier years of her married life and the situation at the time of this study is worked with details such as ‘the one who used to tease’, ‘he has been changed’ and the repeated use of the word ‘at present’ or ‘now’.

Sweety<sup>643</sup> uses description to contrast her father and mother, and ‘but’ to convey the contrast between former and latter days. Sampoorina<sup>644</sup> constructs her story with description along with the statement ‘in our house our mother was ‘all in all’ juxtaposing<sup>645</sup> it with a statement about the father. She does not explicate what she means by her statement ‘all in all’ and probably

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<sup>640</sup> Lita – TC85

<sup>641</sup> Varam – SR60

<sup>642</sup> Varam – SR12

<sup>643</sup> Sweety – SR44

<sup>644</sup> Sampoorina – TC50

<sup>645</sup> Riessman gives examples of juxtaposing; see , Riessman, 1991, pp.50 and 60, and also , Riessman, 1989, p.750



leaves it to the listener to understand or surmise. Betty also uses ‘but’ and describes how she was handling finance in her parental home while she found accounting difficult in her marital home.<sup>646</sup> Mallimalar in one story uses description of how she took responsibility for marketing.<sup>647</sup> Heera simply brings out the contrast with alternate descriptions about her mother and father<sup>648</sup>.

Amar<sup>649</sup> in her elaborate story about the change of handling finance in her marital home when her husband retired from military service, uses one clinching phrase ‘but what happened’ to show the contrast. Saral<sup>650</sup> constructs her long story with descriptions and details. She brings out the change in her attitude towards her husband in her early and later married life, the difference between the comfortable lifestyle of her parental home and the uncomfortable living conditions of her early-married life, and the contrast between the harsh attitude of her parents and the loving nature of her parents-in-law. Mariam<sup>651</sup> uses description of the difference in the way the mother encouraged the children also to participate in the church activities while there was difference in the way the father and mother handled family finance. The father being in a small business gave for domestic expenses and took care of major expenses such as marriage, while the mother handled domestic expenses with what the father gave.

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<sup>646</sup> Betty – SR25

<sup>647</sup> Mallimalar – SR48

<sup>648</sup> Heera – SR28

<sup>649</sup> Amar – SR13

<sup>650</sup> Saral – SR34

<sup>651</sup> Mariam – SR42

Jeyam<sup>652</sup> uses description of how the mother had the responsibility of handling finance and the father also entrusted it to her and uses ‘but’ to show the contrast. Another contrast in Jeyam’s story is the description of the mother and the children doing chores in her parental home while the father did not have that responsibility. Lovely<sup>653</sup> in her long story uses description, details, ‘but’, ‘totally different’ and ‘now’ to show the contrast between her and her husband in handling finance and in her husband’s concern to be sensitive to her desire to eat out once a month. Amar<sup>654</sup> elaborately describes the contrast between the attitude of daughters and sons towards the parents by bringing out the difference in the affection the daughters show and the way the sons leave the parents and go abroad. Bina<sup>655</sup> constructs her two long stories about the contrasting advantages and disadvantages of having daughters and sons. One example of the difference is that a girl cannot be sent out alone especially late in the night while a boy may be asked to go for any outside errand at any time anywhere.

### **B. Use of Juxtaposition for Contrast.**

Varam<sup>656</sup> narrates the contrast between her and her sister with ‘but’ repeatedly. She places side by side their economic comfort and the contrast of the peace Varam’s family has with the quarelling and lack of peace of the families of the sisters. Jeyavathy<sup>657</sup> brings out the contrast of the situation of spousal relationship in her parental home using ‘after they have changed, after that’. She also contrasts her parental and marital homes with mere juxtaposition of how her father dominated including handling finance and how in her marital home it is a

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<sup>652</sup> Jeyam – SR21

<sup>653</sup> Lovely – SR35

<sup>654</sup> Amar – TC44

<sup>655</sup> Bina – TC42, TC43

<sup>656</sup> Varam – SR57

<sup>657</sup> Jeyavathy – SR56

relationship of equality even in handling finance. Kamala<sup>658</sup> brings out the contrast between her parental and marital homes with ‘I am not like that in my family’, juxtaposing the two homes and also herself and her husband, using ‘but’. It is simply juxtaposing details in Amar’s story about not sending the daughters for shopping<sup>659</sup>. She constructs her story of contrast giving details that she did not send her daughters for shopping and even in their marital homes the same pattern is followed. The contrast is between the daughters and their husbands. While the daughters did not go shopping the husbands did by taking up that responsibility.

### C. Use of Contrast Words.

Arunkumari<sup>660</sup> uses word devices to achieve contrast – ‘apart from that’, ‘but now’, ‘formerly’, ‘but now’, ‘now’ and ‘God has brought me to that extent’. Her story contrasting her parental and marital home<sup>661</sup> uses ‘totally different’ and ‘but’ repeatedly. Her story about the dress code<sup>662</sup> also uses ‘but’ and descriptions to achieve the contrast in the dress code prescribed by her husband for herself to cover herself with the end of the *saree* and the children to have more freedom in the way they dressed. Mallimalar<sup>663</sup> uses ‘but’ in the story contrasting the initial financial suffering in her parental home and the change when her mother took up some work, and also to show the difference between her father and mother portrayed in the advice given by her father. Swarna<sup>664</sup> achieves contrast with the repeated use of the

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<sup>658</sup> Kamala – SR2, SR43

<sup>659</sup> Amar – TC35

<sup>660</sup> Arunkumari – TC86

<sup>661</sup> Arunkumari – SR61

<sup>662</sup> Arunkumari – SR62

<sup>663</sup> Mallimalar – SR63

<sup>664</sup> Swarna – SR6

word ‘but’ in the story about the spousal relationship in her marital home. Lila<sup>665</sup> using ‘because of that’ and ‘so’ brings about the contrast between the way she grew up with strict discipline about mingling with boys and the way she is bringing her daughter up giving more freedom in mixing with boys. Arunavathy using ‘but’ repeatedly brings about contrast between her daughter and herself in boldness and in relating to the brother.<sup>666</sup>

#### **D. Using the Attitudinal Difference to Construct Contrast.**

Saguna’s construction<sup>667</sup> is a contrast between the attitude of the father towards the daughter in celebrating her birthday well and the attitude towards the sons in not giving much importance to the celebration of their birthdays; but she also defends with a claim of ‘no difference’. Amar<sup>668</sup> contrasts her attitude towards the children with the tender heart of her husband. Tiny’s<sup>669</sup> contrast is interesting in the way the father, a police officer, displayed a pattern of the police department in buying clothes like uniforms and also a soft heart. Sampoorna<sup>670</sup> constructs contrast between the mother’s patient attitude in doing everything and the father’s short temperedness without patience. Arunkumari<sup>671</sup> in her narration sees contrast in the difference she wants in the attitude of her husband and herself towards the children. When she is narrating about her parental home she constructs contrast in their earlier attitude towards her marriage across religions and their later positive attitude<sup>672</sup>.

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<sup>665</sup> Lila – TC38

<sup>666</sup> Arunavathy – TC87

<sup>667</sup> Saguna – TC7

<sup>668</sup> Amar – TC59

<sup>669</sup> Tiny – TC41

<sup>670</sup> Sampoorna – TC50

<sup>671</sup> Arunkumari – TC88

<sup>672</sup> Arunkumari – TC86

### **E. Making a Claim to Portray Contrast.**

Arunavathy<sup>673</sup> makes a claim to contrast the capability of women and men in bringing up children with discipline. Sweety's<sup>674</sup> story displays contrast of the spiritual interest in her parental and marital home with the claim that her mother-in-law was a good spiritual mother for her.

### **F. Use of the Situation of Lack of Care for Contrast.**

Flora<sup>675</sup> contrasts her taking up responsibility to bring up children with the lack of love of her husband. Saral narrates many pieces of contrast – between the negative reaction of her brother and the reaction of lack of hostility of the sisters to the father's lack of care<sup>676</sup>; the happy married life of her one sister and the others while the parents did not care about the marriage of the daughters<sup>677</sup>; and, about the loving nature of her parents-in-law and the lack of care of her parents<sup>678</sup>.

### **G. Contrast Using the Pattern of Bringing Up the Children.**

Lila uses contrast to show the behaviour of her brother and the sisters<sup>679</sup>. Lovely contrasts the way she was brought up with freedom and the frugal nature of her husband<sup>680</sup>.

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<sup>673</sup> Arunavathy – SR50

<sup>674</sup> Sweety – TC71

<sup>675</sup> Flora – TC73

<sup>676</sup> Saral – TC89

<sup>677</sup> Saral – TC90

<sup>678</sup> Saral – TC62

<sup>679</sup> Lila – TC91

<sup>680</sup> Lovely – SR35

The narrators in these stories may achieve the resolution of the contrast in various ways. Lita ends with achievement of change towards 'equality' in her marital home, with the claim 'But after that I have brought him well'. The contrast of backgrounds has been resolved. Varam's story about her mental illness is resolved with 'in the end my husband changed his mind and brought me back'. She closes her story about her marital home at the time of the research with 'now we are much united'. The story about the contrast between her and her sisters is resolved with the wish to continue in her situation of peace and witness. Similarly, Jeyavathy also resolves the contrast with an affirmation of the state of well being. Mallimalar ends her stories pointing to the changes in her parental and marital homes. Amar like Lita closes one story with no conflict in the spousal relationship in her marital home and the other reiterating the practice she had followed in not sending the daughters for shopping. Saral's long narration and Swarna's story end with a sense of well being. Mariam and Jeyam resolve the contrast closing the gap between the father and the mother. Lovely's story is also like that of Lita closed with the sense of the husband coming around with understanding.

Arunkumari closes her three stories in three different ways – making a religious claim about the change in the attitude of her parents towards her marriage across religious difference, a rationalisation about the way she wanted her husband and herself to handle child rearing and a negative comment of the domestic help towards the dress code of covering herself with the end of the *saree* which her husband prescribed for her in her marital home. Sweety and Betty also close with a religious claim, the former about the spiritual devotedness of her parents and the latter about God's grace being with her in her marital family.

Sampoorna's claim about the correctness of what her mother did firmly closes the story. Saguna closes claiming equal treatment for her children and Bina in one story closes claiming

that we need both girls and boys. This way of ending with a claim for 'equal treatment of children' is different from the contrast portrayed in the treatment of sons and daughters in the stories. Arunavathy in her story about women's control closes with a strong claim. Similarly, Sweety in contrasting her parental and marital homes and Flora in her taking care of her children end with a religious claim. Saral's contrasts end with a negative in some stories and in some other positive statements.

Kamala simply presents the situation to close the story. Heera seems to leave it open. In their stories about treatment of children, Lita, Lila, Arunavathy, Amar, Bina in one story, Tiny, Sampoorana, Arunkumari and Lovely end with the contrast they have described in their stories. Thus the different stories adopt various styles and routes. This pattern of contrast is used by some of the narrators to construct their stories. Lita and Varam use it to portray how they achieved liberation and freedom in their marital homes. For Sweety, Jeyavathy and Mallimalar about their parental homes and Betty, Saral and Amar about their marital homes it is the contrast between the former and latter days. Varam brings out the contrast between her and her sister's marital homes to portray the sense of well being and liberation she enjoys. Arunkumari uses contrast to resolve the conflict between her and her parents when she married a Christian. Swarna uses contrast between earlier and later days to describe the resolution of conflict in her spousal relationship. Sweety contrasts the difference in the attitude of her father while he enforced a rigid pattern and also showed softness in the treatment of children. Sweety portrays a sense of well being in contrasting the spirituality in her parental and marital homes. Flora uses contrast between the lack of care of her mother and her husband and the interest she herself has taken in the welfare of her children to portray a picture of well being, strength and care. Lila and Lovely use contrast in the way children were brought up to portray freedom and liberation.

## **XI. Stories of Identity Construction.**

In many of these stories, the narrators construct their identities. 'Individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives'.<sup>681</sup> These identities may have several different features and contours. However, the basic action the storytellers are displaying is that of identity construction.<sup>682</sup>

The narrators adopt a variety of styles in opening their stories of identity construction in the aspects of spousal relationship and treatment of children. Gem opens one story<sup>683</sup> with a sense of victimisation of the husband doing everything according to his will and wish which could have produced a sense of being a victim. She opens another story with an egalitarian claim of equality and sharing in stating that men also should share in domestic chores<sup>684</sup>. Lita's opening claim gives a clue to her later identity construction of equality<sup>685</sup>. Amar and Bina begin with the point of the story that tells the listener what the stories are about. Joy and Bina go straight into the story that probably firms up their point by displaying the point right away.

Several of these narrators, Lita<sup>686</sup>, Varam<sup>687</sup>, Arunkumari<sup>688</sup>, Sweety<sup>689</sup>, Sampoorna<sup>690</sup>, Mallimalar<sup>691</sup>, Kamala<sup>692</sup>, Betty<sup>693</sup>, Tiny<sup>694</sup>, Saguna<sup>695</sup>, Heera<sup>696</sup>, Ranjithamani<sup>697</sup>, Amar<sup>698</sup>,

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<sup>681</sup> Riessman, 1993, p. 2

<sup>682</sup> Identity Claim, Mishler, 1999, p. 21

<sup>683</sup> Gem – SR36

<sup>684</sup> Gem – SR54

<sup>685</sup> Lita – SR59

<sup>686</sup> Lita – SR59

<sup>687</sup> Varam – SR60

<sup>688</sup> Arunkumari – SR61

<sup>689</sup> Sweety – SR70



Sneha<sup>699</sup>, Swarna<sup>700</sup>, Mariam<sup>701</sup>, Jeyam<sup>702</sup> and Lovely<sup>703</sup> begin with a description of the families. Some of these give descriptions that lead into the main point. Heera begins two of her stories with elaborate description of how she, a college professor advised her students in college about spousal relationship. Saral's long narration starts with a description of her situation of having had problems with the step-mother in her parental home and her experiencing of love and care from her parents-in-law.

#### **A. Construction of Chivalrous Identity.**

Gem's one story about spousal relationship gives a picture of a chivalrous person<sup>704</sup>. Amar<sup>705</sup>, Saguna<sup>706</sup>, Betty<sup>707</sup>, Tiny<sup>708</sup> and Bina<sup>709</sup> have specific stories of treatment of children

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<sup>690</sup> Sampoorana – SR46

<sup>691</sup> Mallimalar – SR63

<sup>692</sup> Kamala – SR43

<sup>693</sup> Betty – SR25

<sup>694</sup> Tiny – SR58

<sup>695</sup> Saguna – TC58

<sup>696</sup> Heera – SR49, SR28, SR30

<sup>697</sup> Ranjithamani – SR55, SR5

<sup>698</sup> Amar – SR13

<sup>699</sup> Sneha – SR18

<sup>700</sup> Swarna – SR6

<sup>701</sup> Mariam – SR7

<sup>702</sup> Jeyam – TC93

<sup>703</sup> Lovely – SR37, SR35

<sup>704</sup> Gem – SR54

Chivalrous identity: This is one of the identities the narrators seek to construct. It is an identity of nobility, goodness and strength.

<sup>705</sup> Amar – TC68

constructing identities of chivalry. These have been also looked at in the pattern of valorisation.

## **B. Identity of Strength and Care.**

Joy<sup>710</sup>, Sampoorna<sup>711</sup> and Heera<sup>712</sup> about their mothers construct an identity of a strong person who did everything or took care of everything. Arunkumari<sup>713</sup> in one story pictures herself as a careful and accountable person in desiring to run the family well. Bina<sup>714</sup> pictures herself as one who takes responsibility for chores. Mallimalar<sup>715</sup> in her two stories about her mother constructs an identity of a capable and careful manager of the family especially in handling finance. Heera<sup>716</sup> describes herself as a militant woman and a promoter of women's cause in her stories of her advice to her students. Kamala<sup>717</sup> perceives herself as shouldering all responsibility. Heera also presents her mother as careful in handling finance and dominant while she sees herself as careless in handling finance<sup>718</sup>. Jeyam<sup>719</sup> and Lovely<sup>720</sup> picture their others as good managers.

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<sup>706</sup> Saguna – TC58

<sup>707</sup> Betty – TC40

<sup>708</sup> Tiny – TC41

<sup>709</sup> Bina – TC56

<sup>710</sup> Joy – SR20

<sup>711</sup> Sampoorna – SR46

<sup>712</sup> Heera – SR49

<sup>713</sup> Arunkumari – SR61

<sup>714</sup> Bina – SR64

<sup>715</sup> Mallimalar – TC79, TC80

<sup>716</sup> Heera – SR26, SR65

<sup>717</sup> Kamala – SR43

<sup>718</sup> Heera – SR49, SR30

Many of these story tellers, Arunavathy<sup>721</sup>, Devar<sup>722</sup>, Amar<sup>723</sup>, Kamala<sup>724</sup>, Tiny<sup>725</sup>, Mallimalar<sup>726</sup>, Udhaya<sup>727</sup>, Flora<sup>728</sup>, Saral<sup>729</sup>, Sneha<sup>730</sup>, Swarna<sup>731</sup>, Mariam<sup>732</sup>, Jeyam<sup>733</sup> and Lovely<sup>734</sup> construct identities of strength and care in their narratives of treatment of children. These may be identities constructed in the areas of overall care, discipline and control, taking care of studies and spiritual nurture and buying things for them.

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<sup>719</sup> Jeyam – SR21

<sup>720</sup> Lovely – SR37

<sup>721</sup> Arunavathy – SR50

<sup>722</sup> Devar – TC92

<sup>723</sup> Amar – TC4

<sup>724</sup> Kamala – TC77

<sup>725</sup> Tiny – TC41

<sup>726</sup> Mallimalar – TC79

<sup>727</sup> Udhaya – TC26

<sup>728</sup> Flora – TC73

<sup>729</sup> Saral – TC64

<sup>730</sup> Sneha – TC65, TC66

<sup>731</sup> Swarna – TC31

<sup>732</sup> Mariam – TC67

<sup>733</sup> Jeyam – TC93

<sup>734</sup> Lovely – TC32

### C. Identity of Freedom and Liberation.

Lita<sup>735</sup> in her marital home presents herself as an achiever and a liberated egalitarian in bringing her husband also around to her position of 'equality' in spousal relationship. Amar sees herself as non-oppressive in the spousal relationship in her marital home<sup>736</sup>. Sneha sees her mother as a good manager and herself as independent and egalitarian<sup>737</sup> in her stories about her future home. Lita<sup>738</sup>, Bina<sup>739</sup>, Jeyavathy<sup>740</sup>, Udhaya<sup>741</sup>, Melody<sup>742</sup>, Priya<sup>743</sup>, Arunavathy<sup>744</sup>, Amar<sup>745</sup>, Joy<sup>746</sup>, Sneha<sup>747</sup> and Lovely<sup>748</sup> speak of freedom and liberation in their narratives of treatment of children in the aspects of treating with 'equality' like friends, giving rights, correcting them, sending out for errands, choosing the field of education and career, allowing them to go out, mix with others and socialising and maintaining an open relationship.

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<sup>735</sup> Lita – SR59, SR38

<sup>736</sup> Amar – SR13

<sup>737</sup> Sneha – SR17, SR18

<sup>738</sup> Lita – TC85

<sup>739</sup> Bina – TC6

<sup>740</sup> Jeyavathy – TC61

<sup>741</sup> Udhaya – TC1

<sup>742</sup> Melody – TC47

<sup>743</sup> Priya – TC48

<sup>744</sup> Arunavathy – TC87

<sup>745</sup> Amar – TC35

<sup>746</sup> Joy – TC8

<sup>747</sup> Sneha – TC94, TC28, TC30

<sup>748</sup> Lovely – TC32

#### **D. Identity of Equality without Discrimination or Partiality.**

Udhaya<sup>749</sup>, Ranjithamani<sup>750</sup>, Saguna<sup>751</sup>, Amar<sup>752</sup>, Lila<sup>753</sup>, Melody<sup>754</sup>, Priya<sup>755</sup>, Joy<sup>756</sup>, Bina<sup>757</sup> claim identities of 'equality' in treatment of children in the aspects of rights, overall treatment, allocation of chores, not showing discrimination or partiality or preference and giving educational opportunities.

#### **E. Identity of a Disciplined Person.**

In the aspect of treatment of children Amar<sup>758</sup>, Lila<sup>759</sup>, Sampoorna<sup>760</sup>, Arunkumari<sup>761</sup>, Ranjithamani<sup>762</sup> and Jeyam<sup>763</sup> tell stories of discipline or a disciplined person.

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<sup>749</sup> Udhaya – TC1

<sup>750</sup> Ranjithamani – TC9

<sup>751</sup> Saguna – TC19, TC7

<sup>752</sup> Amar – TC3

<sup>753</sup> Lila – TC10

<sup>754</sup> Melody – TC11

<sup>755</sup> Priya – TC12

<sup>756</sup> Joy – TC13

<sup>757</sup> Bina – TC6

<sup>758</sup> Amar – TC4

<sup>759</sup> Lila – TC91

<sup>760</sup> Sampoorna – TC50

<sup>761</sup> Arunkumari – TC95

<sup>762</sup> Ranjithamani – TC9, TC51

<sup>763</sup> Jeyam – TC93, TC53

## **F. Identity with Spirituality.**

Arunkumari's one story claims a religious change in her<sup>764</sup> in crossing over religion from Hinduism and marrying a Christian. Sweety describes her mother-in-law as a spiritual mother<sup>765</sup>. Swarna also claims to handle the family situation carefully with a religious perspective of praying that God should guide her husband aright and to preserve the peace of the family<sup>766</sup>. Several women construct stories with claims of spirituality, religiosity, spiritual discipline or nurture. Amar<sup>767</sup> tells of the spiritual discipline her mother enforced and the care she took to enforce Sunday observance in her marital home<sup>768</sup>. Tiny talks about the spiritual growth of the family and the spiritual discipline her husband required<sup>769</sup>. Arunkumari speaks about taking care of the spiritual nurture of her children<sup>770</sup>. Arunavathy claims victory by faith in the issue of guiding their son in the good path<sup>771</sup>. Jeyavathy speaks of her father's demand for spiritual discipline<sup>772</sup>. Sampoorna describes the spiritual discipline followed by her mother<sup>773</sup>. Bina claims that her mother brought the children to the Lord Jesus Christ<sup>774</sup>. Varam claims that she and her husband have come to the Lord<sup>775</sup>. Sweety describes the

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<sup>764</sup> Arunkumari – TC86

<sup>765</sup> Sweety – TC71

<sup>766</sup> Swarna – SR6

<sup>767</sup> Amar – TC4

<sup>768</sup> Amar – TC96

<sup>769</sup> Tiny – SR58, TC97

<sup>770</sup> Arunkumari – TC57

<sup>771</sup> Arunavathy – TC20

<sup>772</sup> Jeyavathy – TC98

<sup>773</sup> Sampoorna – TC50

<sup>774</sup> Bina – TC56

<sup>775</sup> Varam – TC70

spiritual interest she developed in her marital home<sup>776</sup>. Heera tells about her mother's guiding the children in religious nurture<sup>777</sup>. Ranjithamani claims that her daughter and son are spiritual and children of the Lord<sup>778</sup>. Flora claims responsibility for the spiritual nurture of her children<sup>779</sup> and Jeyam describes the spiritual nurture her mother gave.<sup>780</sup>

### **G. Identity of Well Being.**

Several story tellers, Varam<sup>781</sup>, Tiny<sup>782</sup>, Saguna<sup>783</sup>, Ranjithamani<sup>784</sup>, Amar<sup>785</sup>, Saral<sup>786</sup>, Swarna<sup>787</sup> and Mariam<sup>788</sup> construct stories of spousal relationships using the strategy of identity construction to produce a sense of well being. Varam narrates about the peace she and her husband have because of having come to the Lord. Tiny in relating about her parental home constructs an identity of well being, though her father being a police officer followed the pattern of his departmental rule at home also in buying clothes of the same sort like uniform. She constructs a similar identity of well being in her marital home though her husband did not always accept her suggestions. Saguna had a sense of belonging in being with

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<sup>776</sup> Sweety – SR22

<sup>777</sup> Heera – TC99

<sup>778</sup> Ranjithamani – TC100

<sup>779</sup> Flora – TC73

<sup>780</sup> Jeyam – TC53

<sup>781</sup> Varam – SR57

<sup>782</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>783</sup> Saguna – SR66

<sup>784</sup> Ranjithamani – SR55

<sup>785</sup> Amar – SR13

<sup>786</sup> Saral – SR34

<sup>787</sup> Swarna – SR41

<sup>788</sup> Mariam – SR7

her relatives as one family. Ranjithamani's father's attitude towards her mother allowing her to participate in the small family business and using the income for her needs displays an identity of well being.

An identity of well being is constructed by Amar in her story of narrating how she was in charge of home management when her husband was in the defense service and how they both used consultative pattern to their satisfaction in buying presents for the children. Saral narrates an elaborate story of how her sense of well being has been achieved in her marital family after she changed her initial negative attitude of not liking her husband's low salary and the inconvenient housing they had. Her husband's understanding behaviour and the love and care shown by her parents-in-law during Christmas and at the time of childbirth changed her initial negative attitude. Swarna perceives and constructs an identity of well being in the spousal relationship in her parental home in which at first the mother was managing everything because the father was in the military. Further she also had a sense of well being because she and her siblings were taken shopping and given money liberally to spend. Though Mariam handed over finance management to her husband because she was a career woman, their spousal relationship makes her construct an identity of well being because they practiced 'equality' advising one another with the Lord's help. Arunkumari<sup>789</sup> in her one story claims to have been brought up well in her parental home. Amar<sup>790</sup>, Heera<sup>791</sup>, Saguna<sup>792</sup> and Saral<sup>793</sup> tell stories of treatment of children constructing an identity of a person experiencing well being.

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<sup>789</sup> Arunkumari – TC95

<sup>790</sup> Amar – TC39

<sup>791</sup> Heera – TC99

<sup>792</sup> Saguna – TC58

<sup>793</sup> Saral – TC62



## **J. Identity of Flexibility.**

Lovely<sup>794</sup> presents herself as understanding. Heera<sup>795</sup> in one story sees herself as giving in to the husband in money matters. Gem<sup>796</sup>, Arunkumari<sup>797</sup> and Tiny<sup>798</sup> produce apart from a victim identity an identity of an accommodator. These various stories of identity construction have also been dealt with in the other sections of different constructions.

Many of these narrators, Gem, Joy, Bina, Lila, Arunkumari, Sweety, Sampoorana, Mallimalar, Heera in three of her stories, Kamala, Tiny, Saguna, Ranjithamani, Amar, Saral, Sneha, Swarna, Mariam, Jeyam and Lovely close their construction with no further elaboration. Lita provides an explanation for her achievement in one story and for her perspective in the other narratives. Varam neatly ends her story of sense of well being. Heera ends one of her stories with a moralising claim about herself that she was not careful about spending, as her father was not. In another, she closes with her father's behaviour that he was carefree in spending by living for that day. Heera uses affirmation of the spousal relationship in her parental and marital homes to close two narratives. Sneha seems to draw away from her construction of her mother's identity; but probably she is only setting it in relief by contrasting herself with her mother. Thus in the opening, core and closure the narrators use a variety of styles and methods. Through different ways they all speak of their well being in their identity. Examples of an identity of well-being have been noted and are expressed in a variety of ways. But participants also expressed some sense of being victims as will be seen in the next section.

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<sup>794</sup> Lovely – SR35

<sup>795</sup> Heera – SR31

<sup>796</sup> Gem – SR36

<sup>797</sup> Arunkumari – SR64

<sup>798</sup> Tiny – SR27

## **XII. Construction of Victim Identity.**

Some of the narrators in their stories of relationships in the family construct a victim identity. The stories of victim identity differ in the way the narrators bring out a sense of ill treatment, helplessness, weakness, powerlessness or of being trapped, oppressed or receiving unjust treatment. These are different from the stories of identities of well being and strength while the narrator may use the story to portray how the storyteller handled the situation, negotiated or turned it around. The storyteller may also use other strategies of rationalisation, justification, explanation and claiming God's help or conformity to culture to portray different pictures. They use various types of openings.

Gem<sup>799</sup> begins with the background of her marital home in which her husband made all decisions according to his will. In another extract, she begins with the difficulty of partial treatment of children in parental home<sup>800</sup> that sets the scene for the identity to be constructed. Bina's story shows that in the area of handling chores the victim identity is constructed<sup>801</sup>. Bina also begins another story with the statement of domination in her parental home<sup>802</sup>. These openings portray the context that leads into the point of the story that is a construction of victim identity.

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<sup>799</sup> Gem – SR36

<sup>800</sup> Gem – TC27

<sup>801</sup> Bina – SR64

<sup>802</sup> Bina – SR69

Varam's story of victimisation of her mother starts with an entirely different point of her not having liked her name<sup>803</sup>. Though this seems to distract, it in fact leads into the point of construction of a victim identity in the story because of the negativism displayed. Varam in her narration of her victimisation after her marriage<sup>804</sup> similar to that of Flora and Bina begins with a negative point of the domination of her father-in-law. Arunkumari begins her story about her parents' negative attitude to her with her a Hindu having married a Christian<sup>805</sup>. This gives the clue that the victimisation is related to religion. In her story about her husband's demand about dress for her to cover herself with the end of the *saree* the opening is quite different. It begins with negative feeling that her husband wanted her to cover herself but allowed more freedom to the children.<sup>806</sup> Thus these narrators use the tool of negativism that is the use of negative feeling, point or attitude to construct a victim identity.

Sweety begins both her stories about spousal relationship with a reference to the family<sup>807</sup>. Betty<sup>808</sup> begins with reference to the family contrasting her parental and marital homes that prepares the listener. Mallimalar<sup>809</sup> shows that her stories concern her mother. Tiny's initial statement<sup>810</sup> that her father was a police officer leads into the story about the treatment of children. Lita<sup>811</sup> also begins her story of victimisation of women with reference to the family.

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<sup>803</sup> Varam – SR40

<sup>804</sup> Varam – SR60

<sup>805</sup> Arunkumari – TC86

<sup>806</sup> Arunkumari – SR62

<sup>807</sup> Sweety – SR72, SR44

<sup>808</sup> Betty – SR25

<sup>809</sup> Mallimalar – SR63

<sup>810</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>811</sup> Lita – SR38

Heera's<sup>812</sup> story about spousal relationship in her marital home begins with reference to the family. These stories begin with reference to the family and sometimes indicate the aspect of the family life either spousal relationship or treatment of children about which the story is constructed.

Flora in both the stories explicitly states that her mother was dominant in the parental home and her husband in the marital home<sup>813</sup>. Heera<sup>814</sup> explicitly states that her stories are about her advice and warning to her students. Swarna's beginning indicates explicitly that it is about her marital home<sup>815</sup>. Tiny's one story about the treatment of children in her parental home with her father following the pattern of police department<sup>816</sup>, Flora's statement about the lack of love and care of her mother<sup>817</sup>, Gem's statement about partial treatment of children in families<sup>818</sup>, Saral's saying about not having had a happy childhood<sup>819</sup> and Jeyam's indication of her mother loving the sons more<sup>820</sup> in their narratives about treatment of children start with explicit display of victimisation. Thus some narrators employ in the opening explicit display or statement of the point of the story.

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<sup>812</sup> Heera – SR31

<sup>813</sup> Flora – SR67, SR68

<sup>814</sup> Heera – SR26, SR65

<sup>815</sup> Swarna – SR6

<sup>816</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>817</sup> Flora – TC14

<sup>818</sup> Gem – TC27

<sup>819</sup> Saral – TC101

<sup>820</sup> Jeyam – TC53

Lita's story plunges straight into the point of victimisation of women in the family in that she opens with her mother-in-law's unhappiness about having brought her in as the daughter-in-law. She probably uses this strategy to maximise the effect. Saral has a long story of several points of victimisation with one of them opening the narration. Heera has a long descriptive opening of how her mother wanted to save up for the children while her father had no such idea. Thus the narrators use various strategies and styles to begin their stories. This variety in the beginning or opening of the stories, as it is stated below about the various strategies employed and also seen in throughout the narrations about any one aspect of their lived experiences, shows that these women are not singing a pre-set common song or dancing to a pre-agreed tune. Their experiences are multifaceted and various. They cannot be put in well defined categories or boxes. Their articulation and narration arise from their lives with them as active subjects and not as passive objects.

#### **A. Style of Acceptance of Victimisation.**

Gem<sup>821</sup> constructs her victim identity in her marital home in the areas of making decisions and handling finance. She had to accept and agree with this pattern of her husband making decisions and handling finance without giving her any freedom. This construction sharpens the victimisation of her not having freedom.

#### **B. Style of Use of Helplessness in Victimisation.**

Gem's<sup>822</sup> story about gender discrimination in both her parental and marital homes is constructed to display her helplessness of having to accept the pattern and exasperation of not

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<sup>821</sup> Gem – SR36

<sup>822</sup> Gem – TC27

being able to do anything about it. She has no further description. Bina<sup>823</sup> highlights the intensity of her victimisation in the area of chores in her marital home with an emphatic statement that her husband would not even boil some water.

### **C. Styles of Construction of Pathos.**

Flora<sup>824</sup> makes brief but strong statements of her victimisation in her parental and marital homes with categorical claims of the family being without love. Bina's<sup>825</sup> story of victimisation of her mother is constructed to show her pathetic situation by stating that the father held all authority without giving any freedom in handling finance and making decisions though her mother also earned. The word 'all' is repeated to heighten the sense of victimisation.

### **D. Descriptive Style used for Constructing Victim Identity.**

Varam's<sup>826</sup> story about her life in the home of the parents-in-law is narrated with a lot of description to make the listener get at the acuteness of victimisation. It is sharpened with the bit about her mental illness and separation from the husband. Betty<sup>827</sup> is elaborate in her construction. To show the sharpness of her victimisation in her marital home in the area of finance she goes into detailed description of how she had financial liberty in her parental home to the extent of forging the father's signature while buying groceries.

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<sup>823</sup> Bina – SR65

<sup>824</sup> Flora – SR67, SR68,

<sup>825</sup> Bina – SR69

<sup>826</sup> Varam – SR60

<sup>827</sup> Betty – SR25

Amar's<sup>828</sup> story of victimisation of parents whom the sons abandon is long and descriptive about the lack of love of the sons and emotional hurt of the parents. Tiny's<sup>829</sup> story about treatment of children in the parental home is also descriptive with key phrases such as 'we used to grumble' and 'we used to fight'. Arunkumari<sup>830</sup> also uses several phrases in her descriptive narrations about treatment of children in her marital home displaying the victimisation – 'burden', 'it is difficult' and 'cannot'. In another story, she<sup>831</sup> just uses description of the victimisation caused by the demand by her husband in requiring her to cover herself with the end of the *saree*. Saral<sup>832</sup> narrates her several stories of victimisation by the stepmother with long and many details. She uses minute details, reference to attitudes, treatment, lack of love and care, failure to fulfil parental responsibilities and many such features. Jeyam<sup>833</sup> constructs her elaborate story of victimisation providing the difference in the attitude of the mother towards the sons and daughters, and also the strict discipline the mother imposed in learning the Scripture. Swarna<sup>834</sup> constructs her story of victimisation in her marital home in the early years. She gives descriptive detail of how the husband wanted her to follow what he said and controlled her movement outside the home and in financial matters.

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<sup>828</sup> Amar – TC44

<sup>829</sup> Tiny – SR27

<sup>830</sup> Arunkumari – TC88

<sup>831</sup> Arunkumari – SR62

<sup>832</sup> Saral – TC101, TC102, TC103, TC104, TC105

<sup>833</sup> Jeyam – TC53

<sup>834</sup> Swarna – SR6

### **E. Mother Victimised with Financial Burden.**

Varam<sup>835</sup> shows that the difficult situation of her parental home victimised her mother because she worked hard and struggled to bring up the children. Sweety<sup>836</sup> tells of her mother's victimisation by way of her father not taking responsibility and the mother having had to take up a job. Mallimalar<sup>837</sup> accentuates her mother's victimisation by describing how her father would refuse to go for work if he would see the meagre earnings of the mother. She constructs another story<sup>838</sup> narrating her father's acknowledgement of the mother's victimisation and his advice to Mallimalar not to hurt the mother.

### **F. Oppression Used for Victimisation.**

Arunkumari's two stories are narrated to show the negative reaction of the parents to her marriage. She gives the details that it was her choice of marriage and across religion (she a Hindu marrying a Christian) that angered the parents.<sup>839</sup> Arunkumari describes her sense of victimisation in her marital home in her husband's demand for her to follow a particular dresscode of covering herself with the end of the *saree*<sup>840</sup>. Sweety's<sup>841</sup> story about her mother-in-law is told differently. Her mother-in-law was a victim of the domination and anger of her father-in-law. Heera<sup>842</sup> describes the victimisation in her parental home because the parents had to give dowry for her sisters by selling the house that in her narration is oppressive. In her

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<sup>835</sup> Varam – SR40

<sup>836</sup> Sweety – SR44

<sup>837</sup> Mallimalar – SR45

<sup>838</sup> Mallimalar – SR63

<sup>839</sup> Arunkumari – TC86

<sup>840</sup> Arunkumari – SR62

<sup>841</sup> Sweety – SR70

<sup>842</sup> Heera – TC99



warning and advice to her students<sup>843</sup> she constructs a victim identity of women in general describing the oppression in society. Flora<sup>844</sup> constructs her story of victimisation of the lack of love and care of her husband while she has had to take responsibility for the upbringing of the children.

### **G. Brief Construction.**

Jeyavathy<sup>845</sup> is short in her narration about her father's strictness meted out with beating. Devar is brief in narrating the victimisation of her only son who struggled with frail health. She<sup>846</sup> was unable to make him involve in spiritual activities as much as she would have liked to. Gem has no description but a mere brief statement of the victimisation of gender discrimination<sup>847</sup>. She does not explicitly state that it was gender discrimination, but it appears to be so.

### **J. Claims, Assertions and Humour Used as Narrative Styles.**

Tiny constructs her narration of victimisation of her as a girl child based on a cultural tradition<sup>848</sup>. Arunavathy describes the victimisation of women when they do not have the freedom and right to take care of children's discipline<sup>849</sup>. Her story is characterised with assertions that women know how to discipline children and should have the freedom to do so.

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<sup>843</sup> Heera – SR26, SR65

<sup>844</sup> Flora – TC73

<sup>845</sup> Jeyavathy – TC106

<sup>846</sup> Devar – TC52

<sup>847</sup> Gem – TC27

<sup>848</sup> Tiny – TC107

<sup>849</sup> Arunavathy – TC108

Varam in describing the victimisation of her parental family in a time of financial difficulty uses humour about the new clothes bought for the festival<sup>850</sup>. Lita describes the victimisation by the disapproval of her mother-in-law and also in general of women.<sup>851</sup> Thus these narratives of construction of victim identity are built with various styles.

In closure Gem firms up her construction of victim identity with phrases such as 'like that, like that' and 'no other way, yes'. Tiny closes with a short affirmation 'like that' and 'had that of police department' emphasising the strict regime the father imposed like that of a police department. Amar, Varam, Devar and Flora end with a reiteration of the points they have each made in their respective stories. Arunkumari and Jeyavathy also use affirmation. Flora winds up her two stories differently, one with an assertion of the victim identity. The other has a closure with a claim to God's help. For a story of victimisation to be closed with a claim to God's help seems not fitting or not proper. Varam closes one of her stories with an assertion and the other with a positive note similar to that of Flora. Arunkumari closes her three stories in different ways – one she focuses on her parents' anger, another similar to Flora brings out her faith aspect and in the third she deepens the victim identity with the comment about her dresscode from the domestic help why Arunkumari should dress in that manner. Sweety in both her stories and Betty close with a positive religious claim contrasting the victim identity. Mallimalar also ends one of her stories on a positive note of her father's advice. Heera ends her stories with a contrasting identity construction of her as a no-problem person, a militant woman and an adjusting spouse. Sweety also uses this contrast device to smooth out her construction. Lita effectively uses generalisations to complete her stories. Swarna also like

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<sup>850</sup> Varam – TC81

<sup>851</sup> Lita – SR38, SR73

Lita voices out her opinion that women are not merely childbearing machines. See Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 182

some others has a positive note at the end. Arunavathy ends with a claim for the rights of women.

Bina formally closes her one story with the statement that it was a point. She does not explain what she means by this point. Heera turns from victimisation to a sense of well being in closing. Gem closes with moralising her reaction to victimisation. Jeyam sees the positive value of the victimisation she perceives. Saral closes her long narration of victimisation by her step-mother in forcing her to marry someone she did not like and her not having been able to accept her marriage, with a long description of the change and a happy married life.

Thus the various narrators use different tools and methods to wind up their stories of victimisation. They are able to articulate and give reasons for why there has been victimisation from some point of view, but how they may be able to rationalise, justify, explain, make claims of God's grace or conforming to culture, negotiate, invert or contest what has been happening.

## **CONCLUSION.**

One can see in these stories about spousal relationship and treatment of children that the women narrators use several different strategies and methods to construct their stories. These stories fall into many patterns such as claims of equality and well being, rationalisation, justification and explanation, women being in control, valorisation, conformity to culture, claims of non-conformity, contrast, identity construction and construction of victim identity.

The variety of methods and strategies used display the various means and tools the narrators employ to construct stories that are acceptable and 'tellable'. Further they are not 'singing or

dancing to one common stereotypical tune'. Their experiences are varied and multifaceted. They cannot be put into straitjackets or pre-set boxes or categories of oppression or lack of freedom. Moreover the women are not passive objects but active subjects. These patterns and styles are used to make meaning correlate with their commonsense understanding of everyday life. The narrators attempt to make sense of their everyday experiences and actions. The stories are constructed to be adequate accounts and tellable performances. These adequate accounts are undergirded by the overarching theme of 'equality'. So the narrators claim, rationalise, justify, explain, valorise, contrast and construct identities to fit their overall theme of 'equality'. The narrators rationalise the separation of domestic and social spheres, conformity to culture and tenderness towards the daughter. They justify family circumstances, lack of discrimination, ethical and faith claims and interest in the welfare of children. The storytellers justify discipline as a core concern. The narrators use explanation, the strategy of rooting in custom, negotiating strategies, the tool of making a claim, the use of a religious claim, contrast and description to construct a story of valorisation. In constructing stories of contrast they use various devices such as detail, description, juxtaposition, contrast words, attitudinal differences, claims, situation of lack of care and pattern of bringing up children.

The narrators construct various types of identities that may be listed as chivalrous identity, identity of strength and care, identity of freedom and liberation, identity of equality without discrimination or partiality, identity of a disciplined person, identity of spirituality, identity of well being and identity of flexibility of accommodating or adjusting or being flexible or being able to negotiate. The storytellers construct victim identities with acceptance of victimisation, of helplessness, characterised by pathos, with description, of a mother victimised by financial burden and of oppression. These victim identities are also constructed using brief statements, claims, assertions and humour. The women explain how these stories of victim identities may

be looked at from a different point of view. The women use other strategies to negotiate, explain, rationalise, justify, invert or contest the victim identity. At the end of the day these are not denying equality or portraying oppression. Using these patterns or strategies to construct their stories the women narrators bring out their perceptions of spousal relationships and treatment of children to build their self perception of who a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai is at the turn of the millennium.

These self perceptions portray women claiming 'equality' in general, in finance handling, decision making, sharing chores, rearing children in spousal relationships and treatment of children. Where their claims of equality may be challenged, questioned or debated, they may be rationalised, justified and explained. In cases in which there is inequality the narrators construct an appropriate identity or victimisation born out of inequality. They also claim control exercised by women in their stories. Their claims use contrast and patterns of culture keepers or culture breakers. The story tellers valorise their perceptions of equality or apparent lack of equality.

Thus they construct stories of self perception and self construction which do not fit the academic discussions of Indian women seen in the literature review of the books by Ghadially, Desai and Krishnaraj, Tellis-Nayak and Derne in chapter two. These academic books on Indian gender studies portray Indian women as subordinated and the girl children being given a secondary place.

In contrast, the women of the sample group construct stories of spousal relationship claiming equality displayed in 'togetherness', and 'equal treatment' of children. If their stories do not fit their perceptions of 'equality' and 'freedom', they may rationalise. The separation of domestic

and social spheres are rationalised in such a way that these women do not find it problematic that they or others in their stories were in charge of the domestic spheres while the men participated in the social sphere. The rationalisation may also be a tool used to defend their situation of conforming to the culture or in the case of the children of Saguna to rationalise the tenderness of her husband towards the daughter.

Likewise the treatment of children also may be rationalised. In the case of Bina's discourse about the pros and cons of having daughter and son, rationalisation is used to show that both are valuable or a daughter is preferred in some circumstances or a son in some others. Gem justifies the spousal relationship with her husband by narrating the family situation. This does not in any way seem to be oppression for her. Lita also uses the ethical claim to justify her stand that she would go out for societal participation only after having completed the household chores. Stories about treatment of children where the son helped in domestic chores or a daughter-in-law took up the profession of ordained ministry are justified with the interest in the welfare of the children. Ranjithamani justifies the lack of discrimination in the treatment of male and female children both in her parental and marital homes. Sampoorana also justifies the treatment of children in her parental home with the claim of discipline being a core concern. Varam and Swarna explain how their mothers managed the family. This method of explanation is used by Betty to portray her spousal relationship with her husband with a claim to God's grace. The stories of women's control present a picture of women of strength and ability.

Saguna explains her husband handling finance with valorising that he was wiser and she left it to him. This story does not portray Saguna as a subordinate or an oppressed person. She has found her husband to be wiser in handling finance and has chosen to leave it to him. Gem

valorises her not letting her husband do the domestic chores. It has not been oppression for her because it is the custom in the family and she does not like the husband doing the domestic chores. Once again it is her choice. On the other hand it is not oppression or breaking of custom when she valorises her only son helping with the domestic chores. For some women such as Ranjithamani the woman is in charge of the domestic chores. But she finds negotiating strategies of employing some domestic help and valorises this aspect of her spousal relationship.

Many women valorise the role of their mothers by portraying their managing the family beautifully. Several women make a religious claim to valorise the spousal relationship or the treatment of children, bringing in God's work, grace, help or will. Heera in her story about how many women are oppressed valorises her situation using the tool of contrast that her situation was different. Some valorise the spousal relationship or the treatment of children by valorising with description. The strategy of conforming to culture is used to portray either spousal relationship or treatment of children which otherwise may be contested from an egalitarian perspective. On the other hand there are stories of spousal relationship or treatment of children as in the case of Lita which portray breaking of culture and produce a picture of freedom. Both in stories of spousal relationship and treatment of children the tool of contrast is used to portray pictures of equality and freedom. Many of these women construct identities of chivalry, strength and care, freedom and liberation, equality without discrimination or partiality, discipline, spirituality, well being and flexibility. When they construct stories of victim identity, there is acceptance, helplessness, pathos, financial necessity, oppression, a claim, assertion or humour is brought in. These stories of victim identity as may be seen in the sections dealing with other strategies of construction, do not portray oppression since they rationalise, justify, explain, contrast, claim to follow culture, claim God's help and grace or

use some such negotiating, inverting or contesting strategies. This contributes to the overall aim of the thesis to discover the self perception and self construction of these women.

From here I move on to look at the self-perception and self-construction of these narrators in the area of perspectives on education and career.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION AND CAREER

#### I. Introduction.

The previous chapter presented the aspect of relationships in the family. Within this area of consideration the components of spousal relationship and treatment of children were taken for discussion. The narratives pertaining to these two components were analysed and presented under the various patterns of construction that emerged. The styles of construction revealed the self-perception and self-construction of the storytellers. The focus was on how they constructed the narratives, what emerged and why the stories were constructed in the way the tellers narrated them.

The perspective on education and career is the subject matter of this chapter. Education and career are two important aspects of the lived experiences of the women of the sample group.<sup>852</sup> These are also shown to be significant in the relevant family studies in India<sup>853</sup>. In evangelical theologies of gender also the issues of education and career of women are important for the question who a woman is<sup>854</sup>. Joyce Baldwin and I. Howard Marshall argue that there is no role distinction either regarding the tasks in home and society or in the church. This displays the

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<sup>852</sup> Vimala Mehta in her book has explored several areas also women and education and women and professions. She also notes that the multi-dimensional forces of industrialisation, urbanisation and socio-educational advancement affect various aspects of the traditional Indian society, Mehta, 1979, p. 51

Asok Mitra in his book *The Status Of Women. Literacy and Employment*. Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1979 argues that female literacy, education, employment and improvement in public health lead to reduction in infant and child mortality and causes a move towards a small family.

<sup>853</sup> For example the studies of Aileen Ross, 1961 and M. Indiradevi, 1987 referred to in Chapter 2.

<sup>854</sup> For example the books by Gretchen Gaeblein Hull, 1987 and 1990 and Mary Van Leeuwen Stewart, 1990 and 1993 referred to in Chapter 2.

importance of career for women.<sup>855</sup> Another particular example is the argument of Elaine Storkey about women in the workplace.<sup>856</sup> Having done away with role distinctions, the evangelical feminists with their view of freedom in Christ to fulfil the role one is called to, would argue for education and career for women.<sup>857</sup> This makes these two issues important for the discussion of who a Tamil Christian woman is. Thus the self-perception and self-construction of the narrators about education and career need to be examined. Education is seen as preparation for life and in a narrower sense as preparation for career. In the narratives also both these are linked together in various ways. So this chapter deals with these two themes or aspects.

## **II. Education and Career taken for granted as Cultural Norms.**

Several participants construct their narratives of educational opportunities for women taking for granted that education for women is not an issue for debate. They assume that women's education is the norm of the day. Similarly in some of the stories about women's career, the narrators project, assume or take for granted that career is the 'done thing' or the normal and the usual pattern for women. The narratives about education in this pattern have no elaborate description of the setting about the situation of women's education or any formal descriptive opening. The listener is expected to know about the situation of women's education that is the subject matter of the narratives.

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<sup>855</sup> Joyce Baldwin, 'Women's ministry: a new look at the biblical texts', pp. 158 - 176 and I. Howard Marshall, 'The role of women in the church', pp. 177 - 197 in Lees ed., 1984

<sup>856</sup> Storkey, 'Christian Feminism Today' in Storkey, 1985, pp. 160 - 179

<sup>857</sup> See also the description of egalitarian view in Chapter two, section V, A, 2.

In some of the stories phrases or statements occur which are probably are meant to give some clue or lead into the story. Joy<sup>858</sup> begins with ‘I don’t know about studies’, while she makes it clear in one extract that she is talking about her future family<sup>859</sup>. Sweety gives a count of her four daughters and the two girls of her mother<sup>860</sup>. This count is used to highlight the significance of women’s education. Ranjithamani just as Sweety, uses the count that she has one boy and one girl<sup>861</sup>. Gem begins with the single word ‘education’<sup>862</sup>. Melody<sup>863</sup> begins with ‘And children also, studies,’ Mariam’s response to the question<sup>864</sup> about studies is quite brief with the opening ‘Yes, it’s all so ....’ This gives a forceful agreement because of its short crisp statement.

In most of the narratives about career in a pattern similar to the narratives about education, there is no elaborate setting or description of the context. The narrator straightaway begins with the issue of career. By this action the listener probably is expected to surmise the context of the stories or probably the very fact that women’s career is taken for granted by the storyteller allows her to proceed without any elaborate descriptive opening.

Sneha’s story about her situation in her parental home and her attitude to career seems to be the only one with an elaborate beginning. This beginning is also about the ‘liberty’ her parents

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<sup>858</sup> Joy – E(Education)1. The narratives about education are found in Appendix 9.

<sup>859</sup> Joy – E2

<sup>860</sup> Sweety – E3

<sup>861</sup> Ranjithamani – E4

<sup>862</sup> Gem – E5

<sup>863</sup> Melody – E6

<sup>864</sup> Mariam – E7

have given her and the guidance they give her<sup>865</sup>. Sneha's other extract about her being a working woman elaborately describes her enjoying being a working woman. The other stories in this category begin with the issue of career<sup>866</sup>.

In these narratives about women's education the style of claims of freedom is used. In the construction of these narratives following the pattern of taking women's education for granted, the women make different statements to assert their core point. However, freedom for education is emphasised to be a woman's prerogative. Joy<sup>867</sup> asserts that in her parental home they were given the freedom to study whatever the children wanted to, 'studies like whatever you want to learn you can learn'. Her<sup>868</sup> narrative of her future home is slightly different. She makes her core point with the statement 'naturally what they want' and proceeds to give an explanation that 'if we learn we can be well'. Sweety<sup>869</sup> also displays the style of freedom for education in stating that they educated their four daughters according to what they wanted and clinches the point with 'there is no problem in it'. Ranjithamani also makes the point that her daughter completed her first degree<sup>870</sup>. Gem<sup>871</sup> asserts the freedom for women to study as

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<sup>865</sup> Sneha – C(Career)1. The narratives about career are found in Appendix 10.

<sup>866</sup> Joy – C1  
Melody – C3, C4  
Gem – C7  
Ranjithamani – C8  
Saguna – C9  
Joy – C2  
Priya – C5  
Sneha – C12

<sup>867</sup> Joy – E(Education)1  
Compare this with what Shashi Jain says about equal opportunity for the education of both sons and daughters. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62

<sup>868</sup> Joy – E2

<sup>869</sup> Sweety – E3

<sup>870</sup> Ranjithamani – E4

<sup>871</sup> Gem – E5

much as they wanted. Melody's story<sup>872</sup> explains that she would help her future children in their education. However she asserts the freedom they would have in making their final decision. Mariam<sup>873</sup> in her brief statement of two words agrees that in her experience women had the freedom to study as much as they wanted. In all these ways of talking about the education of women the narrators construct their stories with the assumption that women's education was and is normal. There is no elaborate stage setting or question raised or debate about the education of women. Women's education is taken for granted without any denial or negative challenge. The question whether women should be educated at all is not raised at all.

Similar style of claims of freedom is used in these narratives about career also. Having begun to talk about career, the women proceed to display their assumption or concept that a career for women or being a career woman is not out of the usual pattern of the lived experiences they are narrating. Joy<sup>874</sup> uses phrases such as 'we chose our career', 'naturally what they want', 'usually people nowadays', 'if I'm doing a job' and 'if they are working, naturally they'. Melody states that her mother is a doctor<sup>875</sup> and claims parental support for her<sup>876</sup>. Priya in her future marital home wants freedom to be a career woman without marriage restricting it<sup>877</sup>, and wants to give the same freedom to her future children<sup>878</sup>. Gem<sup>879</sup> states that in her parental home she was allowed to work. Ranjithamani narrates about her mother's

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<sup>872</sup> Melody – E6

<sup>873</sup> Mariam – E7

<sup>874</sup> Joy – C(Career)1, C2. Narratives about career are found in Appendix 10.

<sup>875</sup> Melody – C3

<sup>876</sup> Melody – C4

<sup>877</sup> Priya – C5

<sup>878</sup> Priya – C6

<sup>879</sup> Gem – C7

involvement in the family business of a small bakery<sup>880</sup>. Saguna<sup>881</sup> talks about her parental home without restriction for her work. A similar claim is made by Saral<sup>882</sup> regarding her children. Sneha<sup>883</sup> in her two extracts about her parental and future marital homes claims freedom to be a working woman. These are all used as devices to make the listener surmise that a career for a woman was neither totally banned nor was it unusual. In all these extracts the narrators attempt to present the situation of women's career as the pattern and norm for women. This end is achieved by the way they speak of their experiences or expectations.

Having constructed their stories with the assumption that women's education and career are taken for granted, these extracts about education do not display any elaborate closure except for some brief statements by some of them. In her closure of the narration about the education of children in her parental home Joy asserts that her mother wanted all the daughters and sons to learn. This probably is also meant to put forward a claim of equality among the sons and daughters. In her story about her future home she closes differently by making the statement that education is natural. This reinforces the pattern of women's education not being contested. Sweety emphasises women's education by three statements – that they gave equal educational opportunity for their four daughters, they allowed them to study whatever they wanted and that there was no problem in that. This final statement of assertion becomes the closure. Gem firmly closes her story with the statement 'Yes, that is all'. Ranjithamani's story of assumption of the naturality of women's education closes with the claim that her daughter

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<sup>880</sup> Ranjithamani – C8

<sup>881</sup> Saguna – C9

<sup>882</sup> Saral – C10

<sup>883</sup> Sneha – C11, C12

Sneha's speaking of her mother as a role model is attested by Fransella and Frost, 1977, pp. 116 – 117, that many teenagers spoke of their childhood and teenage identification with their mothers as role model.

studied well according to her desire. Melody speaking of the education of her future children closes the narration with the assertion that she would give them the freedom to do according to their interest. It has been earlier stated that Mariam closes with a firm agreement with the education of women. Finally these stories close with a firm and strong agreement that education is valid and natural for women.

In the stories of attempts to display a career as the norm for women, some narratives are left open ended and some have a conclusion pertaining to women's career to wind up the story. Joy in her two extracts has a conclusion about their parents allowing them to choose their career and her wanting to follow the same pattern in taking care of her future children. Melody's stories have similar conclusions about men and women, her mother and she having freedom to work that is also the core point of the story. Thus she constructs her story to display her point of freedom for women's career. Priya, after making her statements in her two stories, concludes with a concession about her willingness to put in some extra effort on the domestic front in her marital home and to concede to her future children's choice. Gem and Ranjithamani close their stories with statements such as 'they did like that'. Saguna and Saral end their narrations claiming that there was no objection to women working. Sneha brings to conclusion her two elaborate stories about her experience in her parental home and what she wants in her future marital home, affirming her present position of having a good job and an expectation of a balanced life of a working woman and a caring mother.

Thus in all these narratives the main point of accepting careers for women as the norm is worked at in the opening and in the closure. There is no debate or doubt. The listener is just made to listen to the stories and accept them without raising any question. The way the narrators talk about women and careers shows that these women are resolute and committed to

women having careers; there is no debate, no discussion, and no hesitancy. This shows that this concept is well accepted in their community by men and women. This sits at odds with statements in some of the academic writing. For example, Ghadially's edited book concludes that the traditional sex role stereotypes are deeply embedded in Indian society. Ghadially, Desai and Krishnaraj and Tellis-Nayak claim that women are discriminated against in the opportunities in both education and career.<sup>884</sup>

### **III. Stories Emphasising the Necessity of Women's Education and Career.**

Another set of stories is constructed to emphasise the necessity of educating women. Sometimes it may be an open claim, it may be implicit in a different claim, or it may have to be inferred from the construction or a claim. Some stories are constructed to display that a career for women is a necessity or some women had taken up career out of necessity<sup>885</sup>.

Some stories about education have some descriptive material while others simply make the point with no elaborate construction of a beginning, setting or description. Joy, Sampoorna and Mariam have no formal setting of the context. However they show that they are speaking about education<sup>886</sup> that gives a clue to the subject of the narrative. Bina<sup>887</sup>, Kamala<sup>888</sup> and

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<sup>884</sup> Ghadially, 1988, pp. 99 – 147

See also Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, pp. 148 – 183

See also the point made by Tellis – Nayak referred to in Chapter two, Section III. D. Also, Tellis – Nayak, 1983, pp. 43 -51

<sup>885</sup> Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 21 and p. 118, note that many women are at work either out of necessity or choice while many are sole supporters of their families. See also P. Caplan, 1985, p. 87 for the situation that many women work out of economic necessity.

<sup>886</sup> Sampoorna – E9  
Mariam – E10

<sup>887</sup> Bina – E13

<sup>888</sup> Kamala – E14



Varam<sup>889</sup> all straightaway begin with their statement about the importance of women's education. The three stories follow various trajectories later.

Heera<sup>890</sup> and Tiny<sup>891</sup> describe what their parents had expressed to give a clue to the main core of the story about women's education. Jeyam has an elaborate description of the positive and encouraging attitude of her parents<sup>892</sup> towards education. Similarly Jeyavathy also has an elaborate description of her father's initial negative attitude to women's higher education that she contrasts with her uncle's attitude positive attitude to allow women to go to college, to lead the listener into the story<sup>893</sup> about women's education. Thus all these women make clear in some way or other that they speak about the necessity of educating women which is described in the sections below about the core points of the stories using various styles of construction.

Mallimalar's story of the necessity of work for her mother in her parental home sharply begins with the reason of financial need<sup>894</sup>. Varam's extract about her mother<sup>895</sup> also has a similar context. Sweety's mother's background<sup>896</sup> is also similar to these two mentioned above. Jeyavathy's construction about her career is elaborate and descriptive about the attitudes of her father and uncle regarding women's education. Varam speaking about herself begins her story

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<sup>889</sup> Varam – E15

<sup>890</sup> Heera – E11

<sup>891</sup> Tiny – E12

<sup>892</sup> Jeyam – E17

<sup>893</sup> Jeyavathy – E16

<sup>894</sup> Mallimalar – C13

<sup>895</sup> Varam – C14

<sup>896</sup> Sweety – C15

with the assertion that women's education is essential for women to pursue some career to have a decent income<sup>897</sup>. Saral's story begins with her experience of victimisation of her step-mother wanting her to bring in income, becoming the necessity for her search for a job<sup>898</sup>. All these narrators begin their stories with either an elaborate or short description of the context.

#### **A. Style of Insistence upon Education.**

Joy's brief statement 'my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn' emphatically puts forward the point<sup>899</sup>. Similarly Sampoorna also makes a firm statement<sup>900</sup> about her mother that she was quite strict in the matter of discipline, education and attending school. Mariam<sup>901</sup> makes a brief but emphatic statement that all the children had received equal importance for education from both her father and mother.

#### **B. Explicit Emphasis as a Style of Construction.**

Both Heera<sup>902</sup> and Tiny<sup>903</sup> explicitly state their parental emphasis on the necessity of women's education. However Heera's mother is depicted as someone quite interested in the daughter's education even up to postgraduate level while the story is different for Tiny. Tiny's father, though insisting upon her being educated, had a different rationale for it. He is shown by Tiny as someone not interested in women's education as a preparation for career but for the

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<sup>897</sup> Varam – E15

<sup>898</sup> Saral – C17

<sup>899</sup> Joy – E8

<sup>900</sup> Sampoorna – E9

<sup>901</sup> Mariam – E10

<sup>902</sup> Heera – E11

<sup>903</sup> Tiny – E12

See also Caplan, 1985, p. 86 for the notion that girls must have training even if they do not use it.

improvement of knowledge. Thus the stories are constructed with different content to display the importance and necessity of women's education.

### **C. Using an Explicit Claim of Necessity as a Style.**

Bina, Kamala, Tiny and Varam, all explicitly claim that education for women is a necessity. However each one of them, or in the case of Tiny her father, also gives a different reason for their claim. Both for Bina<sup>904</sup> and Tiny<sup>905</sup> it is for economic reasons if the woman has to be the main breadwinner. Kamala sees her lack of proper education causing her to limit her involvement in church activities<sup>906</sup>. Varam<sup>907</sup> sees her lack of higher education as a limitation in not having been able to get a good job to improve the economic status of the family.

### **D. Long Descriptive Style.**

Jeyavathy constructs a lengthy story<sup>908</sup> of how her father was not interested in higher education for women. She proceeds to bring out sharply the necessity of women's education by contrasting her uncle's attitude of support for women's higher education with her father's limiting the level of women's education and also by bringing out her desire to become a graduate. Her emphasis on women's education is brought out clearly by her own efforts for further education and the encouragement she gave to her sister.

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<sup>904</sup> Bina – E13

<sup>905</sup> Tiny – E12

<sup>906</sup> Kamala – E14

<sup>907</sup> Varam – E15

Varam's view that a woman's work would support or improve the living standard of their families is evidenced by Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 118

<sup>908</sup> Jeyavathy – E16

Jeyam's story is discussed in other sections but from a different perspective of the narrative construction. Here her construction of her story of her mother's emphasis on education may be used to highlight the importance of women's education<sup>909</sup>.

#### **E. Financial Necessity Put Forward for Career.**

In some of these narratives the storytellers put forward financial necessity as the reason for women's work outside the home. The reason is placed as the basis of their claim and assertion. Thus Mallimalar<sup>910</sup>, Varam<sup>911</sup>, Sweety<sup>912</sup>, Jeyavathy<sup>913</sup> and Saral<sup>914</sup> pose financial necessity as the reason for making some women seek employment outside the home. However, they in no way subscribe to the view that these women have been unproductive in their homes. In many of these stories the woman is also in charge of the domestic responsibility. The mothers of Mallimalar and Sweety sought work outside the home to augment the family income or to help the family in a time of financial crisis. But their stories (see Chapter four section VI) about their mothers being in control and strong, do not present a picture of helplessness or weakness. Varam gives a picture of her sister being in a good position because of being a career woman. Jeyavathy also in talking about herself and her sister having been working women, portrays a picture of independence, well being and strength.

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<sup>909</sup> Jeyam – E17

<sup>910</sup> Mallimalar – C13

<sup>911</sup> Varam – C14

<sup>912</sup> Sweety – C15

<sup>913</sup> Jeyavathy – C16

For Jeyavathy her career is a proof of her independence while for Sneha it is to show as in the case of her mother that her mother is a good wife and mother. On the other hand for Sweety, Varam, Sampoorana and Mallimalar the employment of their mothers showed the inability of their fathers to provide adequately for the family. See Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 13

<sup>914</sup> Saral – C17

The brief stories of Joy, Sampoorna and Mariam have no formal closure. These three do not have any lengthy opening also. Probably the narrators feel that their point of the importance and necessity of women's education displayed through their experience in their parental homes is emphatically put forward in a brief manner.

Jeyavathy closes her story with the statement of her sister's education that had enabled her sister to become a teacher. Similarly Heera also gives a closure with the success note. Both Bina and Kamala in closure emphasise the importance of women's education. Tiny leaves it open with her father's rationalisation for her education while Varam closes her story with her own rationalisation.

Jeyam's story of her mother's emphasis on women's education is constructed with an elaborate detail of her education and closes with her successful completion of her studies culminating in her procurement of a job. These narrators may not use widely different techniques of constructing their stories of the importance of women's education but make their point emphatically.

Each of these narratives about women's career is wound up to a closure with a clear resolution of the problem of financial necessity by presenting the solution of women's work. Mallimalar, Varam and Sweety in narrating about their parental homes claim that their mothers worked and brought them up. Jeyavathy does not claim any dire financial necessity. She tells her story of her sticking to her career in spite of difficulties of her husband and herself not having found work in the same place for a while. Her father-in-law also pressurised her to resign her work and go to the place of her husband's work. She brings her story to a close highlighting the need for extra income and her family enjoying financial stability in retirement because of her

having stuck to her career. In a similar vein but with a difference Varam closes her story about her marital home with the claim that women's career and employment would positively contribute to the family's finance and well being. Saral's extract about having needed to work is closed with her having procured a job, but it has a painful note of her not having been married until a late age. In one way or another these narratives claim the necessity of women's work.

Apart from the stories of freedom and liberty these women had or in their view women should have, some narratives insist on the necessity of women's education and career. It is not merely being free to have education and career but also the necessity to have education and career. This brings out the importance given to women's education and career in the community of the narrators. The idea of having freedom may give room to raise the question whether these women after all should have education and career. This will raise a debate. These narrators do not want any debate or issue raised about women's education and career. The issue of women's education and career is settled and well established in their minds. It is necessary. There is no further question raised about that.

#### **IV. Pattern of Glorification.**

Not surprisingly, given the resolute commitment to education for women, one also finds in their narratives the glorification<sup>915</sup> of education. The storytellers use this strategy to glorify or magnify or placing on a pedestal or make great or praiseworthy or commendable or good or high. The women in their narrations glorify either a person who encouraged them or the

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<sup>915</sup> Glorification: The story tellers use this strategy to glorify or magnify or placing on a pedestal or make great or praiseworthy or commendable or good or high.

opportunity given or the achievement. Similarly some of these narratives glorify and approve of the career of women and career women.

The stories about women's education in this section have a general context. The core action being 'glorification' most of these begin with a positive note or tone. Lila<sup>916</sup> begins with the claim of 'no partiality, no partiality'. Amar in one extract<sup>917</sup> begins with the interest of the husband and in another adopts a matter of fact tone<sup>918</sup> of stating that it was the responsibility of the children to go to school regularly, learn the lessons and do the homework. Heera<sup>919</sup>, Amar<sup>920</sup> and Jeyam<sup>921</sup> who glorify the interest of their mothers specifically state the interest of the mother right at the beginning. Varam, as pointed out in the previous section begins with an assertion of the necessity of women's education<sup>922</sup>. Saguna's narration<sup>923</sup> prepares the hearer for the positive construction with what happened in her childhood days while she was in school and her older brother was in college. Heera claims<sup>924</sup> her emphasis on God's will as the preparation for her positive construction about her daughters' education. Lovely<sup>925</sup> begins with a claim to a miracle in her life about how she was able to switch streams in her engineering

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<sup>916</sup> Lila – E18

<sup>917</sup> Amar – E19

<sup>918</sup> Amar – E20

<sup>919</sup> Heera – E11

<sup>920</sup> Amar – E27

<sup>921</sup> Jeyam – E17

<sup>922</sup> Varam – E15

<sup>923</sup> Saguna – E21

<sup>924</sup> Heera – E25

<sup>925</sup> Lovely – E23

studies without any extra payment and much after the courses had begun. Mariam<sup>926</sup> narrates her story as a response to the question about the level for women's education<sup>927</sup>.

Tiny's story has no formal opening except that she begins indicating that it is about her husband<sup>928</sup>. Saguna's extract about her children's education<sup>929</sup> goes straight into the story. Saral has no elaborate beginning<sup>930</sup>. Lacking an elaborate or specific beginning is one of the ways in which a narrator may construct the story. This may indicate the narrator's assumption of inside knowledge of the audience or it may just be one of the various methods of construction. Narratives may not have set patterns of construction. Those who begin with similar openings may follow different methods of construction in the core of the narrative. Then the closure also may vary. Thus the storytellers may follow various trajectories of construction.

The various narrators begin their stories of glorification of career in different ways. Lila<sup>931</sup> and Amar in her extract about her brother<sup>932</sup> and in the one about her mother<sup>933</sup> open with the context of career.

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<sup>926</sup> Mariam – E7

<sup>927</sup> It should be noted that the narratives had some general contours. It was not always necessary for the researcher to prod someone to respond to a particular issue within a major area. This was one such case.

<sup>928</sup> Tiny – E24

<sup>929</sup> Saguna – E22

<sup>930</sup> Saral – E26

<sup>931</sup> Lila – C26

<sup>932</sup> Amar – C20

<sup>933</sup> Amar – C21



The opening of other narratives such as another extract about Amar's brother<sup>934</sup> becoming an officer in the air force, Amar's discourse about women in high positions<sup>935</sup>, Amar's extract about her children<sup>936</sup> and Saral's narratives about her husband<sup>937</sup> and her daughter<sup>938</sup> shows what the storyteller wants to lead into. The desired purpose of glorification of career is revealed right at the beginning.

Sneha has an elaborate description about the liberty her parents had given her<sup>939</sup>. Thus the beginnings are different. Jeyam's story at the outset does not seem to have a sense of satisfaction because she begins with what she wanted to become<sup>940</sup>. This beginning of not having received the education that she would have desired is probably deliberately used to show her later glorification of her education.

#### **A. Style of Explicit Statement.**

The central action of 'glorification' in these narratives about education is made explicit without any construction that attempts to hide facts or uses a long detour through winding paths of story telling. Lila<sup>941</sup> displays her emphasis on her father's interest by repeatedly stating that he encouraged the children much. Mariam has no detail or elaborate description;

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<sup>934</sup> Amar – C19

<sup>935</sup> Amar – C22

<sup>936</sup> Amar – C24

<sup>937</sup> Saral – C27

<sup>938</sup> Saral – C28

<sup>939</sup> Sneha – C11

<sup>940</sup> Jeyam – C18

<sup>941</sup> Lila – E18

but her brief affirmation about her parents allowing the children to learn up to whatever level of education they wanted and whatever course they desired, appears as glorification<sup>942</sup>.

### **B. Elaborate Narrative Style of Details.**

In two stories Amar<sup>943</sup> has an elaborate narration of a lot of interesting details of how her husband poured his interest and effort into the education of their children. She lists his care to see that the children had enough light to study, snacks to eat while preparing late in the night for exams, helping them get the exam hall ticket, looking up their seat in the exam hall and waiting outside the exam hall for them to complete. This is done to help her achieve her construction of glorification. Saguna's story also is a category by itself. She also provides many details<sup>944</sup> in glorifying her school days. Similarly in her narration about her children's education<sup>945</sup> also she displays quite a few details of glorification such as their excellence, lack of any problem and the situation of not having to give any special coaching. This probably is a disclaimer of the parents not having had any undue worry. Varam's story stands apart. She painstakingly lists the benefits of good education in getting a good job and faring well in life. She achieves her glorification<sup>946</sup> with these details described in the previous sentence, of what might have been if she had had a good education. Lovely<sup>947</sup> constructs an elaborate story with many details. She gives a detailed description of how she was able to switch courses without extra payment that the other students had to give. She painstakingly describes how within a short time she was able to score well in the final exam which high percentage she was not able

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<sup>942</sup> Mariam – E7

<sup>943</sup> Amar – E19, E20

<sup>944</sup> Saguna – E21

<sup>945</sup> Saguna – E22

<sup>946</sup> Varam – E15

<sup>947</sup> Lovely – E23

to procure later. Her repeated use of the moralising phrase ‘through prayer’ helps her construction of glorification.

Jeyam uses a slightly different strategy for her career narrative. She works through her story with a detailed description of glorification<sup>948</sup> not of her career initially but of her performance in school. However her closure of having procured a good job clinches the point of glorification of career.

### **C. Style of Use of Some Words.**

Tiny’s construction uses words<sup>949</sup> such as ‘much’ and ‘for several boys’ to achieve the desired result of glorification of education. Heera also uses repeatedly words and phrases<sup>950</sup> such as ‘best school’ and ‘studied well’ to achieve her construction of glorification of education of her daughters. Saral narrates how her two daughters studied well by mentioning<sup>951</sup> the prized courses such as ‘engineering’, ‘computer’ and using the word ‘well’.

Amar’s stories about her brother’s career<sup>952</sup> are constructed to show the glorification by using such phrases as ‘successful’, ‘high’, ‘good’ and ‘good salary’. Her story about her mother as a career woman<sup>953</sup> is also told to reveal the ‘glorification’ by the use of such words as ‘authority’, ‘hands full of money’, ‘boldness’, ‘standard decisions’, ‘proud to be her children’, ‘discipline’ and ‘punctual’. Amar seems to use this strategy of use of words of positive

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<sup>948</sup> Jeyam – C18

<sup>949</sup> Tiny – E24

<sup>950</sup> Heera – E25

<sup>951</sup> Saral – E26

<sup>952</sup> Amar – C19, C20

<sup>953</sup> Amar – C21

attitude and glorification in most of her extracts in this section to build her case. In her discourses about women in high positions<sup>954</sup> and women who have to be helped for income generation<sup>955</sup> she uses words such as ‘high’, ‘influence’, ‘development of brains’, ‘respect’, ‘intelligence’, ‘beneficial’ and ‘satisfaction’ to construct her stories displaying nobleness of women’s work. However it is strange that her story about women in high positions reveals some ambivalence of both appreciation and also pointing to their dependency and weakness. Similar construction of use of words is seen in Amar’s narratives<sup>956</sup> about her children’s career. She uses words and phrases such as ‘good’, ‘no lack’, ‘by God’s grace’, ‘successful’ and ‘being in prayer’.

Lila’s construction of the story seems to show some ambivalence of women’s career with her mother’s insistence of the daughters becoming teachers that is a noble profession. However naming her career of a teacher as ‘dignified’ Lila attempts to achieve her end result of glorifying women’s career<sup>957</sup>. Saral also has a similar construction of words that display a positive attitude glorifying the careers of her husband<sup>958</sup> and her daughter<sup>959</sup>. One word she repeatedly uses is ‘good’. Sneha’s narrative though elaborate and long also uses phrases and terms<sup>960</sup> such as ‘according to my taste’, ‘what I like’, ‘wide’, ‘can come up’ and ‘good’. Most

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<sup>954</sup> Amar – C22

Compare this claim of Amar with the study about women rising to the top and women CEOs in Information Technology in the US in the study of S. Uma Devi, ‘Globalisation, Information Technology and Asian Indian Women in US’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26Oct. 2000, p. 4421, and P. P. Parikh and S. P. Sukhatone, ‘Women Engineers in India’, *EPW*, 10Jan, 2004, pp. 193-201

<sup>955</sup> Amar – C23

<sup>956</sup> Amar – C24, C25

<sup>957</sup> Lila – C26

<sup>958</sup> Saral – C27

<sup>959</sup> Saral – C28

<sup>960</sup> Sneha – C12

of these women achieve their desired result of glorification of career by the use of phrases and words that give a sense of goodness, well being and satisfaction. This glorification of career tells us once again that career for women in the perspective of these women is good, liberating, making them strong, independent, contributing to family and society. It dispels any negative attitude towards career women. They are portrayed in a positive light.

#### **D. Glorification of Mothers.**

Heera<sup>961</sup> builds her story of her mother's interest in the education of the children by enumerating her mother's advice, her effort for Heera to get into postgraduate studies and her zeal. Amar<sup>962</sup> glorifies her mother's education by giving a short oral history of how her mother studied and developed. Jeyam<sup>963</sup> has a slightly different way of constructing her story of glorification of her mother's effort. She emphasises the strict ways of her mother and juxtaposes it with her father's ways of advising.

In these stories of glorification of women's education the narrators provide definite and clear closure. The stories are neither left open nor hanging in mid air. This probably is deliberately done in order not to leave room for any question to be raised about the glorification. An assertion is made and the story is closed. That is the end. There is no contestation. Lila's closure itself appears as part of the glorification because it is a claim to her educational achievement. Amar also ends with a claim to success attributed to the father's interest and effort. In her second story about the education of her children she ends with a similar note of success. Heera's claim of her mother's interest, Amar's story of her mother's educational

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<sup>961</sup> Heera – E11

<sup>962</sup> Amar – E27

<sup>963</sup> Jeyam – E17

development and Jeyam's story of not going for higher education because she had procured a job all have the closure of success stories. Similarly Varam's narration, Saguna's stories about herself and her children, Heera's construction about her daughters and Saral's story about her daughters all end with claims of well being. Varam's story is not a success one in actual reality of her experience of not having had high education and of not having become a career woman, but in her projection of what might have been if she had had these opportunities. Claims such as 'it was like that' (Saguna), 'not for us to boast' (Saguna) and 'no problem in it' (Heera) close the construction of glorification.

The closure also may differ in detail in the different narratives about women's career. Amar ends her construction about her mother in both the extracts with the claim that she was a disciplined lady. This claim is emphasised with repetition. Her one story about her brother and siblings is brought to a close with the end of their work life with retirement whereas her other story about her brother is closed with the glorified position he attained in his career. About her children's career also she closes with the claim of a good position. This sense of well being is displayed in her opinion about helping single women in their income generation. Saral also closes her stories about career in her marital home with a sense of well being.

Tiny has no formal end; but her brief story of glorification of education in her marital home seems to end with a tone of emphasis and finality. Saral's story about education of her daughters has no formal end but the brief construction puts forward the point. Mariam's closure for her narration about education is just one word 'yes'. But this achieves her desired end of her story. Lovely's detailed story about her education is also firmly closed with the statement 'That is my experience'. It has been already said how the narrators may begin,

proceed and close in various ways which is the pattern of various trajectories of construction of stories.

Sneha has quite a strange closure. Probably she wants to accentuate or sharpen her glorification of her career stating the opposite of what it might have been if she has chosen a different field. Her expression of her doubt that she might not have got a good job highlights her construction of having got a good job. Jeyam also closes in a different manner. Her claim of having got a job is the closure. This itself reveals the sense of achievement and well being used for the glorification of career.

Education and career for women is not merely allowed and insisted upon. These narratives go further. They glorify education and career opportunities for women. Both Lila and Mariam make explicit statements about how their parents encouraged them in education. Amar and Lovely have elaborate stories about the educational opportunities given to women to glorify or praise the opportunity given. Amar glorifies the career opportunities for her brother and children by using words that bring out the goodness and success. Some narrators such as Amar, Heera and Jeyam glorify the mothers who encouraged their children in education. This method of construction adds to the firmness and decisiveness of these narrators in the way they perceive the opportunities for education and career given to women in their community.

## **V. Stories Explaining or Justifying Educational Opportunities for Women.**

One group of stories fall within the pattern of the narrators explaining or justifying the educational opportunities for themselves or their children or the lack of them. The structure of their construction contains explicit statements of explanation or justification.

Many of these stories have an opening or clearly indicate the subject matter. Some have extensive description of the context. Saguna begins<sup>964</sup> to say that there was no problem in her parents educating her. But the elaboration proceeds with a 'but' and a description of her father having become old. She sets the stage by remembering her father's age and claiming that he was old though she could not remember the exact age. She prepares the listener by stating that she was married off quickly. Sweety's opening is of a different type. Her description<sup>965</sup> of her having been timid and her sister having been bold may not seem to have any relationship with her story of education of women. However, this is how she begins to manoeuvre the listener into her point. Heera also describes how both – it is not made clear who these two were, whether the parents or the two daughters – were interested. This claim to have 'interest in education' prepares the ground for her story<sup>966</sup>.

Ranjithamani also gives a good description of how many children her parents had<sup>967</sup> which is necessary for her explanation given in the story. This is probably used deliberately to highlight the significance of equal opportunities for sons and daughters for education. About her son and daughter also her opening<sup>968</sup> is a formal statement. Lovely's story is elaborately constructed with a detailed description of how she switched the field of her study. Sneha's narration is also about her choice of the field of study. She goes into detailed description of how her parents guided her. Mariam has a lengthy story. The elaborate details prepare the listener for the justification strategy used. Jeyam has an interesting story of her son<sup>969</sup> being

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<sup>964</sup> Saguna – E28

<sup>965</sup> Sweety – E29

<sup>966</sup> Heera – E30

<sup>967</sup> Ranjithamani – E31

<sup>968</sup> Ranjithamani – E32

<sup>969</sup> Jeyam – E35



sent to a distant school to have better educational opportunities. Though this is not about women's education it is constructed to display the experience of women with regard to the education of their children.

#### **A. Using an Effective Device to Justify.**

In all these extracts the women narrators use the technique of explanation or justification in the main part of the story. This is the complicating action of the stories. The complicating action in the construction of the story attempts to produce a problem or dilemma which later the story teller may or may not resolve in the construction. Within this broad pattern they use different strategies. Saguna<sup>970</sup> justifies her educational opportunity in her parental home with the fact that she had procured a first class in her first degree that led her to the undergraduate studies<sup>971</sup>. She begins by asserting that there was no problem. But strangely she proceeds to state that because her father was old she was married off quickly. These two parts of the story seem to be contradictory or conflicting. Thus Saguna effectively uses this device to emphasise the fact that she had the opportunity for college education. The good reason given is her excellence in studies. This is the reason for her not being married off after her high school education, but having been allowed to go on for college education.

#### **B. Switching Around Used for Justification.**

Sweety's core<sup>972</sup> reveals why her opening is about the two different temperaments of herself and her sister. This is to portray effectively the opportunity her sister had for medical.

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<sup>970</sup> Saguna - E28

<sup>971</sup> In the Indian educational system there was a in-between study after the high school education, which served as a preliminary to the undergraduate study in college. Colleges and not schools also administered this. This was not the undergraduate course but a preliminary course and attached to the college.

<sup>972</sup> Sweety – E29

education while she did not want to have a professional education. Probably this is used as a disclaimer that also justifies and explains.

Heera also uses similar techniques of switching around and justifying with the use of moralising<sup>973</sup>. Her story begins with the interest for her daughters to become doctors, but this is turned round to state that medical education was not what the girls had. The reason given that one girl did not get enough marks, complicates the action of the story. Heera proceeds to give a totally different explanation. The parents did not have the 'thing' to meet influential persons to achieve their end. This probably is a disclaimer used by Heera to achieve her story of justification. The story is woven through more twists and turns of explanations to emphasise the fact that the daughters had educational opportunity. The rationalisation provided for the second daughter not to become a doctor is that the parents did not have that 'thing' to see influential persons though the father was in the medical directorate. She also proceeds to state that otherwise the daughter could have got into medical education. The interesting point about Heera's construction with many explanations is the surprising final moralising rationalisation that it was God's will.

### **C. Explanations Used for Justification.**

Ranjithamani's story also has quite a few explanations<sup>974</sup>. The action is the initial statement that she herself has had only primary education. But she immediately proceeds to justify it with the explanation that she could not study further because that was not her 'cup of tea'. She also goes on to emphasise that in her parental home daughters had no problem of education. Describing how one younger sister had teacher's training and another went on to high school.

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<sup>973</sup> Heera – E30

<sup>974</sup> Ranjithamani – E31

brings this about. Adding that the older brother was not interested in education in his young days brings about the complicating action. This is brought in by Ranjithamani probably to emphasise effectively that women's education was not a problem. She once again explains why she did not study much. This probably is a disclaimer that is used for rationalising because the others have studied well. Ranjithamani's marital home also has a similar story. She constructs the story about her daughter and son also in a similar pattern<sup>975</sup>. The daughter had no problem and the son did not want to go beyond school. This once again is the technique of justification and rationalisation.

Lovely, Sneha and Mariam all weave elaborate explanations and rationalisation. In narrating about how she studied computer engineering Lovely uses the device of explanations<sup>976</sup>. She begins with the switching of the field of study. The story is built by accentuating how she was the last one to switch, that also quite late and further without giving any donation money. Her rationalisation is expanded with the high percentage of marks she had in the first exam. Sneha's explanation is different. Appropriate advice and guidance given by the parents rationalise<sup>977</sup> her choice of her field of study in her story. Further this is rationalised by Sneha by the job she has. Earlier in her story she uses this as a device. Her parental guidance is based on their knowledge of her taste and also the career opportunity. So quite rightly their guidance has worked well for her according to her construction of her story.

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<sup>975</sup> Ranjithamani – E32

<sup>976</sup> Lovely – E23

<sup>977</sup> Sneha – E33

Mariam constructs her story of her further education elaborately<sup>978</sup> using a lot of explanations and rationalisation such as her mother's desire, her own prayer, her father's concern and later her opportunity to study further while working. An interesting turn in her story is Mariam's building of it by bringing in the apparent obstacles she faced after she had joined the course for further education. She was a married woman who was working and studying and also conceived while trying to hold a job and study. However she builds a success story of overcoming obstacles. These obstacles are not the same as those that I shall look at in another pattern of stories of some women. In the latter ones it will be obstacles used to obstruct women's education. In Mariam's story these are not obstacles to obstruct women's education but the obstacles of practical situations that seemed to make it difficult for her to gain further education. In these analyses the difficulties enumerated by the storyteller are different from the obstruction placed by family members in the stories of some other women who construct a victim identity in their stories about women's education.

Jeyam's story about her son's education<sup>979</sup> is unlike the other stories in its content. But she builds it with the technique of explanation that in spite of the husband refusing to send the boy to a distant school, she was able to guide the decision making process. Probably she expects the listener to surmise that she sent him to a good school. The clinching explanation provided is probably the fact that she took the decision.

All these stories using various tools and strategies of justification are brought to a well-constructed end. Probably these women narrators do not want to leave any loose ends or leave the listener in doubt about the educational opportunities they, or their siblings or their children

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<sup>978</sup> Mariam – E34

<sup>979</sup> Jeyam – E35

have had. For Saguna the closure is the successful completion of her studies. Sweety's story ends with a reiteration of her timidity. Heera closes with a firm moralising claim to it being God's will. For Ranjithamani the end of her story is that all her siblings have had more education. Similarly her story about her children's education is firmly closed with her son's refusal to go for higher education. Lovely has a simple but firm closure of stating that it was her experience of how she was able to have a professional education. Sneha brings her story to a close by emphasising the good job opportunity she has had. Jeyam's closure is strange. It is not about education; but about the consultative pattern of decision-making. However this closure emphasises what she has already narrated about her son's education.

Thus in these stories the women use effectively and interestingly the strategy of justifying and rationalising to make their points about their experiences of education in their parental and marital homes. The listener is probably left to conclude that women's experiences of educational opportunities were justified and not problematic. The women experienced no discrimination against them in their desire for education. So the affirmation of women's education is not new with this generation – it is rooted in the attitude of their parents all of whom are reported as having been encouraging and supportive. Further they experienced no discrimination in the process of education. Thus this affirmation is expressed in the school and university system. So the women are reporting not only their own identities, but their perceptions of the educational institutions of society. This type of constructing stories of justification strengthens the self perception and self construction of these narrators. It bolsters their earlier stories of freedom, necessity and glorification by adding to their perception of women's education and career as an unquestioned or unchallenged issue.

## **VI. Rationalisation of Education Used as a Technique of Story Construction.**

This set of stories may be considered to differ slightly from the previous group. The previous group of stories use justification by providing a good enough reason. This set uses rationalisation that is trying to find a good enough reason or a plausible reason. It may be a good enough reason according to the claims of the narrator. It may not be so in the perspective of the audience.

In this set of stories it is not difficult to recognise what these are about. Some may lack a formal description of the context or setting. Priya<sup>980</sup> has an elaborate beginning of the story of how she would deal with her future children. Melody begins at a different note of her parental advice<sup>981</sup>. Amar begins with the statement<sup>982</sup> that there was no discrimination between herself and her sisters on the one hand and her brother on the other. This prepares the listener for what she has to say about their education. Another extract about Amar's education begins with the rationalisation the mother offered<sup>983</sup> for sending the son to college while the daughter was not sent to college because of having to spread the meagre finance over the education of all children. Tiny's story begins with the rationalisation for women's education<sup>984</sup>. This prepares the ground for what follows.

Varam also begins with the statement of the necessity of education for women<sup>985</sup>. Another extract from Varam's story also emphasises the necessity of women's education before she

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<sup>980</sup> Priya – E36

<sup>981</sup> Melody – E37

<sup>982</sup> Amar – E38

<sup>983</sup> Amar – E39

<sup>984</sup> Tiny – E12

<sup>985</sup> Varam – E40

proceeds to the fuller construction of the story of her experience. Sweety's story described earlier in the previous section also begins with the rationale about her not having a professional education like that of her sister. Another extract from Amar's narration describes her experience before providing the rationale. Lila just as Amar begins<sup>986</sup> with her mother's attitude to the education of the daughters and the son. Heera goes straight into the subject matter of her story about the education of her children. Gem's narration<sup>987</sup> is interesting in that it does not begin with women's education but with a rationale for the level of education that was allowed. Ranjithamani's two extracts have been dealt with in the previous section. One begins with a long description of the number of children in her parental home and the other begins briefly stating that she had one son and one daughter. Sneha, Swarna, Mariam and Jeya about her parental home, all have elaborate stories of their experiences of education. Sneha's (E33) and Mariam's (E34) have been already dealt with in the previous section. Swarna and Jeya have stories similar to some others of rationalising their experiences of having studied something different from their initial interests, which are dealt with in the section below with plausible explanation.

#### **A. Simple Strategy of Rationalisation.**

Priya's claim about her future children<sup>988</sup> is that 'children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them'. Her rationalisation of her advice given to her future children is that by that time she would have gained experience and also that the children themselves would be willing to accept and act upon good advice. This helps her construct her story with the strategy of

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<sup>986</sup> Lila – E42

<sup>987</sup> Gem – E43

<sup>988</sup> Priya – E36

rationalisation. Melody<sup>989</sup> also provides simple rationalisation of her education, 'But since I wasn't interested in it, they said, 'O.K.' Probably this is a disclaimer.

### **B. Twists Used to Rationalise.**

Amar's<sup>990</sup> description rationalises her mother allowing each child to do what the child desired. But this does not rationalise the story of freedom Amar probably wants to construct. So it turns out to be a story of each studying unhindered what they wanted. But there is one more twist to the story. Amar seems to rationalise cleverly her mother's stand that she herself should take care of her higher studies. Another extract from Amar<sup>991</sup> plainly states the rationalisation of the mother in not having been able to give higher education to Amar because the mother could not afford to send both the son and the daughter to college. This rationalisation does not seem to produce any conflict with the earlier statement of absence of discrimination. At this point the listener may understand why Amar opened her construction with such a statement.

### **C. Necessity of Education used as the Basis for Rationalisation.**

Tiny's story<sup>992</sup> is constructed with different content. She also rationalises; but her experience was different. Having begun with the statement of the necessity of education for women, she switches around to provide the rationalisation of her own education that was given for the improvement of knowledge. Varam also begins her story with the claim of the necessity of education for women. However the core of her story is different. The rationalisation<sup>993</sup> is that if she had been educated

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<sup>989</sup> Melody – E37

<sup>990</sup> Amar – E38

<sup>991</sup> Amar – E39

<sup>992</sup> Tiny – E12

<sup>993</sup> Varam – E15



well she could have had a good job and improved the financial position of the family. This is totally unlike the rationalisation provided by Tiny in whose case education was not for career opportunity.

#### **D. Using Conflicting Statements.**

Varam's one extract is interesting. She uses the technique of rationalisation<sup>994</sup> both to defend her younger sister who had been educated and is a career woman and also her own position of a non-workingwoman without higher education. This type of conflicting statements is resolved by the use of rationalisations. Similarly Sweety's story,<sup>995</sup> which has been dealt with in the previous section, uses rationalisations effectively to defend both her younger sister's higher education and her own lack of professional education. But unlike Varam, Sweety roots her rationalisation in the difference in temperament and not in their family situation.

#### **E. Plausible Explanations Used for Rationalisation.**

Another set of stories of rationalisation come from Amar<sup>996</sup>, Lila<sup>997</sup>, Heera<sup>998</sup>, Gem<sup>999</sup>, Swarna<sup>1000</sup> and Jeyam<sup>1001</sup> in that some sort of plausible explanation is given for not having been able either to get the type of education they wanted or the level up to which they wanted to be educated. Ranjithamani's two stories have been dealt with in the previous section. She

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<sup>994</sup> Varam – E40

<sup>995</sup> Sweety – E29

<sup>996</sup> Amar – E41

<sup>997</sup> Lila – E42

<sup>998</sup> Heera – E30

<sup>999</sup> Gem – E43

<sup>1000</sup> Swarna – E44

<sup>1001</sup> Jeyam – E17

rationalises<sup>1002</sup> the lack of much education in her own experience and in the case of her son with the reason of not having the interest. Sneha<sup>1003</sup>, Mariam<sup>1004</sup> and Jeyam<sup>1005</sup> with respect to her son's education as seen in the previous section provide stories of rationalisation for having achieved what they wanted.

In each of these stories the narrator has a definite closure with the rationalisation firmly established. There seems to be a sense of achievement either of the point of their stories or their own achievement of educational experience in life. The rationalisations do not seem to allow any further questioning or discussion. From these stories one may find that having narrated stories of women's education and career that display freedom, insist on them as a necessity and glorify them, they are also careful to justify and rationalise any possible point that may raise a question, debate or challenge.

## **VII. Achiever Identity.**

Jeyavathy's story about her and her sister's education may be considered from many angles of construction. One way to look at her story is to look at her construction of an identity of an achiever of success. Jeyavathy's story opens<sup>1006</sup> with her father's negative attitude towards women's education. He is depicted as one who did not approve of women's higher education. For him it is sufficient for women to have some basic education.

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<sup>1002</sup> Ranjithamani – E31, E32

<sup>1003</sup> Sneha – E33

<sup>1004</sup> Mariam – E34

<sup>1005</sup> Jeyam – E35

<sup>1006</sup> Jeyavathy – E16

Jeyavathy's story does not end with the negative note. She proceeds to construct her story of achievement<sup>1007</sup>. She goes right to the root of the whole matter. Her uncle had sent his daughters to college. This in Jeyavathy's story becomes the source of her desire and encouragement. Her cousins were her role models. She aspired to be educated just as they were. Thus she proceeds with her story of success brought by self-effort and perseverance. She narrates how she had made herself a graduate and a trained teacher. She does not stop with her achievement. Her story of success is constructed to narrate the positive change in her father's interest in the education of the daughters. This is not the end of the story. There is more to come. Jeyavathy constructs a story of success and achievement by narrating how she encouraged her sister to become a trained teacher. The forcefulness with which she narrates the story does not seem to give any space for any question to be raised. However her sister having become a trained teacher without becoming a graduate teacher raises the question whether the father was initially negative towards women's higher education or higher education that may lead his daughters to become career women. This question is neither raised nor answered. However this is not problematic for Jeyavathy.

Jeyavathy closes her story with a sense of achievement and success. Both she and her sister have become trained teachers. Her desire to become a graduate looking at the model of her cousins has been fulfilled. Thus the story is closed with a sense of well-being. From this construction of an achiever identity, the listener may surmise that these women who perceive freedom in their educational and career opportunities, justify, explain and rationalise any point that may raise questions. Further some like Jeyavathy construct an achiever identity that portrays overcoming, freedom and success.

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<sup>1007</sup> Jeyavathy – E16

### **VIII. Contrast used for Identity Construction in Stories about Career.**

One group of narratives reveals the women's identity construction by using some pattern of contrast. The narrator may construct a different identity in each. However the structure falls within the area of identity construction.

There are five stories about career by Lita in which she uses the strategy of contrast to construct the identity. Four of these are from her career and one from the situation of the career of her daughter-in-law. Each clearly begins with the indication of the context of career<sup>1008</sup>. There is no ambiguity about this.

In her first extract about her workplace Lita draws the contrast<sup>1009</sup> that it was a boys' school with her being one of the five women teachers among seventy teachers. She draws the contrast between the men and the women teachers. In the second extract she constructs the contrast between the other teachers who felt suppressed and herself<sup>1010</sup> to whom the others turned in their time of need. The next extract<sup>1011</sup> contains some short pieces of contrast. The first contrast Lita draws is between the women teachers who kept quiet while leaving the decision making task to the men teachers. The same bit contains a contrast between the earlier period and the later period. Lita's identity of a person who was not just following the men teachers is brought about in this contrast between the earlier and the later periods. She also constructs the contrast between herself and other women teachers. Through these contrasts she constructs her identity though she has a disclaimer that she was not a revolutionist. The final contrast is

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<sup>1008</sup> Lita – C29, C30, C31, C32, C33

<sup>1009</sup> Lita – C29

<sup>1010</sup> Lita – C30

<sup>1011</sup> Lita – C31

between the other women teachers who stayed behind without taking part in decision making and herself who incurred some difficulties in stepping forward to assert her rights. The identity she constructs for herself is of a person independent, responsible, bold and taking charge. The fourth story about her workplace<sup>1012</sup> is narrated with the contrast drawn between men and women. She effectively draws the contrast between men and women projected by others and her own view of not having any discrimination or bias. Her last story about her attitude to the profession of her daughter-in-law is drawn with the contrast<sup>1013</sup> between her initial attitude and her support, the contrast between another role model of the same profession and her daughter-in-law. The other was a spinster while her daughter-in-law was a married woman. She contrasts her admiration of the appreciated role model with her ambiguous attitude towards her daughter-in-law taking up the same profession. In all these stories she constructs her own identity using pieces of contrast.

Lita having constructed her identity closes these stories with a claim. In the first one she claims that the situation she had narrated existed in an earlier period of her career. The second extract closes with how she had established her identity in her school. The next story closes with a short piece that appears to be victimisation. The fourth extract is drawn to a close with an assertion based on her identity. The last one about her attitude to the profession of her daughter-in-law ends with a positive claim of support to her daughter-in-law. Thus Lita uses contrasts to construct her identity of a strong person. Lita's stories about her career and her attitude to the career of her daughter-in-law bring out the sense of achievement, strength, success, acceptance and liberation in effectively using contrast. These women know and have

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<sup>1012</sup> Lita – C32

Lita's narratives attest the reference of Derne that some women openly subvert gender expectations, Derne, 1995, p. 17

<sup>1013</sup> Lita – C33

experienced some obstacles; but they have overcome and achieved. In their minds there is no question about women's career or career women. This is the picture they want to project to the audience about themselves and other women in their community.

## **IX. Identity Construction.**

Several storytellers have narratives that construct the identity of career women. Each narrative has a definite opening and context setting that provide the background for the later identity construction the narrator is achieving. Lita speaks of her situation<sup>1014</sup> of both she and her husband being career persons when she and her husband began the family. Sweety contrasts<sup>1015</sup> the different temperaments of herself and her younger sister. Speaking of her parental home she also begins with the family of her parents<sup>1016</sup>. Bina's extract may also be seen from a different perspective of narrative structure. It opens<sup>1017</sup> straightaway with the issue of women's career. Jeyavathy<sup>1018</sup> begins her narrative with her desire to become a teacher that prepares the listener for what is to follow. Lita speaking of the profession of her daughter-in-law<sup>1019</sup>, without explicitly naming the profession, prepares the listener with the clear opening statement of her difficulty in accepting that particular profession for her daughter-in-law. Heera constructs her story about her daughters with the context of the interest<sup>1020</sup> that they had to take up the study of medicine. Varam<sup>1021</sup> constructs the identity of her younger sister with

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<sup>1014</sup> Lita – C34

<sup>1015</sup> Sweety – C35

<sup>1016</sup> Sweety – C15

<sup>1017</sup> Bina – C36

<sup>1018</sup> Jeyavathy – C39

<sup>1019</sup> Lita – C32

<sup>1020</sup> Heera – C37

<sup>1021</sup> Varam – C38

her sister's education. Saral opens<sup>1022</sup> her stories of identity construction with an elaborate description of the context of her career in two places. Sneha describes her attitude to her being a workingwoman as the opening<sup>1023</sup> for her identity construction. Mariam<sup>1024</sup> and Jeyam<sup>1025</sup> also have lengthy stories of their identities as career women beginning with the start of their career lives.

#### **A. Claims of Equality Identity.**

Lita constructs<sup>1026</sup> an identity of a workingwoman displaying 'equality' with her husband. She claims that because both she and her husband were career people there was 'equality'. In the perspective of Lita the equalising base for the husband and herself was their identity of being career people.

#### **B. Contrasting Identities.**

Sweety narrates a story of contrasting identities of her younger sister and herself<sup>1027</sup>. She was timid while the sister was bold and good at studies. Another positive point is built on to the identity of her sister who became a career woman – a professional. Sweety's story of her mother as a career woman<sup>1028</sup> is built with the mother's identity of taking charge while the father did not take much care of the family.

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<sup>1022</sup> Saral – C40, C17

<sup>1023</sup> Sneha – C12

<sup>1024</sup> Mariam – C41

<sup>1025</sup> Jeyam – C42

<sup>1026</sup> Lita – C34

<sup>1027</sup> Sweety – C35

<sup>1028</sup> Sweety – C15

Bina's story<sup>1029</sup> constructs an identity of a career woman who faces problems. Her envisioning of a non-career woman also has a clear identity of an educated woman who follows God's pattern. Her education will help the woman stand on her own feet if there is a necessity to use the education to procure employment. In Bina's view God has created the man to earn and the women to take care of the home. When we break this pattern there is a hitch. If the woman takes care of the domestic responsibilities she does not have to depend upon domestic help and will avoid the hitch that arises when both the husband and the wife return from work tired. She is also capable of standing on her own feet when necessary.

Heera constructs<sup>1030</sup> the identity of her two daughters who instead of becoming doctors as they might have done according to their initial interest had become women of some other career. The story rationalises the identities constructed. The identity of Varam's younger sister is an educated workingwoman who is ill treated by her husband. This Varam contrasts<sup>1031</sup> with her own identity of one who has not been highly educated and hence not having had the opportunity to be a career woman, but still having peace.

### **C. Identities of Particular Professions.**

Jeyavathy describes<sup>1032</sup> how her interest for her younger sister helped her to create an identity of a teacher. Lita's story<sup>1033</sup> of her initial difficulty of her accepting the identity of her

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<sup>1029</sup> Bina – C36

Bina's claim that it is difficult to combine professional work and mother's role is supported by Alfred de Souza in his book, 1975, p. xviii.

<sup>1030</sup> Heera – C37

<sup>1031</sup> Varam – C38

<sup>1032</sup> Jeyavathy – C39

<sup>1033</sup> Lita – C33



daughter-in-law in her profession of an ordained minister is rationalised with her construction of the identity of another person of the same profession.

#### **D. Faith Claims Used for Identity Construction of a Career Woman.**

Saral's stories have many details with how she was asked to move to where her parents were in order for them to look for a bridegroom, her and her sister coming to Madras and how God's grace kept her and her sister in a hostel in Pune. They are quite descriptive. Her construction of an identity of a workingwoman living in a hostel<sup>1034</sup> is built on the positive image of not having become wayward. In her story she attributes this to God's care and protection. In another extract she builds<sup>1035</sup> the identity of a woman who was victimised by having been forced to take up a career. But her procuring a job is attributed once again to God's grace.

#### **E. Descriptive Details Used in Identity Construction.**

The stories of Sneha, Mariam and Jeyam are lengthy and detailed with much description. Sneha<sup>1036</sup> constructs her vision of her identity in her future marital home – she projects an image of a working woman who wants to pattern her life following the role model of her mother who is a career woman also taking care of domestic responsibilities. Her story proceeds with more aspects of the identity construction – a woman with financial independence who will combine the many roles of a good wife, career woman and caring mother balancing everything. Mariam constructs her identity of a workingwoman<sup>1037</sup> who also

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<sup>1034</sup> Saral – C40

<sup>1035</sup> Saral – C17

<sup>1036</sup> Sneha – C12

<sup>1037</sup> Mariam – C41

took up further studies while having been married and expecting a child. Jeyam's identity construction<sup>1038</sup> winds through her initial efforts to get a job, joining work in a Christian place, more efforts taken to get some other job and final staying on in the work she had first taken up.

Most of these stories of identity construction have a clear and definite closure. Lita ends her own identity construction with a firm claim to equality. Sweety projects herself as a timid fearful person. On the other hand she describes her mother as one who took care of the family while the father was not taking much care. Bina's identity construction of a career woman drawn from her experience as a career woman closes with a clear statement of her opinion that career should be only a standby for emergency. Jeyavathy's positive picture of her younger sister who was a teacher is completed with a note of successful career life and retirement. Lita's story of the identity of her daughter-in-law having wound through various stages ends with her claim to have been supportive of her daughter-in-law. The story of Heera's two daughters who did not become medical doctors however ends with a positive claim of Heera leaving everything to God's will. Varam constructing her sister's identity with both positive and negative aspects closes with her own identity of a person having peace. Saral in her stories about her career displays clear construction of positive identity. Sneha closes her long story of the construction of her identity as a married woman with a career and also being a caring mother with her expectation of mutual understanding and cooperation. Mariam's story also ends with a sense of having built a positive identity. Jeyam also having narrated her story of establishing her career closes with the identity of a person wanting to be truly teaching in the Sunday school with a sense of being 'in the Lord'. These narrators in constructing their identities of being career women display identities of equality, strength, freedom, being persons

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<sup>1038</sup> Jeyam – C42

of faith and success. These add to and strengthen their perception and portrayal women's career and career women in their community.

#### **X. Stories Constructed with Victim Identity.**

From stories with constructions of various positive identities I turn to stories of specific victim identity. Some narrate stories of possible or apparent victimisation in the area of education of women with respect to either the type or the level or purpose of education. Some narrators have stories of their being victims or having been victimised because of their career or their wanting to be career women. This pattern is dealt with separately and not with the pattern of identity construction of some other women.

The various narrators use a variety of openings to set the context. Flora<sup>1039</sup> in speaking of education for her children begins with a positive note. Varam<sup>1040</sup> also in constructing her identity in contrast to her sister's begins with a positive note.

Heera in a strange manner begins<sup>1041</sup> with explanations of her spiritual situation of not having been 'in the Lord' at the time of the beginning of her story about her career and her career advancement. Mariam's story of working and also enrolling for higher education while being a married woman is a story of both achievement and victimisation with descriptive explanation of how she enrolled for higher education while being a working woman and married, also conceived after the enrolment and completed her higher education while having

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<sup>1039</sup> Flora – E47

<sup>1040</sup> Varam – E40

<sup>1041</sup> Heera – C44

a child, being a married woman having domestic responsibilities and a career woman holding a job. It begins<sup>1042</sup> with her claim of following God's will.

Jeyavathy explicitly states<sup>1043</sup> that it is about women's education. Most of these identity constructors begin with a description of the background or context about career. Only Sweety in her narrative about the general situation of both the husband and the wife working stops with just a short statement about the main point<sup>1044</sup> indicating that she is talking about career. Sweety<sup>1045</sup> in her story about her mother specifies that she is talking about her parental home. Saral in her stories about her career gives elaborate description of the background of her parental home<sup>1046</sup>.

Both Amar<sup>1047</sup> in describing the struggles of women in education and Flora in speaking of her parental home<sup>1048</sup> go straight into the subject matter of their construction of victim identity in the area of women's education.

Bina begins<sup>1049</sup> with her claim about career. Lita also has the opening sentence<sup>1050</sup> making a claim of negative feelings. Heera begins<sup>1051</sup> in two extracts with a disclaimer. Varam's extract

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<sup>1042</sup> Mariam – C41

<sup>1043</sup> Jeyavathy – E16

<sup>1044</sup> Sweety – C46

<sup>1045</sup> Sweety – C15

<sup>1046</sup> Saral – C43, C40, C17

<sup>1047</sup> Amar – E46

<sup>1048</sup> Flora – E45

<sup>1049</sup> Bina – C36

<sup>1050</sup> Lita – C33

does not initially seem to be about victimisation of her sister<sup>1052</sup>. Thus building the context helps these women to move towards the main point of their stories.

#### **A. Pathos used for Construction.**

It is strange that Flora<sup>1053</sup> who begins with a positive note suddenly switches over to a different note. She begins with the claim that she put her children in a Christian school as she desired and did everything placing it at the feet of God. While the listener is giving ear to this story with a sense of peace and satisfaction, Flora with no warning or caution suddenly brings in the lack of her husband's love and cooperation in her marital home. This construction of a victim identity jolts the listener into listening. Flora constructs the identity more painfully and sharply by referring to the same situation in her parental home.<sup>1054</sup> This sharpens the pain created by the victim identity. Her construction in the other extract about her parental home is sharp all through. She bluntly begins with the lack of maternal interest she had experienced from her mother. She proceeds to deepen the pain of the victim identity by further points. She feels victimised that she and her siblings had to study in a government school that is not highly prized. Further she was not further educated after the completion of schooling. Her recognising that it was not only the daughters but also the sons who were victimised by a denial of good education heightens her sense of victimisation. Denial of freedom and lack of interest in the total development of the children all are mentioned to contribute to the construction of the victim identity.

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<sup>1051</sup> Heera – C45, C37

<sup>1052</sup> Varam – C38

<sup>1053</sup> Flora – E47

<sup>1054</sup> Flora – E45

## **B. Description used to build Victimisation.**

Jeyavathy's story of her parental home has been already dealt with to bring out a different pattern of construction. Her story about her educational opportunity has been dealt with from the perspective of construction of an achiever identity above in section VII. In this section the same story is seen from the perspective of construction of victim identity. From the perspective of what Jeyavathy achieved in procuring higher education it is a construction of achiever identity; but from the viewpoint of the initial negative attitude of her father towards women's higher education it is a construction of victim identity. Her construction of the story of victimisation in the area of education<sup>1055</sup> begins with her father's attitude to women's education. This is accentuated by her detailed description of how she had to take every effort for going to college and her father neither had interest nor gave any help.

Amar's construction of a victim identity is not her's. She has a story<sup>1056</sup> of victim identity of women. She begins with no elaborate opening, but goes straight into the identity construction of women who want to be educated or have professional education. With elaborate details she constructs the story of how it is a great struggle to get into a professional course, the special coaching to be given, the money that has to be spent even for the preparation and the uncertainty of procuring a seat in spite of the time, effort and money spent. She proceeds to make the identity sharper and sharper by stating that it is huge expense for the parents, then the girls become a burden for the parents and there is no other way to solve the problems. Thus Amar in describing the situation of education for women constructs a sharp victim identity.

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<sup>1055</sup> Jeyavathy – E16

<sup>1056</sup> Amar – E46

Saral's three extracts of her victim identity are quite elaborate. The context of victimising parental home situation elaborates the stories. In the first<sup>1057</sup> her identity is one of a person having to educate herself while working and also not having control over her income. In the second one<sup>1058</sup> the victimisation is that of a young woman left to fend for herself staying in a hostel with the possible danger of becoming wayward. Her third story<sup>1059</sup> is quite sharp. The victimisation comes from the stepmother who drives her to find some work to bring in some financial support. Mariam's construction of her victim identity<sup>1060</sup> is also elaborate and is dealt with in various sections from different perspectives of identity construction with descriptive details in the section above. Her victimisation arises from her having to enrol for higher studies while working and also being overloaded with the pressure of having become a pregnant woman with a double shift of studies plus family responsibilities added to her career.

### **C. Explanations given for Victimisation.**

Heera constructs her story of one phase of her career<sup>1061</sup> being a victimising experience for her because of her health having been affected by overwork. She gives elaborate explanations. Sweety also gives explanation of her mother's victimisation<sup>1062</sup> of having had to work because of financial necessity though her explanation is not as elaborate as Heera's. Bina paints a picture of victimisation<sup>1063</sup> of herself and women with the double shift. Her explanation rests on her claim that God has created the woman to take care of the home with the domestic role.

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<sup>1057</sup> Saral – C43

<sup>1058</sup> Saral – C40

<sup>1059</sup> Saral – C17

<sup>1060</sup> Mariam – C41

<sup>1061</sup> Heera – C44

<sup>1062</sup> Sweety – C15

<sup>1063</sup> Bina – C36

Just as Heera does she also gives elaborate explanations drawing from her own experience of she and her husband both doctors could not give much time to child care when her children were young.

Lita's story<sup>1064</sup> is not a construction of victim identity for her daughter-in-law but of herself in not having been able to accept the profession of an ordained minister her daughter-in-law had chosen. She also steers her construction through elaborate explanation. However much of her explanation is implicit and not explicit. She does not name the profession of her daughter-in-law nor indicate why she found it difficult to accept it in the beginning. Heera constructs a story of victim identity<sup>1065</sup> for her two daughters who had not been able to become doctors according to their interest. How she rationalises and trivialises has been already seen in an earlier section. She also builds a victim identity of women<sup>1066</sup> with a double shift in her claim of her advice given to her students. It is interesting to note how she excuses her experience by contrasting it with that of other women. Varam's sister is seen as a victim<sup>1067</sup> of a harsh spouse with the depth of victimisation accentuated with her having no financial independence in spite of the position she was holding. Sweety's claim brings out the victim identity of working women who find it difficult when both the spouses are working<sup>1068</sup> by simply stating without much explanation that it is difficult when both spouses work. She must be thinking of the situation in which the woman has to continue to bear the burden of the responsibility for housework while the man is unable to give much help.

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<sup>1064</sup> Lita – C33

<sup>1065</sup> Heera – C37

<sup>1066</sup> Heera – C45

<sup>1067</sup> Varam – C38

<sup>1068</sup> Sweety – C46



#### **D. Contrast used to bring out the Victimisation.**

Varam<sup>1069</sup>, like Flora, begins her construction about her marital home with a positive note. However soon the listener finds that the story is one of victimisation. Though Varam highlights the positive benefit of her sister's education and employment, she quickly narrates the story of victimisation. Varam constructs the victim identity of her sister who has no financial freedom and is treated like a slave. Varam brings out the depth of pain by stating that in her parental home only her sister was further educated and she is the one who suffers at present. She proceeds to construct the identity more sharply by drawing the contrast between her and her sister. Strangely she also claims that her educated sister is victimised by being oppressed without having financial freedom, while she without much education has peace. Her closure indicates the reason for the situation that is her finding peace though she is not highly educated and employed. Thus these stories display victimisation due to situational factors and due to the treatment given by somebody in the family.

Flora closes her two stories differently. Her story about the victimisation of the children in her parental home ends with the painful note that the mother had no interest in their development. Amar's story of the education of women similar to the story of Flora about her parental home ends on a negative tone. Her construction of a victim identity for women who want to be professionally trained closes on a dark note of hopelessness. Sweety's statement about the double shift of workingwomen ends with just one word meaning 'it is difficult'. Saral's stories of the victim identity of herself all close with a painful note showing that she and her sisters were 'helpless'; her parents did not make any effort to look for a husband for her and her colleagues in school enquired about her not having been married at such a late age.

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<sup>1069</sup> Varam – C38

In her story about her marital home, Flora closes by contrasting her care for the children and her trust in God with her husband's lack of love and cooperation. Similarly Jeyavathy also has a positive closure. Having begun to construct a victim identity in her parental home in the area of education of daughters, she ends with a positive picture of the father's interest in her education and her and her sister's success. Varam also has a similar closure of bringing out a positive point. She contrasts her life with the victimised sister and claims that her peace comes from her trust in God. Heera's story of her own experiences in her career closes with and without a sense of having been a victim. She feels a victim of having had a heavy load of work while her health had not been good; but she also works around this in describing how the sisters in her work place were quite understanding and gave her religious and spiritual support with prayers and sharing. She also adds that she had all convenience and did not have to struggle like some workingwomen with a career and the domestic responsibilities.

Similarly Sweetie's story about her mother ends with a sense of a strong person taking care of everything. Bina also trivialises her construction about working women with the claim of this being her opinion. Lita does not explain away or trivialise but closes with the claim of a positive supportive role for her daughter-in-law who is an ordained priest. Heera closes her story about her daughters with a positive moralising claim of her leaving everything to God's will. Her advice to her students ends with a severe warning and caution about the victim identity she has built about women with a double shift. Varam does not turn around her construction as some others have done but closes with a positive identity of her contrasted with the victim identity of her sister. Just as some other stories Mariam's story also ends with a positive claim of her having successfully completed her higher education with God's help. Thus these stories of construction of victim identity end either in a positive or in a negative

tone after the storyteller constructs the main core of the story that attempts to portray a victim identity.

The narratives in this section are seen from the perspective of construction of victim identity. This may seem to produce a negative picture. But in each of these stories narrative strategies are used for construction to bring out some positive note in the end. Flora while speaking about the lack of love and care of her husband constructs a story of her having taken charge of the care of their children. Varam in portraying the victimisation of her sister by her sister's husband, brings out the peace and content she and her husband have in spite of having limited education. Heera constructs a story of victim identity in her earlier years of career, but brings out the positive perspective of her career advancement and the support of the religious sisters. Mariam in narrating about her enrolling for higher education while being a married woman brings out a story of achievement in how she was able to complete her higher education according to God's will. These narrators may use the tools of pathos, description, explanation and contrast to construct their stories of victim identity; but, they also through these reject, explain away or trivialise the victim identity. On the other hand there may be constructions of positive identities.

## **XI. Narratives That Show Disapproval or Restriction of Women's Career.**

Some stories about women's career are constructed to display disapproval or restriction of women's career. These women construct stories of emphatic disapproval of women's career<sup>1070</sup> either explicitly or implicitly.

In each of these stories of disapproval or restriction the narrator begins with either an outright

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<sup>1070</sup> Shashi Jain also notes that there is still the notion that women should not work. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 221

statement of disapproval or restriction or a situation of limitation that is used to lead into the story. Joy begins<sup>1071</sup> with her statement of restriction that they have to follow the culture in the choice of career.

Lila<sup>1072</sup> has an ambiguous beginning as shown in the next sentence. Is she valorising her combining career and studies, or is she preparing the listener for the restriction that follows later?

Amar in her expressing of her opinion of women in high position intertwines ambivalence, restriction, disapproval and glorification. This going back and forth between two positions is explicit in her opening statement itself<sup>1073</sup>. Speaking of herself in her parental home she begins<sup>1074</sup> with the restriction. Amar's story about her younger daughter has a lengthy beginning<sup>1075</sup> of aspiration, preparation and limitations faced which give no clue to what follows in the main story that is later constructed about her younger daughter's education and career. Jeyam's narrative begins<sup>1076</sup> with a detailed description of the limitation and the glorification that prepares the listener partially for the story to follow. Thus these women may or may not explicitly produce the context of their stories in their opening.

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<sup>1071</sup> Joy – C47

<sup>1072</sup> Lila – C26

<sup>1073</sup> Amar – C22

<sup>1074</sup> Amar – C48

<sup>1075</sup> Amar – C49

<sup>1076</sup> Jeyam – C18

### **A. Disapproval of Some Careers.**

Joy's story<sup>1077</sup> of a career that is not following the culture and disapproval of some types of work is a lengthy interaction of questions and responses. However she is quite clear that certain careers are not approved. This is displayed by the repeated use of such phrases as 'modelling', 'they get spoiled' and 'they go out of track'.

### **B. Disapproval of some and Glorification of some others.**

Lila is also quite explicit in her narration of what type of jobs was not approved by her mother for the daughters<sup>1078</sup>. In the course of this construction she also brings out the pattern of glorification of some type of career such as the teaching profession for women. Amar in her narrative about women in high positions<sup>1079</sup> repeatedly emphasises the limitations and disapproval while also glorifying them. She brings in many points such as the backing of men being essential and the delicate nature of women that she also attributes to God's creation. She attributes the limitation of women not being as powerful as men and being vulnerable and helpless in some situations, to a lower position of women, and attributes women attaining prominence and eminence in high positions to the backing of men folk and the possibility of having climbed up the ladder upon the shoulders of men.

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<sup>1077</sup> Joy – C47

Alfred de Souza also notes the idea that only certain jobs are 'respectable' or suitable for women, de Souza, 1975, p. 16; compare this with Joy's narrative and Amar's, C

<sup>1078</sup> Lila – C26

<sup>1079</sup> Amar – C22

### C. Providing a Rationale.

Unlike the story of Lila, Amar's story<sup>1080</sup> of the restriction her mother placed upon her career was not a point of noble work, but of the family's financial situation and the necessity to educate the son well. This construction of restriction and limitation is founded squarely upon a rationale. Similarly her story about her younger daughter is also woven skilfully to rationalise the restriction and limitation<sup>1081</sup>. Jeyam's story<sup>1082</sup> of her not opting for her earlier much-dreamt-of career of becoming a college professor is also much rationalised to display the limitation and also the glorification of her final procurement of a job. The skilfully woven stories are also closed well.

Joy closes her story with an agreement to women taking up not any career but a career that is not against the culture as she stated in her opening. Thus Joy produces a well-rounded narrative. Lila also closes with a positive note but one of glorifying some career while displaying her mother's disapproval of some types of career. Amar in her description of the situation of women in high position such as being a prime minister or a managing director of a company emphatically closes with her claim of limitation. Her story of her own career is also brought to an end of what she became under the limitation. A similar well-constructed story about her younger daughter is brought to a close with what career she entered into. Jeyam's story is also similar to those narrated by Amar about her career and that of her younger daughter. Jeyam brings her story to a closure of glorification though she began it with some reservation and limitation. In these stories of limitation and disapproval either the story is

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<sup>1080</sup> Amar – C48

Compare this with what Shashi Jain notes about middle class families having limited means and so the education of the male child taking precedence. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62

<sup>1081</sup> Amar – C49

Shashi Jain also notes that the teaching profession is preferred for the daughters. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 62. Compare this with what Amar says about her parental and marital homes.

<sup>1082</sup> Jeyam – C18

constructed to display it explicitly and clearly or it is displayed with some twists and turns of narration intertwined with glorification. In the end the narrators however attempt to portray perceptions of strength, freedom, well being and goodness.

## **XII. Pattern of Complete Disapproval of Women Working.**

There is a distinct group of narratives in which the women display the disapproval of either themselves or someone in the family towards women's career or women who work. Various strategies are used to justify their stance. This is a total disapproval of career for women unlike the attitude dealt with in the previous section in which it was the construction of disapproval of either the type of work or the level of work or some such partial ambivalence towards women's career or career women.

Bina emphatically opens her narration of her opinion and experience with the claim of disapproval of career for women. Tiny, Sweetie and Gem set the stage for the disapproval of the father or the husband with clarification. Sweetie's other narrative is quite strange. She has only one sentence about the difficulty of workingwomen. It is ambiguous whether she is expressing her own disapproval or just stating the explicit difficulty of the situation. The context is clear from the first word 'work'.

### **A. Details Provided to Justify.**

Bina is the only one who has an elaborate narration of her main point. She moves in her story from her opinion to God's creation to her own experience of having been a career woman. She goes into great detail about the workingwoman having to depend upon the domestic help, not being able to take care of the family well and having to face the difficulty of double shift.

## B. Rationalisation Style.

Tiny, Sweety and Gem in their constructions display the disapproval and rationalise the disapproval. For Tiny<sup>1083</sup> it was the father who educated her just for the sake of improvement of knowledge and not for becoming a workingwoman. This rationalises the fact that Tiny's father disapproved of career for women. For Sweety<sup>1084</sup> the disapproval comes from her husband. She is quite explicit in stating that he did not like women working. However this disapproval of women's career is rationalised by the statement that they had enough to eat though it was only one person's income. Gem<sup>1085</sup> rationalises her husband's disapproval of her being a workingwoman with the fact that he did not like it because they were in North India. There is no further explanation given. It is left to the listener to surmise the reason. Sweety in another extract<sup>1086</sup> makes a statement of the difficulty of both the husband and the wife working. The question may be raised whether she expects the listener to conclude that this is disapproval or whether she leaves it open for the listener to make any conclusion. However this story is not a construction of a positive outright approval of women's career.

Bina's story of emphatic statements is brought to a modest closure of her claiming it to be her view. The stories of Tiny, Sweety and Gem have a firm closure of disapproval of career for women with explicit rationalisations. Similarly Sweety's expression about the difficulty faced by career women is also firmly closed with the emphatic statement of the difficulty. These women construct stories of emphatic disapproval of women's career<sup>1087</sup> either explicitly or

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<sup>1083</sup> Tiny – C50

<sup>1084</sup> Sweety – C51

Sweety's claim that her husband did not want her to work similar to that of Gem has parallels with Derne's observation that most of the upper middle class men did not want their wives to work. Derne, 1995, p. 4

<sup>1085</sup> Gem – C52

<sup>1086</sup> Sweety – C46; see also P. Caplan, 1985, p. 85

<sup>1087</sup> Shashi Jain also notes that there is still the notion that women should not work. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 221



implicitly. But these do not seem to detract from their perception of freedom, strength, well being and satisfaction, because these are balanced with the other stories of freedom, approval and identities of strength, achievement and success.

## **CONCLUSION.**

Thus the various stories about women's education and career are narrated using several different techniques. The women construct their narratives using the strategies of taking for granted or assuming to be the cultural norm, claims of necessity, glorification, explanation, justification, rationalisation, constructing achiever identity, identity construction, construction of victim identity, restriction and complete disapproval. These reveal the perspectives and attitudes of these women about women's education and career.

Several claim that education for women is taken for granted and women enjoy freedom and liberty as to the type or level of education. In the case of women's career there does not seem to be such an outright claim of women's work being taken for granted with freedom and liberty. At the same time some women experience no restriction or disapproval of their being career women. However where there is a seeming lack of freedom and liberty it may be rationalised, justified or explained. On the other hand there is also a view that only some types of education or career are appropriate for women. This view of women choosing some type of education or career may be glorified.

As for the level of education for women while there seems to be no restriction on the one hand, there may be some limitation on the other. This may be explained with the situation of the family or other constraints such as the financial position of the family. In such cases priority may be given to the education of men that may be narrated in such a way that there is

no explicit gender discrimination or it may not be attributed to any gender bias or differential treatment. There are instances of some limitations or restrictions placed on women's education. The women may accept this and rationalise or overcome the obstacle and gain an achiever identity.

In cases of an outright obstacle the women may perceive and construct a victim identity. This construction of a victim identity is part of assuming that education and career is a legitimate expectation that is illegitimately denied. But there are indications or pointers either in the same story or in another story that the victimisation either is not accepted or inverted. Flora's story of victimisation through the lack of care of her mother and her husband is narrated with the strength of her taking charge of the children's education and nurture. Amar's discourse about the victimisation of girls trying to get into professional courses has to be seen against the educational situation of any child wanting to get into a professional course. Whether it is a male or female the rules of the game are same – lots of money spent on coaching, much money given as donation to get a seat and not procuring an adequate job. Her story has to be seen against the other stories about education and career she narrates. These display strength and freedom. Saral's story about victimisation of having to work also has the inversion that God protected her and she readily procured a job in Chennai when she had to come to Chennai to be with her father and stepmother. Her stories about the education and career of her two daughters display satisfaction, strength and well being. Though these stories may be interpreted as stories of victimisation in the end there is rejection, inversion, negotiation or circumventing of the victimisation.

In the case of women's work one finds women who have become breadwinners of the family or have taken up work to contribute to the family income. Unlike with women's experience of

education there is some outright disapproval of women's work. This also has its rationalisation. Some women feel victimised in having been forced to work while some others feel victimisation in not being allowed to work. There is a clear recognition of the problem of the double shift of working women. While the problem is recognised it does not seem to alter the gender role allocation. On the other hand it makes some opt for not taking up work or to advocate a domestic role for women.

The identity of who a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai is at the turn of the millennium is built up through these narrative constructions which contributes to the overall aim of this research to uncover the self perception and self construction of these women. Once again their self perceptions and self construction do not fit the academic discussions as seen in the literature review in chapter two. Further it is noted that the experiences of these women cannot be placed in well-defined slots or boxes of academic discussion. See the footnote at the end of section II of this chapter for the portrayal of women's education and career in the books about Indian gender studies. These are also found in chapter two. These books describe that women do not have the freedom for education and career. But in this chapter on education and career the women of the sample group describe themselves as having freedom of education and career. This may be seen in the stories found in section II of this chapter.

Having looked at the aspects of education and career for women in this chapter, I move to consider issues of religious discourse in the next chapter. The identity these women are constructing of a Tamil Christian woman in Chennai at the turn of the millennium has several areas or aspects or facets. So far I have considered their identity in the family through their perceptions of spousal relationship and treatment of children. I have also analysed the construction of identity in who a woman is in the area of the opportunities she has or does not

have with respect to education and career. The identity of a woman has aspects in the areas of family, religion and society. For a Christian woman her religion and her religious activities or involvement in church are very important. The identity of any woman is shaped significantly by her religion or the religion of her community. So the narratives of religious discourse are analysed which comprise both the experiences and the views of the narrators. These are also found to be their responses or reactions to the issues raised in the focus groups. So having looked at the aspects of education and career for women in this chapter, I move to consider issues of religious discourse in the next chapter because religion and religious activities shape the identity of its adherents significantly.

## CHAPTER SIX

### RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

#### **Introduction.**

The previous chapter discussed the participants' narratives about education and career. In the focus groups the narrators tell stories of their 'gender practice' in the categories of their lived experiences of relationships within the family namely spousal relationship and treatment of children, and opportunities for women's education and career. These have been looked at in the previous two chapters. In the focus groups they also narrate their attitudes, views and understanding of select aspects of 'gender practice' in response to the Bible studies distributed and other issues that arise. This they do orienting themselves to their self perception and self construction in the religious and social milieu of their lived experiences. The social realm, culture and religion of a member or members of a community shape the beliefs and experiences of the members. Members of a community are both creators and actors of the social milieu, culture and religion of that community. So these narratives are significant in their self-perception and self-construction. The narratives may be categorised as religious discourse<sup>1088</sup> and social discourse. The religious discourse pertains to the general involvement of women in church, the roles they are permitted to take up in church, such as preaching and teaching, women's involvement in church administration and women's priesthood allowed by ordination, and some cultural practices and behaviour pertaining to religious mores such as women's headcovering during worship and husband's headship in the family. These are important because religion shapes the identity construction of a person. The narratives about their experiences have parts about their religious life, views about religious issues and also

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<sup>1088</sup> Religious life is a significant area for exploration in gender studies and studies about gender practice. See Vimala Mehta, 1979. This is one of the areas she explores in her study of attitude of educated women towards social issues.

include religious claims. The social discourse is constituted of social issues pertaining to women and their gender practice. This chapter deals with the analytical material regarding the religious discourse. The women use several different strategies and tools such as approval, disapproval and ambivalence to construct their narratives of their activities in the religious realm based on their views, attitudes, understanding and experiences. These emerge from the pattern of their claims and views.

## **SECTION ONE. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN'S GENERAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE CHURCH.**

These narratives are free responses to the issue raised about these women's involvement in church and in general about the involvement of women in church. However this section deals with only the narratives pertaining to activities of these women. Further these also relate to those activities these women undertake in the religious realm even if they are not organised by or occurring within the church.

### **I. Valuing Sunday Observance.**

One participant, Amar has stressed the valuing of Sunday observance in her parental home. Amar explicitly straightaway gives the context by stating that they did not miss going on Sunday<sup>1089</sup>. However she does not in the first sentence say where they went on Sunday. This probably presumes the knowledge of the listener based on the cultural understanding that it is going to church that she is talking about.

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<sup>1089</sup> Amar – IC(Involvement in Church)1. The narratives about involvement in church are found in Appendix 11.

The construction of the core<sup>1090</sup> is rather untidy as it may be expected of narratives. However she is clear about the point that there was no excuse for not going to church on Sunday contrasting it with taking leave for going to school. She emphasises the lack of peace of not having gone to church by stating the same over and over again. She further emphasises the importance given to Sunday observance by stating that there was no skipping of church. The value of Sunday observance is further highlighted by the encouragement given to attend Sunday school and young girls' meeting. With this emphasis the story is over. Thus Amar effectively uses contrast, repetition and emphasis to construct her story. Amar closes her story with no formal ending with the firm emphasis on valuing Sunday observance.

## **II. Story of Inner Peace and Content.**

Varam has a story of her spiritual activities that evince peace and content. She constructs her story of inner state of peace and content using the technique of contrasting her husband's eagerness and her laziness. This story has elaborate descriptions. Varam is explicit in stating the context of her narration – her involvement in religious activities<sup>1091</sup>.

The description is built up<sup>1092</sup> with the encouragement of the husband shown through phrases such as 'even though I do not have the opportunity to come' and 'even if you cannot cook'. She effectively uses the contrast between the eagerness of her husband and her laziness to get up for the morning prayer. Thus she describes her involvement by providing several pieces of detail. This construction of an inner state of peace and contentment also stresses the importance of these activities for Varam's family.

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<sup>1090</sup> Amar – IC (Involvement in Church)1

<sup>1091</sup> Varam – IC2

<sup>1092</sup> Varam – IC2

Varam threads her pieces of narratives smoothly. She strings her pieces about her involvement in church activities, her husband's encouragement, and their family prayers at night and in the morning. Through all these tiny descriptions she constructs her story of the inner state of peace and contentment. This point is again and again repeated for emphasis. The narrative is brought to an end briefly but firmly. The point of their inner state of well being and happiness is stated again.

### III. 'No Tall Claims'.

Some tell their stories of spiritual activities in a modest manner making no tall claims. This is the strategy they use in their construction. Udhaya and Tiny follow this narrative construction. Both Udhaya and Tiny have brief openings that are quite different. Udhaya makes a general statement about the rightness of women's involvement in church activities<sup>1093</sup> while Tiny begins<sup>1094</sup> with her own involvement in church activities.

The two describe a good bit of what their church involvement is. However they claim that they have not done much. Udhaya<sup>1095</sup> uses phrases and words that are disclaimers – 'I cannot go out and do', 'that is all', 'not in a big way', and justifications – 'because I have a small child', 'I have to go and cook', 'as much as I can', 'after I send her to school what I can' and 'that is all that I can do'. Her brief statement that she cannot preach makes her point.<sup>1096</sup> There is no further elaboration.

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<sup>1093</sup> Udhaya – IC3

<sup>1094</sup> Tiny – IC4

<sup>1095</sup> Udhaya – IC3

<sup>1096</sup> Tiny – IC4



Though Udhaya and Tiny seem to close with different statements they make similar claims. Udhaya closes her narrative with 'not in a big way' while Tiny ends with 'that is all'. With this construction of making 'no tall claim', both however make the point that they do their bit.

#### **IV. Ennobling or Valuing Women's Involvement.**

A few participants construct their stories of women's involvement in church and other spiritual activities using the mechanism of ennobling such work. Flora, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Jeyam and Saral have stories that are focused on ennobling the involvement of women in church and other spiritual activities.

Many of these stories are quite long and elaborate with several mini-stories strung together. The women probably take pains to construct such long multi-stories to emphasise their point of involvement in church, by ennobling, valuing, glorification or valorisation. The method of construction of ennobling is making something or someone noble, good, great or magnificent. The storytellers use the strategy of glorification to glorify, magnify, place on a pedestal, make great, praiseworthy, commendable, good or high. The narrators use valorisation that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it look noble. Flora<sup>1097</sup> and Bina<sup>1098</sup> start with their own involvement. Mariam strangely opens with the claim<sup>1099</sup> that her husband does not obstruct her involvement. This appears strange because why should Mariam speak about her husband's attitude when she narrates about her involvement. Lovely goes back to the days when she was a Sunday school student<sup>1100</sup>. Jeyam

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<sup>1097</sup> Flora – IC5

<sup>1098</sup> Bina – IC6

<sup>1099</sup> Mariam – IC7

<sup>1100</sup> Lovely – IC8

begins<sup>1101</sup> with how she began to teach in the Sunday school and also moves on to her involvement in her work place. Saral begins<sup>1102</sup> with the emphatic statement of rationalising the involvement. Then she contrasts her inability before marriage and opportunity after her marriage. This opening contrast is probably used for emphasis.

#### **A. Style of Contrast and Use of Various Phrases.**

Flora<sup>1103</sup> gives evidence to put forward her point of ennobling women's involvement. She describes her involvement in children's work in churches in which she is not a member and bemoans the lack of opportunity for this type of work in the Pentecostal church of which she is a member. She sharpens her point by this contrast of opportunity in some churches and the lack of opportunity in the Pentecostal church. Her contrast is elaborated with the use of phrases such as 'much interest', 'but I like it much here', 'my talent goes waste', 'I do not like these' and 'women's ministry is much useful'. She also buttresses her argument with the claim that women may share their problems openly only with women.

#### **B. Use of Phrases to Rationalise Ennoblement.**

Bina also uses phrases<sup>1104</sup> such as 'especially I have much interest', 'I am much encouraged', 'I am well involved' and 'women may involve well'. Further she also rationalises by stating that women are more suitable to minister among women and uses phrases and words to emphasise her point – 'easy', 'much more easier', 'good chance' and 'may do well'.

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<sup>1101</sup> Jeyam – IC9

<sup>1102</sup> Saral – IC14

<sup>1103</sup> Flora – IC5

<sup>1104</sup> Bina – IC6

### **C. Biblical base Used as the Rationale.**

Mariam's narrative<sup>1105</sup> follows a different trajectory. Having begun with a lengthy description of how her husband does not obstruct her involvement she uses biblical material to rationalise her ennobling. She presents the biblical concept that there is no discrimination as man or woman in Christ. Her rationale is that Christ has shed his blood for everyone, so all should labour for the extension of his Kingdom. She uses phrases and words that convey her intent of ennobling – 'that is a privilege', 'all should labour' and 'surely, certainly all should labour'.

### **D. Benefits Pointed Out.**

Lovely<sup>1106</sup> uses several evidences to support her construction. Having begun with her childhood experiences she ennoble women's involvement by the impact it had upon her and her desire to follow a role model. She piles up more points of the interest created by competitions and increased knowledge. She also uses words such as 'desire'. Lovely constructs along different lines of narration. She uses effectively the problems she had after marriage to continue her involvement, her husband's different type of involvement and her participation in it with its benefit and the insistence of the Sunday school superintendent that Lovely should resume her involvement. This she justifies with the statement that she has been able to manage with her little daughter who has grown up a little. Thus her ennobling strategies use different tools.

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<sup>1105</sup> Mariam – IC7

<sup>1106</sup> Lovely – IC8

### **E. Contrast Style.**

Jeyam also constructs her narrative with various strategies. She contrasts her initial involvement without the inner experience with the latter spiritual experience and growth<sup>1107</sup>. She also uses the support of how she was prodded on with the caution not to be caught unaware in any unacceptable behaviour by her Sunday school students.<sup>1108</sup> She had to be extra careful. Her statements about how she had to be regular and disciplined help her ennobling. She also adds up support for her ennobling from the way her marriage did not take her away from her home church<sup>1109</sup> and by speaking of the birth of a child after a long period of waiting<sup>1110</sup>. Similarly her narration about her involvement in her work place in giving devotional messages, in learning a lot in preparing and composing songs also heightens her ennobling<sup>1111</sup>.

### **F. Contrast to Highlight the Benefits.**

Saral<sup>1112</sup> uses effectively the contrast between her inability before marriage and the opportunity after her marriage. She also uses many strategies and tools to bring out her construction of ennobling. For her involvement in Sunday school teaching has brought many benefits such as her having been able to prepare her daughters adequately and appropriately for the exams and her one daughter having become a Sunday school teacher.<sup>1113</sup> Her opening pointing out the benefit of women ministering to women in solving problems emphasises her

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<sup>1107</sup> Jeyam – IC9

<sup>1108</sup> Jeyam – IC10

<sup>1109</sup> Jeyam – IC11

<sup>1110</sup> Jeyam – IC12

<sup>1111</sup> Jeyam – IC13

<sup>1112</sup> Saral – IC14

<sup>1113</sup> Saral – IC15

main point. Her additional narration about her husband's spiritual activities but without attending church strengthens her story in bringing out the point that he did not object to her teaching Sunday class and spending much time in church.

Almost every story in this pattern has a well-constructed winding up. Most of them finish with the benefit of women's involvement or a statement of emphasis that women should be involved or that this is their involvement. Saral's end seems out of place and lengthy but she finishes with her desire and prayer for husband's church attendance. None of these women leave any gap or opening for the audience to raise any question or to challenge the import of their stories.

#### **V. Pattern of Boldness.**

Arunavathy, Ester and Lita narrate stories of either their involvement or of women's involvement in church using a technique to display boldness. These three construct short and crisp stories. All three have quite different openings. Arunavathy starts<sup>1114</sup> with her timidity in talking to men because she was in a hostel. It has to be understood that she was in a girls' boarding-home. Only as she proceeds may the listener understand the point of this opening. Ester is blunt. There seems to be no formal opening. Lita also similar to Arunavathy, seems to open<sup>1115</sup> with something that may be taken for not having any connection with the point of her story of women's involvement in church.

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<sup>1114</sup> Arunavathy – IC16

<sup>1115</sup> Lita – IC18

### **A. Explicit Use of the Word ‘Bold’.**

Only as Arunavathy proceeds with her story of involvement in religious activities<sup>1116</sup> is her point of timidity understood. This type of construction of pointing out the former situation and then the change in gaining boldness strengthens the point. She uses the words ‘boldly’ several times. She also uses the phrase ‘no fear’. This shows her point of constructing a story of boldness in involvement. The core of Ester’s story<sup>1117</sup> is just a listing of her involvement. However at the end her construction of boldness is revealed through her claim of gaining boldness.

### **B. Equipping Pointed Out as the Basis for Boldness.**

Lita’s construction of boldness<sup>1118</sup> is displayed by her describing how one may be involved in activities for the Lord by preparing and equipping with being in the ‘truth’ with a clear idea removing all doubts. Lita uses this point of being prepared and equipped to construct her story of boldness.

All three conclude their stories of boldness with the point of boldness itself. Arunavathy makes an emphatic claim ‘at present that fear is not there’. Ester also closes with the firm claim of having gained courage through her involvement. Lita does not explicitly close with the words for boldness; but her closure of being able to do something for the Lord probably presupposes boldness. These stories display the construction of an identity of boldness.

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<sup>1116</sup> Arunavathy - IC16

<sup>1117</sup> Ester - YMW – IC17

<sup>1118</sup> Lita – IC18

## **VI. Stories of Powerful and Active Involvement.**

Quite a few stories are constructed to narrate powerful and active involvement of these participants in church activities. Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar, Melody and Swarna have stories of powerful and active involvement.

All of these narrators except Melody have long narratives that are in fact collections of stories. Only Melody has just one sentence. The other four, Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna have elaborate and detailed descriptions. The description of the background clearly and specifically leads the audience into the point of the story. There is no doubt or lack of clarity about the construction of their stories. Words and phrases such as ‘in the church’<sup>1119</sup>, ‘in ministry’<sup>1120</sup>, ‘women must do it’<sup>1121</sup>, ‘in church activities’<sup>1122</sup>, ‘the name of our branch’<sup>1123</sup>, ‘at present’<sup>1124</sup> and ‘while I was a small child’<sup>1125</sup> begin and lead into the story with many details.

### **A. Elaborate Description Used as Narrative Style.**

Jeyavathy in one extract narrates<sup>1126</sup> her involvement in religious meetings in her younger days and the continued work as the Jesus Calls evangelist. In another extract<sup>1127</sup> she describes with great detail her involvement with Brother Lawrie’s work and her moving on to special

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<sup>1119</sup> Jeyavathy – IC19

<sup>1120</sup> Jeyavathy – IC20

<sup>1121</sup> Jeyavathy – IC21

<sup>1122</sup> Tiny – IC22

<sup>1123</sup> Amar – IC23

<sup>1124</sup> Melody – IC34

<sup>1125</sup> Swarna – IC26

<sup>1126</sup> Jeyavathy – IC19

<sup>1127</sup> Jeyavathy – IC20

experiences. Yet another extract<sup>1128</sup> emphasises the need for women to be involved in religious activities because women may have easy access to women and would be able to understand their problems and help them.

Tiny<sup>1129</sup> describes how she was encouraged by other members to be involved in church activities by their helping to take care of her children. She also makes it a point to describe the encouragement and help her husband gave in taking care of the children when she had to go for religious activities.

Amar describes in great detail how their branch was started<sup>1130</sup> and the regular activities such as Sunday worship service, Sunday class for neighbourhood children<sup>1131</sup> and meetings for sisters with prayer and teaching<sup>1132</sup> are carried out. To bring out the powerful and active involvement she describes in detail how each meeting or service was conducted.

Swarna has several long stories strung together<sup>1133</sup>. She describes her involvement in Sunday school and Christian Endeavour<sup>1134</sup> in the local church as a young girl. Then she moves on to her active participation during her college days in the prayer cells<sup>1135</sup>, <sup>1136</sup>. She also conducted

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<sup>1128</sup> Jeyavathy – IC21

<sup>1129</sup> Tiny – IC22

<sup>1130</sup> Amar – IC23

<sup>1131</sup> Amar – IC24

<sup>1132</sup> Amar – IC25

<sup>1133</sup> Swarna – IC26

<sup>1134</sup> Swarna - IC27

<sup>1135</sup> Swarna – IC28

<sup>1136</sup> Swarna – IC29



church services, preached and taught<sup>1137</sup>. Finally she goes on to narrate her involvement after her marriage in giving messages in women's meetings<sup>1138</sup>, cottage prayer meetings<sup>1139</sup>, and also teaching in the Sunday school<sup>1140</sup>. All these women use the method of elaborate description and the technique of details to bring out the construction of powerful and active involvement. Evidence upon evidence is piled up as it has been described above in the narratives of Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna.

### **B. Short and Crisp Construction.**

Melody has only one sentence, 'At present women are actively involved in church although...'<sup>1141</sup>. However her short and crisp story shows the powerful and active involvement with one explicit phrase 'actively involved'. Some like Melody construct short and crisp stories to bring out the powerful involvement of women while others like Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna narrate stories that are descriptive and elaborate, replete with details in portraying their roles.

Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar and Swarna have definite closure for their stories while Melody's story does not seem to have a formal end. Jeyavathy's end also reflects powerful and active involvement. In one extract she ends with the claim 'at present we do in everything, all are

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<sup>1137</sup> Swarna – IC30

<sup>1138</sup> Swarna – IC31

<sup>1139</sup> Swarna – IC32

Cottage prayer meetings are meetings held in homes on a week day evening when there is a special occasion to celebrate or give thanks, such as anniversaries, passing an examination, having a child, procuring a job, receiving healing or having built a new house. These are described in the report about the background of the church in Appendix 1 section G. 2, i, g. The audience will be mixed crowd of men and women, young and old.

<sup>1140</sup> Swarna – IC33

Sunday schools are christian education for mainly children of the congregation either held during the service in a separate place or some other time on Sunday. The Sunday school activity of the Kodambakkam church is described in Appendix 1, III. E. and III. G. 2. i. a.

<sup>1141</sup> Melody – IC34

doing with zeal, with zeal and God's grace they are doing the ministry of the church'. In another she closes with the claim 'in that manner my ministry is being done quite well'. Another narrative ends with repeated emphatic statement 'women must do this work'. Tiny closes with the support of the spiritual benefit the family gained. Amar closes with the narration of giving the testimony about the promise cards the women receive every year.

Swarna completes her long story of her involvement from her childhood days to the present with her present involvement in the Sunday school. This narrative is like an oral history, long and detailed.

## **VII. Rationalising.**

Kamala, Udhaya and Mariam in their narrations of involvement in church activities rationalise the role of either themselves or others. Probably these narrators do not simply describe their involvement as the earlier group did, but also rationalise their stories. All three narrators have diverse openings. Kamala's beginning<sup>1142</sup> with her lack of much education seems strange. However she effectively uses it to strengthen her rationalisation described in the section below. Udhaya begins<sup>1143</sup> with a claim that there appears to be nothing wrong in women's ministry. Mariam opens<sup>1144</sup> with the explicit indication of her subject matter. She begins with a rationalisation of God's will and call for her.

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<sup>1142</sup> Kamala – IC35

<sup>1143</sup> Udhaya – IC36

<sup>1144</sup> Mariam – IC37

### **A. Negative Example Used Effectively.**

Kamala constructs her main story<sup>1145</sup> with the rationalisation that she had not been eager to preach because of her level of education. But she continues to narrate the various ways in which she participates. She rationalises women's involvement by starting with her negative example but moving on to her own involvement.

### **B. Phrases of Approval Used for Rationalisation.**

Udhaya<sup>1146</sup> rationalises women's involvement with statements such as 'there does not appear to be anything wrong', 'both are called', 'anyone who has the talent can do' and 'it does not appear to be wrong for me'. Probably Udhaya feels that the general opinion of the community is that women's ministry is not really acceptable and so uses such phrases of approval for rationalising.

### **C. Rationalising with Several Points.**

Mariam<sup>1147</sup> also has several points of rationalisation – her sense of call for the ministry, the responsibility of those who know the love of the Lord to tell others, the way she was led into the Sunday school work, the spiritual benefit she gained, the example of a soldier who was benefited by his Sunday school teacher, her joining the Sunday school after a gap after her marriage, the encouragement given by the Superintendent, the story of the woman who broke the alabaster jar and the necessity to be witnesses. Mariam uses these points to rationalise women's involvement in church.

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<sup>1145</sup> Kamala – IC35

<sup>1146</sup> Udhaya – IC36

<sup>1147</sup> Mariam – IC37

The three narrators close in their own ways. Kamala rationalises women's involvement by contrasting the higher number of women who do so with the smaller number of men who participate. This leaves no room for any question to be raised. Udhaya ends her story with the claim that women are equal to men. She does not say in what way they are equal; but her earlier construction of the story claiming both to be called is probably meant to make the listener come to the conclusion that they are equal in participating in church activities. Mariam's closure is also a rationalisation. She raises her doubt whether her children would be an obstacle for her teaching in the Sunday school; but quickly moves to the opposite position that her being a Sunday school teacher would only help the children by making them attend and do well. Thus she also leaves no space for any doubt or question.

In these narratives about women's general involvement in church and other evangelistic activities, a picture of power, strength and boldness emerges. Amar's narrative about her parental home brings out how Sunday observance was valued. Varam in her story about how her husband encourages her to involve in church activities brings out the peace and contentment they have. Udhaya and Tiny in saying that they did only what they could, do not make any tall claims but portray a picture of involvement. Flora, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Jeyam and Saral ennoble or value women's involvement in church activities. To portray the goodness and greatness, they use mechanisms of constructions such as contrast, rationalisation, biblical base and pointing to the benefits.

Lita and Arunavathy construct stories of boldness of women in their general involvement in church activities. Jeyavathy, Tiny, Amar, Melody and Swarna have narratives of powerful and active involvement of either themselves or other women. These may be either elaborate and descriptive or short and crisp. Kamala, Udhaya and Mariam rationalise their stories of

women's involvement in church activities. Kamala rationalises her negative example by bringing in her lack of much education. Udhaya uses approval for her rationalisation. Mariam narrates a long story of her own involvement rationalising with experience, example and claims to God's call. Thus using many strategies of story construction these women portray perceptions of powerful involvement of women in church activities. This gives strength and power to their self perception of freedom and equality.

## **SECTION TWO. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE CHURCH.**

### **I. Women Preaching and Teaching.**

In the focus groups one issue that was considered was the question of women preaching and teaching. This arises from the Pauline passages in 1Corinthians and 1Timothy. The responses of the women are varied. In this section I look at how these women construct their stories about women preaching and teaching. Much of it is of their opinion, view and attitude.

#### **A. Defense Based on God's Approval.**

Amar, Lita and Saguna powerfully and carefully construct their narratives defending women preaching and teaching basing their construction on God's approval. All three storytellers carefully construct the setting. Amar<sup>1148</sup> appears to go straight into the story which itself sets the stage. Lita provides the context<sup>1149</sup> for her one story by pointing out women's equality and the progress made. She paves the way for another story<sup>1150</sup> by claiming the preparedness and

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<sup>1148</sup> Amar – PT(Preaching and Teaching)1. The narratives about women preaching and teaching are found in Appendix 11.

<sup>1149</sup> Lita – PT2

<sup>1150</sup> Lita – PT3

equipping of women. Saguna<sup>1151</sup> bases her argument on the last commission of the Lord to go and preach to all creatures.

### **1. Use of A Powerful Example of a Woman Preaching.**

Amar's story<sup>1152</sup> is quite interesting. She gathers support for her argument by presenting the story of the wife of Pastor Wurmbrand. She uses her imagination effectively to project what may happen when Mrs. Wurmbrand reaches heaven. Her claim that the Lord will not chide her for having preached being a woman is also humorous. In her imaginative story she further adds an approval of Mrs. Wurmbrand by the Lord saying that her preaching has saved many. Thus she provides an example and uses humour effectively.

### **2. Biblical Basis Used in Narrative.**

Lita amasses support for her claim<sup>1153</sup> of the Lord's approval for women preaching and teaching, with the claim that Jesus did not prohibit women preaching and the example of Magdalene having been commissioned to go and tell. She goes on to construct her story with more arguments that neither Jehovah nor Jesus prohibited women preaching, that they treated both men and women equally, that the supposed prohibition may be our misunderstanding and that our eyes are being opened as days go by. The other story<sup>1154</sup> is also constructed with effective argument. She brings out the point that if we know the truth we must share it and that the Lord did not have two standards for men and women. Lita supports this point of equality by citing Jesus' treatment of the woman caught in adultery by not condemning her but

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<sup>1151</sup> Saguna – PT4

<sup>1152</sup> Amar – PT (Preaching and Teaching) 1

<sup>1153</sup> Lita – PT2

<sup>1154</sup> Lita – PT3

forgiving her. Thus Lita constructs her story with examples from the Bible.

### **3. Style of Several Claims.**

Saguna uses reiteration and repetition for her construction<sup>1155</sup>. She claims equality of men and women. Then she over and over again claims that it is the duty of women to tell others about the Lord because it is the Lord's command. All three construct their stories claiming the authority of Jesus. Amar and Lita provide examples and bring out human frailty.

Amar closes her story with the claim that it is important that people grow spiritually. This gives a good finish. Lita in one extract ends by saying that we should be like this. Though the phrase 'like this' is not explicated it is to be understood to hark back to the point made in the story that our eyes are opened. In the other story Lita closes with raising an objection to gender discrimination by stating that there should not be any discrimination between men and women and in also not giving preferential treatment of hiding the wrongs done by boys. This fits well with the story of women also being given the responsibility of preaching and teaching. Saguna has an explicit closure. She uses the phrase 'no objection' and adds 'may preach and teach'.

### **B. Justification.**

Three women use this technique to construct their stories about women preaching and teaching probably because they cannot make their views stand without justification. Amar, Udhaya and Lita justify their stance of women preaching and teaching. Amar opens<sup>1156</sup> her

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<sup>1155</sup> Saguna – PT4

<sup>1156</sup> Amar – PT5

story with the necessity of and need for preaching. Udhaya seems to open with ambivalence<sup>1157</sup> about women preaching saying she has no clear idea about the issue. This also strengthens her use of justification later in the story. Lita begins one story<sup>1158</sup> with need for women proving themselves and the other<sup>1159</sup> with the preliminary equipment necessary.

### **1. Justification based on the Bible.**

Amar<sup>1160</sup> having elaborately described the need and necessity for preaching justifies women preaching, because otherwise those who hear the word of God preached are not able to stand in times of trouble. One phrase ‘in such a situation’ is her clinching point that people fall away just as the plant is destroyed. This justifies her claim of approving women preaching. She uses biblical material to justify her point.

### **2. Use of Cultural Understanding.**

Udhaya having begun with ambivalence as pointed out above, constructs her story with many justifications<sup>1161</sup>. She brings up several points. Women may preach because there are equal rights in present day society. In her view the presence of women in the preaching ministry enhances and it will be good. Further, women work more devotedly and that it will be good if women also preach. Finally more harvesting in the spiritual realm will be done if women also preach. The justification based on cultural understanding removes any question about the ambivalence in the opening.

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<sup>1157</sup> Udhaya – PT6

<sup>1158</sup> Lita – PT7

<sup>1159</sup> Lita – PT8

<sup>1160</sup> Amar – PT5

<sup>1161</sup> Udhaya – PT6



### **3. Use of Theological Understanding to Justify.**

Lita's justification also amasses several points. The first argument<sup>1162</sup> she uses is that no one may prevent women preaching and teaching if there is truth revealed. Further she also claims that if people are in the light there is no sex or gender discrimination and there is equality. Her second story<sup>1163</sup> once again justifies her point about women preaching, that if women give the Word of God they may act in any place. She also brings justifying points from the viewpoint of equipping, wisdom from above and the gift of the Holy Spirit. In her construction a stronger justification emerges from her claim that if one is liberated that person cannot be quiet. It is quite interesting that Lita proceeds with her story with further justification that practical action of loving compassion and help should accompany preaching. Her justification is based on theological understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in equipping with gifts.

Amar's justification that she is not against women preaching and teaching gives a firm and emphatic closure. Udhaya ends with her justifying point that more harvesting will be done. Lita ends one story with the claim of 'equality' and another with a demand for loving action. Both these endings clinch her justification. Similar to many other stories these stories also end with emphasis that excludes any questioning. This type of closure and construction shows that the women have quite firm and definite views. In their perception and construction about what they are talking. The picture that emerges is clear and strong.

### **C. Personal Approval.**

Quite a few women Amar, Flora, Melody, Sweety, Heera, Ranjithamani, Gem and Mariam use the strategy of personal approval in their stories about women preaching and teaching. No

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<sup>1162</sup> Lita – PT7

<sup>1163</sup> Lita – PT8

other point of justification or rationalisation or support is used except their personal approval.

The women have varied openings though there is not much elaborate description. Amar begins<sup>1164</sup> with an analogy between the love a child has for the mother and the devotion to God a believer has and the subject matter is not described explicitly. Flora's story is short and crisp with just the statement of her point<sup>1165</sup>. Melody<sup>1166</sup> also has a short narrative going straight into the point. Sweety's opening<sup>1167</sup> is strange. She begins with a statement of disapproval about women pastoring the church. This juxtaposition of her placing pastoring side by side with preaching helps her in affirming her point. Ranjithamani like Sweety begins with a negative point about different subject matter<sup>1168</sup>. Heera begins<sup>1169</sup> with a known example of one Elisabeth Paul. Gem enumerates<sup>1170</sup> other items of her approval to begin with. Mariam explicitly states<sup>1171</sup> that she is talking about women preaching.

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<sup>1164</sup> Amar – PT9

<sup>1165</sup> Flora – PT11

<sup>1166</sup> Melody – PT12

<sup>1167</sup> Sweety – PT14

<sup>1168</sup> Ranjithamani – PT15

<sup>1169</sup> Heera – PT10

<sup>1170</sup> Gem – PT16

<sup>1171</sup> Mariam – PT13

### 1. Use of an Example.

The narratives follow their own trajectories. Amar<sup>1172</sup> sets out an analogy of how a child defends the mother and speaks for the mother. She holds that women also when they are close to God would not keep quiet and will speak for God. She is explicit about her approval of women preaching. Heera affirms her approval<sup>1173</sup> by citing one particular example of a woman preacher and a general statement that she has known very good preachers.

### 2. Assertions and Rhetoric.

Flora's<sup>1174</sup> crisp statement claims that women's preaching does not appear to be wrong for her. In this way the story follows the contour of personal approval. Melody<sup>1175</sup> uses a rhetorical question about women preaching to give strength to her claim. Mariam constructs a story<sup>1176</sup> of a strong claim of her approval in spite of any worldwide disapproval.

### 3. Juxtaposing.

Sweety also reveals her personal approval explicitly<sup>1177</sup> of women preaching and gives strength by juxtaposing it with her disapproval of women conducting the service. Ranjithamani also uses juxtaposing effectively<sup>1178</sup> by first using a disclaimer of disapproval and then moving forward. Gem also goes through points of her disapproval citing one

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<sup>1172</sup> Amar – PT9

<sup>1173</sup> Heera – PT10

<sup>1174</sup> Flora – PT11

<sup>1175</sup> Melody – PT12

<sup>1176</sup> Mariam – PT13

<sup>1177</sup> Sweety – PT14

<sup>1178</sup> Ranjithamani – PT15

particular negative example<sup>1179</sup> of how a woman did not speak well in proposing a toast in a wedding reception, before she reveals her approval. Sweetie, Ranjithamani and Gem all three in their construction add a limitation to the extent to which women may function in their preaching and teaching.

All these narrators except Gem close their narratives with the explicit statement of their approval of women preaching. This firm closure leaves no space for any further argument. Gem's firm closure is that having stated her approval for women preaching among women, she imposes a limitation on women preaching in a mixed crowd.

#### **D. Eulogising<sup>1180</sup>.**

Some women interestingly eulogise women preaching and teaching. Kamala, Ranjithamani and Lovely have no problem with eulogising. Two of the narrators<sup>1181</sup> explicitly state the subject matter of their construction while a third, Lovely, begins<sup>1182</sup> with some general point about the nature of women.

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<sup>1179</sup> Gem – PT16

<sup>1180</sup> Eulogising: The narrators use this strategy to praise or make good or noble.

<sup>1181</sup> Kamala – PT17  
Ranjithamani – PT18

<sup>1182</sup> Lovely – PT19

## **1. Word of Eulogising.**

Kamala<sup>1183</sup> and Ranjithamani use the word 'good' or 'well' to display their eulogising of women preaching. Ranjithamani<sup>1184</sup> adds the benefit of women achieving a lot of things to eulogise women preaching.

## **2. Rooting in Common Experience.**

Lovely<sup>1185</sup> begins with the confidence level of women. She buttresses her eulogising with her observation in her work place. She claims that men and women are not different. She does not state in what aspect her claim is made. Probably she expects the listener to surmise that she is talking about confidence and capability, because she has spoken about the level of confidence and in her next sentence gives some allowance for men being physically stronger. But she immediately claims that this aspect has nothing to do with preaching. She uses the tool of rejecting as immaterial the difference in physical strength. This in her opinion has nothing to do with preaching. She cleverly constructs her narrative by pointing to confidence level and the situation in her work place to display her eulogising of women preaching.

Kamala and Ranjithamani seem to have no formal closure. Probably they see no need for it. Lovely closes her narrative by eulogising women preaching. Her closure may mislead. She does not explicitly use the term 'preaching' but 'everything'. But probably this is a way of speech used for emphasis.

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<sup>1183</sup> Kamala – PT17

<sup>1184</sup> Ranjithamani – PT18

<sup>1185</sup> Lovely – PT19

### **E. Approval with Reservation, Justification and a Claim of Paul's Saying.**

One woman, Bina constructs her story to display approval of women preaching and teaching. However her narrative shows some sort of reservation which is combined with justification and claiming a saying of Paul<sup>1186</sup>. This story and some others that have been already dealt with<sup>1187</sup> show degrees of approval and variation in the type of what they approve within the wider umbrella of women preaching and teaching.

Bina begins<sup>1188</sup> by clearly stating about what she is talking – about ‘preaching’. Bina’s construction of her narrative<sup>1189</sup> is quite strange because having begun to talk about ‘preaching’ she makes sure to distinguish between ‘preaching’ and ‘teaching’. The former for her is allowed for women if it is ‘sharing’ and ‘witness’. Her reservations are shown in several ways – first she has reservations about women preaching if it is also teaching; second she has reservations about women preaching in a mixed group and finally she also brings a claim of a prohibition by the Apostle Paul as pointed above, though she also claims it to be ‘my personal opinion’.

Bina closes her story with ‘because of it’. It is not clear whether she refers to her claim of Pauline prohibition or her personal opinion. However her allowance is tempered with reservations.

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<sup>1186</sup> Bina probably refers to Paul’s saying about women speaking during worship in 1Corinthians 14:34-35

<sup>1187</sup> Amar – PT1, Amar says that it is important to grow much more than being just saved, in I. A. 1 above; Saguna – PT4, is specific about preaching in the sense of evangelisation, in I. A. 3 above; Udhaya – PT6, also speaks about the spiritual harvest, in I. B. 2 above; Ranjithamani – PT15, qualifies the preaching except in the Sunday worship service, dealt with in I. C. 3 above; Gem – PT16, limits women’s preaching in a crowd of only women, I. C. 3 above

<sup>1188</sup> Bina – PT20

<sup>1189</sup> Bina – PT20

This section has looked at stories about women preaching and teaching. Many of the women approve of, recommend and support women preaching and teaching. They point to God's approval, powerful examples in their and other women's lives, root their claims in how they understand the Bible, justify using biblical, cultural and theological understanding and use constructions of juxtaposing and eulogising. Some women such as Gem and Bina have reservations. But this again is found to be reservations about women exercising authority in a mixed crowd. It is noted that these women in constructing stories about women preaching and teaching do not place themselves either in the complementarian or in the egalitarian position in a conscious well thought out manner. The egalitarian position holds that women may teach and preach under all circumstances. This is what many of these women may approve of in their lives and the lives of others. However some of them do not give a free hand for women to preach and teach. They seem to have reservations about women preaching and teaching in a mixed crowd that is equivalent to women exercising authority over men. This seems to correspond to the view of some complementarians. But these women who have reservations advocate and support women preaching and teaching in other circumstances. Further they have no reservations about women's education and career even if it may entail exercising authority over men. So one may not be able to label them as complementarians in their view about every aspect of life of a woman. It may be good to conclude that these women have their own understanding and interpretation without labelling themselves as either egalitarians or complementarians.

## **II. WOMEN IN CHURCH ADMINISTRATION.**

The question of women participating in the administration of the church particularly by being members of structures such as the pastorate committees was also considered because of the issue of exercising authority brought up by Paul the Apostle in 1 Timothy 2. Different patterns

were emerging such as disapproval, approval and also advocating such participation.

#### **A. Disapproval.**

Bina does not see any need for women to participate in church administration. So she constructs her story of disapproval according to her opinion. She goes straight into the subject matter<sup>1190</sup>. There is no doubt about what she is speaking because she begins her narrative indicating about administration in the church.

Bina's story<sup>1191</sup> disapproving women's participation in church administration winds through many points. She begins with the approval of men taking up the responsibility. She also adds that it is her opinion. Then she moves on to the point of women not dominating in the church. She begins with disapproval and then seems to go to a position of approval. She gives an allowance. If there is a necessity or there is none to do it, she allows women guiding and advising. There is no indication whether this allowance is given grudgingly or willingly. She proceeds to state that if there are fit persons, women need not do it. It is interesting that Bina claims that her opinion is that women may participate in the several other ministries related to the church. It is probably to be surmised that these several other ministries do not include administration.

The closure is simple and brief, but firm. Bina claims her story to be her opinion. This seems to be a disclaimer. Bina has not been categorically disapproving women's participation in church administration. She disapproves and also approves with limitations and 'ifs' and 'buts'.

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<sup>1190</sup> Bina – CA(Church Administration)1. The narratives about women in church administration are found in Appendix 11.

<sup>1191</sup> Bina – CA1



This probably brings her to end with the disclaimer that it is her personal opinion. She is not basing it on biblical basis, theological argument or argument from the position of women in society. Because it is her personal opinion she is not taking responsibility for it as a dogmatic statement.

**B. Approval.**

Quite a few women approve of women’s participation in administrative and decision-making bodies. This is no problem for these women as seen in the construction of their stories. Amar, Ester, Flora, Melody and Ranjithamani use this pattern. Amar opens<sup>1192</sup> with a description of the example she is using to show her approval. Ester<sup>1193</sup>, Melody<sup>1194</sup> and Flora<sup>1195</sup> have brief narratives and open with the point or the subject matter. Ranjithamani opens with a general statement of women’s positive contribution<sup>1196</sup>.

**1. Use of Complicating Action.**

Amar<sup>1197</sup> effectively uses the strategy of complicating action to bring out her point. She raises a rhetorical question of who would conduct the service when the secret police arrested Richard Wurmbrand. She resolves by approving of the wife of Pastor Wurmbrand having taken up church administration. She also supports her approval with the claim that the Lord gave courage and told Mrs. Wurmbrand to conduct the service.

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<sup>1192</sup> Amar – CA2

<sup>1193</sup> Ester – CA3

<sup>1194</sup> Melody – CA5

<sup>1195</sup> Flora – CA4

<sup>1196</sup> Ranjithamani – CA6

<sup>1197</sup> Amar – CA2

## **2. Emphasis Used as a Style.**

Ester<sup>1198</sup> briefly but firmly states that women may participate in the church committee. Flora<sup>1199</sup> also approves of women's participation and emphasises her point by reiterating that it is not wrong. Melody's narrative<sup>1200</sup> is interesting in that she not only approves of women's participation but also claims that mostly women head church activities.

## **3. Bringing Out a Moral Aspect.**

The narrative of Ranjithamani<sup>1201</sup> is strange for the women listeners. It is interesting that she brings in a moral point about the forceful way in which women should participate in objecting to any wrong views. She constructs her story beginning with her approval of women's positive contribution. Then she states emphatically that women should participate in objecting to any wrong viewpoints. It is interesting that she is keen that women should bring in a moral aspect of objecting to what is not in line with the fear and the desire of the Lord.

The various stories have diverse closures. However all end with positive approval. Amar closes with the claim of God's approval and enabling. Ester briefly states that women may do it. Flora comes from a different angle in saying it is not wrong. Melody has no formal closure probably because having made her point she feels that there is no necessity for it. Ranjithamani with her emphatic short story closes it with the statement that women may speak in committees.

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<sup>1198</sup> Ester – CA3

<sup>1199</sup> Flora – CA4

<sup>1200</sup> Melody – CA5

<sup>1201</sup> Ranjithamani – CA6

### **C. Vehement Advocating.**

Three women use the method of vehemently advocating for the participation of women in church administration. Jeyavathy, Mariam and Lovely are quite vehement in their advocating that is brought out in the construction of their stories. All three women begin their narratives with an explicit statement of their approval – ‘there is nothing wrong’<sup>1202</sup>, ‘women may join in the Pastorate Committee’<sup>1203</sup> and ‘may be in everything’<sup>1204</sup>.

#### **1. Use of Personal Experience.**

Jeyavathy’s construction<sup>1205</sup> is pretty strange in that she moves from the point of women participating in church administration to the situation of her family looking for a husband for her. She begins with her approval and cites her own experience. She does not stop with her experience of being a committee member. She goes back to the time her family was looking for a husband for her. The question may arise why she brings this part of her experience at this juncture. There is a bit of clarification though not stated as such. Jeyavathy claims that one may be involved in church activities without holding a post or a position. Thus she wanted a layperson and not an ordained clergyman for her husband. This experience is brought in to approve vehemently of women’s participation in church administration.

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<sup>1202</sup> Jeyavathy – CA7

<sup>1203</sup> Mariam – CA8

<sup>1204</sup> Lovely – CA9

<sup>1205</sup> Jeyavathy – CA7

## **2. Emphasis and Evidence.**

Mariam has no explanation but a firm and emphatic approval<sup>1206</sup>. Lovely<sup>1207</sup> on the other hand has some supporting construction of her story. She brings in the point that it has taken time for the society to accept women as human beings. By using this Lovely probably wants to give allowance for her approval though such a situation may take time. Jeyavathy closes with the claim of her husband being a doctor and does not go back to the subject in hand. Mariam closes with the claim that this is what she says. Lovely also closes without going back to the issue at hand.

## **D. Advocating as Valuable.**

Three other stories advocate women's participation in church administration as valuable. Bina, Jeyam and Saral construct their narratives advocating women's participation in church administration as valuable. Bina's description of the background<sup>1208</sup> seems to begin with a different issue of obeying the Bible. This is strange. However then she moves on to church administration. Both Jeyam<sup>1209</sup> and Saral<sup>1210</sup> explicitly state their approval right at the beginning.<sup>1211</sup>

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<sup>1206</sup> Mariam – CA8

<sup>1207</sup> Lovely – CA9

<sup>1208</sup> Bina – CA10

<sup>1209</sup> Jeyam – CA11

<sup>1210</sup> Saral – CA12

<sup>1211</sup> This earlier story of Bina disapproving of women's participation in Church Administration is CA1 discussed in Section A above.

### **1. Explaining.**

Bina's other story<sup>1212</sup> about women's participation in church administration may seem to contradict her earlier story (CA1) of disapproval. However she constructs her narrative that requires the listener's understanding of her stance. She says that it is not wrong and proceeds to explain that sharing the work is good and is for the welfare of the church, it is not exercising authority and fighting, and it is for the good of the church that all should unite and work. This construction of elaborate explanation removes any possible conflict between her two stories.

### **2. Elaboration.**

Jeyam also has an elaborate construction of approving of women's participation as valuable.<sup>1213</sup> She puts forward a few points such as the position of women in society and the roles they take up in the society by making statements such as women are not inferior to men though the society may not accept it; there is no problem in women being PC members; they may contribute quite well; and, there is nothing wrong in women contributing in whatever ways they can.

### **3. Bringing in Supportive Points.**

Saral also vehemently advocates women's participation in church administration as valuable bringing her supportive points<sup>1214</sup>. She holds that women have more knowledge compared to men. Women are in no way inferior to men in having ideas of how to conduct administration.

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<sup>1212</sup> Bina – CA10

<sup>1213</sup> Jeyam – CA11

<sup>1214</sup> Saral – CA12

Bina and Jeyam close by reiterating their stance that there is nothing wrong in women's participation in church administration. Saral ends with the emphatic repeating of her approval of women's participation.

The issue of women's involvement in church administration drew some narratives. One woman, Bina constructs a story of disapproval. But she qualifies her statements. She gives allowance for women to take up church administration if there is no one else to do it. On the other hand she also indicates that women have many opportunities for involvement and service. Quite a few women approve of women's involvement in church administration. Some even vehemently advocate this. These narrators support their perspective and construction with examples from their own experiences and from the involvement of women in society. Some advocate women's involvement in church administration by bringing out its value. Thus these women have no question of keeping women out of church administration. It does not seem to raise any question of exercising authority. In line with their self perception and self construction it is quite appropriate for women to be involved in church administration.

### **III. DISCOURSE ABOUT WOMEN'S ORDINATION.**

Women's ordination is one of the issues that were raised in the focus groups in response to the Bible study outlines provided<sup>1215</sup>. A wide range of responses emerged. So the women use a variety of narrative constructions of disapproval, ambivalence, approval and stating limitations.

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<sup>1215</sup> See Appendices 5B and 6.

## **A. Personal Disapproval.**

Many participants construct their stories about women's ordination along the lines of personal disapproval. This pattern emerges in the stories of Amar, Sweety, Heera, Ranjithamani and Gem. Two narrators Amar<sup>1216</sup> and Heera<sup>1217</sup> open their stories by explicitly mentioning preaching. However this helps their construction because they juxtapose women preaching with women's ordination. The other three Sweety<sup>1218</sup>, Ranjithamani<sup>1219</sup> and Gem<sup>1220</sup> go straight into the subject matter.

### **1. Drawing Supportive Points.**

Amar<sup>1221</sup> puts forward several points in her construction, some from her understanding of the Bible and some from her church background. She also cites examples from the history of the Church. Her claim is that Jesus did not ordain the twelve disciples; that Sadhu Sunder Singh<sup>1222</sup> was not ordained; that Bakta Singh<sup>1223</sup> was not ordained; and that there is no ordination in her church. Amar is explicit in suggesting that her opinion probably is rooted in her church background. However she cogently constructs her story of personal disapproval – 'I do not know whether it is my idea'. This probably is a disclaimer. Ranjithamani's narrative<sup>1224</sup> is brief. She merely states that it is a little different when women are pastors.

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<sup>1216</sup> Amar – O(Ordination of women)1. The narratives about women's ordination are found in Appendix 11.

<sup>1217</sup> Heera – O5

<sup>1218</sup> Sweety – O3

<sup>1219</sup> Ranjithamani – O2

<sup>1220</sup> Gem – O4

<sup>1221</sup> Amar –O1

<sup>1222</sup> Sadhu Sunder Singh was a Sikh convert who adopted the Indian style of being a 'sadhu', a holy man. He preached the Gospel far and wide.

<sup>1223</sup> Bakta Singh was a Sikh convert who started an indigenous tradition of Brethren assembly.

<sup>1224</sup> Ranjithamani – O2

However she also bases her construction on personal opinion by claiming that for her women's ordination looks a little different.

## **2. Pollution Concept Used for Disapproval.**

Sweety<sup>1225</sup> repeatedly states that she does not like women being pastors. Her construction is also based on personal opinion, 'I do not like'. However she attempts to find the reason for her disapproval by rooting it in the pollution notion of the menstrual period of women. Quite strangely she also adds that God has placed the man a little above the woman. Just as repeatedly Sweety expresses her disapproval of women's ordination, she also repeatedly states her approval of preaching and teaching by women. Repetition gives emphasis to Sweety's construction. Gem's<sup>1226</sup> narration also attempts to find her own personal reasons for her disapproval of women's ordination. She constructs her story around the reason of the idea of pollution found in the Old Testament based on the Levitical laws of ritual impurity of women after childbirth and during the menstrual period.

## **3. Role of Women used for Disapproval.**

Another narrator who has a story of disapproval based on personal opinion and tries to find reasons and explanations is Heera<sup>1227</sup>. She constructs her story mainly around her idea of the role of a woman that according to her is the reproductive function and the household duties

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<sup>1225</sup> Sweety – O3

Compare Sweety's reservations about women conducting the communion service during the menstrual period, with the statement about taboo of pollution of menstruation, Dipta Bhog, 'Gender and Curriculum', *EPW*, 27April, 2002, p. 1645; Caplan also attests to the notion of pollution of menstruation, Caplan, 1985, p. 41

<sup>1226</sup> Gem – O4

<sup>1227</sup> Heera – O5

Compare Heera's claim of role of woman with what de Souza documents about the role of woman. De Souza, pp. 17-18



which in her opinion ties her down to the house and does not allow her to surrender herself completely for the ordained ministry. It appears quite inappropriate that Heera holds that a woman cannot devote herself completely for the pastoral ministry because of her role as a housewife. The strangeness of her construction is sharpened when she approves of an elderly woman being a pastor. The question arises how she would approve of this elderly person being a pastor. Heera does not explain it. Probably she expects the listeners to come to their own conclusions or explanations. She explicitly cites one example of a woman pastor with approval. She further juxtaposes ordained ministry with preaching. Her core point is displayed thus: 'I do not like' and 'I have my reservations.'

Most of these participants close their stories with categorical statements of their disapproval. Amar explicitly states that it is good if men conduct funerals and marriages. These seem to be in her opinion specialised functions of male priesthood. Sweety also categorically states that she does not like women conducting the service; however she seems to give allowance for women preaching. Heera's closure is different. She ends by emphasising her point about the role of a woman that is explained above in the explication of Heera's construction. Ranjithamani's brief but clear claim has no formal closure except her reiteration of the main point made in the narration. Gem also emphatically makes her point at the end that it is good that men serve at the altar.

## **B. Disapproval Rationalised.**

Two narrators rationalise their disapproval of women's ordination, one from a psychological perspective and another from a religious viewpoint. Flora uses the rationale of psychology while Saguna uses religious practice to construct their stories of disapproval of women's ordination.

Flora in her opening<sup>1228</sup> sets the stage by stating that she is narrating about ordination. Saguna's setting<sup>1229</sup> is a little bit more elaborate. She prepares the listener for her story in the opening. She describes the church as the dwelling place of God and a great holy dwelling where both men and women are gathered. This opening with such glorious and exalted description probably is meant to prepare the listener for her disapproval that is to follow. This glorious description supports and strengthens her point.

### **1. Using a Psychological Perspective.**

Flora builds her narrative<sup>1230</sup> entirely from a psychological angle. She repeatedly claims that being a pastor or a priest is not fit for a woman and fit only for men. However she explicitly states that it appears for her to be so. Then she proceeds to give her reason with the word 'because'. She marshals three points – the much opposition that a pastor has to face, women being weak and the pastor having many responsibilities. In her thinking only men may be able to do it. She strengthens her argument by contrasting preaching with the responsibility of being a pastor.

### **2. Religious Perspective used for Disapproval.**

After her exalted description of the church Saguna<sup>1231</sup> brings up religious practice and tradition for her support. She labels the position of a pastor as belonging to a special priesthood or order of priests. She uses phrases such as 'we are not used to it' and 'it looks

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<sup>1228</sup> Flora – O6

<sup>1229</sup> Saguna – O7

<sup>1230</sup> Flora – O6

Some participants such as Heera and Flora narrate that somehow ordained priesthood is intrinsically suitable only for men, as Graham points out that the traditionalist interpretations hold that ordination is somehow intrinsically suited for men. Graham, 1995, p.37

<sup>1231</sup> Saguna – O7

odd for us'. Thus she bases her rationalisation on custom and tradition.

Both Flora and Saguna close their narratives with a claim that being a pastor or a priest is appropriate only for men. Flora resolves the issue by stating that only men may solve the problems. However she closes with the statement 'I think so'. Saguna also resolves the matter with the claim that it is glorious only if men are priests. Eulogising the male priesthood is used as a strategy for disapproving of women's ordination.

### **C. Disapproval Claiming Paul's saying.**

Bina is the only person who disapproves of women's ordination basing her view on Paul's saying. She does not say where and what Paul has said. But her reference to exercising authority may indicate that she is referring to Paul's saying in 1 Timothy 2. The context<sup>1232</sup> of the issue of women's ordination is clearly set in a brief and simple manner – 'being a pastor'. Bina<sup>1233</sup> at the outset claims that it is for her or rather in her view. Rightaway she refers to the saying of Paul. She does not indicate that it is her understanding of what Paul has said. She simply claims it is so and the matter is not open for argument, questioning or debate. However she proceeds to reveal the crux of the matter that there are lots of things involved with exercising authority. Probably this is what Bina holds as excluding women from the pastoral ministry. She thinks that it is unnecessary. Bina firmly closes her story with 'I think so'. It appears that Bina bases her story on her view of what Paul has said as indicated above.

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<sup>1232</sup> Bina – O8

<sup>1233</sup> Bina – O8

## **D. Ambivalence.**

Udhaya, Melody and Ranjithamani weave their stories about women's ordination through ambivalence. This method reveals their inconclusive opinions and views. These three women use the strategy of ambivalence in their narrative. But they open their stories clearly stating the subject matter explicitly<sup>1234</sup>.

### **1. Strategy of 'Don't Know'.**

Udhaya's piece is short<sup>1235</sup>. She seems to display disapproval, but breaks the sentence and proceeds to claim that she has no idea about it. This ambivalence is used to excuse her. Melody has a prolonged story<sup>1236</sup>. She begins to say that she has not heard much about women pastors. This does not seem to settle the issue. When probed with more questioning, she resorts to the strategy of ambivalence. 'I don't think', 'I don't know' and 'I don't know what my feelings are' are the type of statements she makes to display her ambivalence. She does admit later that she has seen one woman pastor. She moves to a claim that there were priestesses in the Bible. However she does not arrive at a firm conclusion.

### **2. Style of Using 'Eventhough'.**

Ranjithamani opens with the claim of the knowledge of the approval of women's ordination at present. However her centrepiece is one of ambivalence<sup>1237</sup>. She reveals this by the use of phrases such as 'even though' and 'when we see at the altar'. The latter phrase is left

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<sup>1234</sup> Udhaya – O9  
Melody – O10  
Ranjithamani – O11

<sup>1235</sup> Udhaya – O9

<sup>1236</sup> Melody – O10

<sup>1237</sup> Ranjithamani – O11

incomplete. Probably this is meant to make the listener guess Ranjithamani's disapproval.

Both Udhaya and Melody close with their ambivalence but disclaiming the responsibility of making up their minds. Udhaya ends with 'there is no idea' while Melody finishes her piece with 'I don't know what my feelings are'. Ranjithamani has a strange closure. In spite of expressing her ambivalence within the story, she closes with the positive and approving statement 'women may be in it'.

These narrators construct stories of disapproval of women's ordination or their personal ambivalence about the issue. For some the disapproval is based on their personal opinion. Amar hailing from a Brethren background, for example, does not think that ordination is necessary or an issue to be concerned about whether it is for men or women. Sweety and Heera respectively point to the pollution concept and the role of a woman as a housewife. Flora uses a psychological perspective for the limitation. For Saguna it is a religious claim of the house of God being served by the priesthood. Probably in her mind priesthood is only male. Bina claims the restriction to stem from a saying of Paul in prohibiting women from exercising authority<sup>1238</sup>. Udhaya, Melody and Ranjithamani construct stories of ambivalence. They are not sure about what their view or approval is.

The question may be raised what do these women want to portray. These women who in their perspective construct stories of disapproval of women's ordination do not seem to restrict women in their education, career, involvement in church activities, preaching and teaching and participation in church administration. They surely do not portray pictures of women subordinated in family in spousal relationship and treatment of children. They are quite

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<sup>1238</sup> She probably means what Paul says in 1Cor.14 about women not speaking during worship or 1Tim.2 where Paul speaks about exercising authority.

powerful supporters of women's education and career. It may be that the issue of ordination is not a symbol of inequality, discrimination or subordination for these women. Their self perception and self construction of equality, freedom and power are not undermined by their disapproval of women's ordination.

### **E. Claiming God's Approval.**

Three participants claim explicitly God's approval of women's ordination in the construction of their narratives. Ester, Joy and Swarna firmly claim God's approval. Ester begins<sup>1239</sup> with no embellishment or elaboration by directly referring to the issue of being a priest. Joy uses an opening with a rhetoric question 'why can't women pastors be'<sup>1240</sup>. This probably is meant to jolt the listener out of any negativism. Swarna uses a context<sup>1241</sup> with an allowance for women freely to preach. This type of beginning with a different issue is used by quite a few of these narrators.

#### **1. Use of a Faith Claim.**

The brief story of Ester<sup>1242</sup> is constructed to allow women to be ordained based on the fitness of every one being approved of the Lord. There is no challenging of this point. This is based on a faith claim that every one is approved.

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<sup>1239</sup> Ester - O12

<sup>1240</sup> Joy – O13

<sup>1241</sup> Swarna – O14

<sup>1242</sup> Ester - O12

## **2. Using Biblical Examples.**

Joy<sup>1243</sup> uses examples from the Bible. The example she uses is about a person not in a religious position or ministry. However her point of people listening to God is made probably to emphasise her view that when God wants everyone to know, women also may be included in the service of making people know. Joy proceeds with a construction that claims to have drawn biblical example but does not explicitly base it on any one particular reference. She brings in the supporting point that in the Bible also there were women preachers. The way she uses this supporting point as a tool is quite interesting. She claims that because men wrote the Bible they had left out women who preached. She neither explains nor allows any questioning of this evidence she brings in. Swarna<sup>1244</sup> also brings in biblical examples. She cites one name Phoebe and also quotes the claim that in Christ there is neither man nor woman. Her construction is repeatedly characterised with emphatic statements. Further she explicitly claims that there is no further question in this matter.

Ester having claimed the approval of the Lord leaves the question open. Probably she feels that there is no necessity for any formal closure. Joy closes with her claim that women can do it – be pastors. Swarna is quite strong in constructing her story. She emphatically claims that there should not be any question about the issue and the matter ends there for her.

### **F. Approval Rationalised.**

Quite a few narrators in their various ways rationalise the approval for women's ordination. Tiny, Jeyavathy, Lita, Mariam, Lovely, Jeyam and Saral use this construction. They all

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<sup>1243</sup> Joy – O13

<sup>1244</sup> Swarna – O14

begin<sup>1245</sup> their narratives by going straight to the point of the story. Probably they feel that there is no necessity to describe the context.

### **1. Talent held as a Rationale.**

Tiny<sup>1246</sup> puts forward the argument that women who are talented may minister in any big church, with prayer for managing problems. The rationale she finds for women's ordination is talent combined with prayer.

### **2. Using Theological Understanding.**

Jeyavathy<sup>1247</sup> brings in important arguments. She claims that if women also have the anointing, guidance and call they can very well do the ordained ministry. This she repeats emphasising her point. Further she views that women also have a part in building up the Church. She holds that only if women also partake in the ministry may many persons be brought to the Lord especially as the Lord's coming is near. Thus she reveals her theologizing of the validity of women's ordination.

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<sup>1245</sup> Tiny – O15  
Jeyavathy – O16  
Lita – O17  
Mariam – O18  
Lovely – O19  
Jeyam – O20  
Saral – O21

<sup>1246</sup> Tiny – O15

<sup>1247</sup> Jeyavathy – O16



### 3. Giving Allowance.

Lita's<sup>1248</sup> construction is strange in that she seems to disapprove ordination for women but allows in some circumstances for which she cites an example. She seems to disapprove of women's ordination. However as she proceeds with her narrative it is clear that she was not quite happy for her daughter-in-law to take up the profession of ordained ministry. She rationalises her point. She had not been quite happy for her daughter-in-law to be ordained because of her being a married woman. This comes out in the narration through Lita's citing the example of another woman, Sister Betty Paul. Lita narrates how she admired her and attended her Bible teaching class eagerly. Further Lita rationalises her giving allowance to her daughter-in-law to be ordained by holding that her daughter-in-law also has her own view. Through this type of construction Lita displays her rationalisation of women's ordination.

### 4. Arguments Based on Commonsense Understandings.

Mariam's rationalisation<sup>1249</sup> is expressed through the point that women also do well in the ordained ministry. Lovely<sup>1250</sup> in her rationalising narrative brings in the supportive points of women's confidence level, maturity and the lack of difference between men and women except in physical strength that has nothing to do with preaching. Jeyam's story also seems to begin with ambivalence. However as she proceeds she clearly rationalises her stance<sup>1251</sup>. Her arguments arise from the facts that ordained women are also equal in training, preaching, wearing the cassock and serving the communion. She seems to be quite knowledgeable about

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<sup>1248</sup> Lita – O17

<sup>1249</sup> Mariam – O18

<sup>1250</sup> Lovely – O19

<sup>1251</sup> Jeyam – O20

The narratives of some women indicate that the resistance to women's ordination is personal, psychological, institutional and cultural. This is supported by Graham in pointing to the analysis of the study of Jacqueline Field-Bibb in 1991. Graham, 1995, p. 36

the arguments put forward by those who approve and those who oppose women's ordination. She is aware that some do not want women to head a church even if they are ordained. She is explicit about her doubt about the pollution concept. Saral's rationalisation<sup>1252</sup> arises from ability and zeal displayed by women who minister.

Tiny's closure is formal in reiterating her rationalised claim about women's ordination. Jeyavathy closes with the last point of rationalisation that she uses about women being ordained to bring more people into eternity. Lita having started with a negative slant and later rationalised her view closes with a piece of support for women's ordination. Mariam and Lovely similar to the closure of Tiny end with their point of view of approval of women's ordination. Jeyam has an ending in which she says that the explanations given for disapproval of women's ordination are not clear. Having begun with questioning the view of some she moves on to rationalisation. Then she closes with a surmise of a possible rationalisation of disapproval of women's ordination. Saral like some others ends with emphatic repetition of rationalisation of approval.

These women construct narratives of approval of women's ordination. They use faith claims and biblical examples to bring out God's approval. Some rationalise their approval with various strategies of story construction. Talent, theological understanding, giving allowance and commonsense understanding are used as tools of construction of approval. For these women there is no problem of equality and freedom when they approve women's ordination. It has been noted above that the women who disapprove also of women's ordination do not reject equality and freedom. Probably for all these narrators the issue of women's ordination is not an issue of equality and freedom. It does not curtail freedom if it is disapproved of.

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<sup>1252</sup> Saral – O21

### **SECTION THREE. SOME CULTURAL PRACTICES AND BEHAVIOUR BASED ON RELIGIOUS MORES.**

#### **I. Narratives about Headcovering.**

One of the controversial issues related to gender practice arising from the biblical passages is the head covering of women during worship as discussed by Paul the Apostle in 1Corinthians chapter 11. This also has drawn various responses from the narrators. Further this aspect displays a wide variety of narrative structures. Most narrators approve of or demand headcovering. However most are also aware that it is seen as a sign of subordination. This notion of subordination is rejected. Therefore many of the narrators while rejecting headcovering as a sign of subordination, construct their stories of self perception and self construction rationalising or explaining it as a sign of humility, honour, modesty or as a mere cultural practice. In these various ways the stories are constructed to uphold the practice of head covering while rejecting it as a sign of subordination.

#### **A. Demanding Compulsory Covering.**

Arunavathy and Melody construct their narratives about head covering by disapproving not covering the head and demanding compulsory covering. Arunavathy begins<sup>1253</sup> with the description of the issue about which she is narrating. Melody opens<sup>1254</sup> initially with a statement of the significance of Paul's writing in 1Corinthians 11 about women covering their head during worship<sup>1255</sup>.

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<sup>1253</sup> Arunavathy – HC(Headcovering)1. The narratives about head covering are found in Appendix 11.

<sup>1254</sup> Melody – HC2

<sup>1255</sup> Melody refers to Paul's writing in 1Corinthians 11:2-16

## **1. Repetition for Emphasis.**

Arunavathy presents<sup>1256</sup> several points of her disapproval of those who do not cover their head. Initially it is the slackness in covering. Later she finds fault with those who probably do not give importance to it holding it to be a cultural aspect. Finally her story is emphatically constructed with repeated statements of the compulsory practice of headcovering. She uses the word 'must'. She also brings up evidence from the practice and understanding of non-Christians who come to her house for prayer. These non-Christians understand headcovering during worship to be a necessary habit of Christians. So those who come to Arunavathy's house for prayer cover their head in compliance with the Christian practice.

## **2. Personal Theological Understanding.**

Melody<sup>1257</sup> does not have much to say directly about women covering their head. However her preoccupation with the practice being compulsory for all indirectly shows her insistence of following the practice. By repeating the phrase 'it is meant for everyone' Melody brings out her emphasis and disapproval of those who do not do so. She reiterates her point that because it is there in the Bible for the Corinthians<sup>1258</sup> it is meant for all.

Arunavathy closes her narrative of emphasis acknowledging that according to her thinking it is a cultural understanding that most of the people know that Christian women cover their head during worship and prayer. Melody has no formal closure. Probably after having made her point emphatically she feels no necessity for a formal closure that is a style of narrative construction that is probably used for emphasis.

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<sup>1256</sup> Arunavathy – HC1

<sup>1257</sup> Melody – HC2

<sup>1258</sup> Melody is referring to 1Corinthians 11:2-16

## **B. Rejecting Head Covering as a Sign of Subordination.**

This section discusses the narrative patterns using various ways of explaining or rationalising the practice of head covering.

### **1. Outright Rejection as a Sign of Subordination.**

Several narrators forcefully construct their narratives of compulsion about women's head covering. They also construct their stories with a strong rejection or denial that head covering is a symbol of women's subordination. This viewpoint was raised in the focus groups as one of the interpretations of 1Corinthians 11. Amar, Jeyavathy, Bina, Priya, Sweety and Mariam narrate their stories of compulsory head covering while rejecting it as a symbol of women's subordination.

Amar<sup>1259</sup>, Jeyavathy<sup>1260</sup>, Bina<sup>1261</sup>, Priya<sup>1262</sup> and Mariam<sup>1263</sup> explicitly indicate the subject matter of their narration. Sweety's statement<sup>1264</sup> is short and crisp with no formal opening and no explanation of the issue of head covering that necessitates the understanding of the listener. She simply says, 'It is not like that, how can we say like that?' Within this pattern of construction different styles may be followed to construct the core.

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<sup>1259</sup> Amar – HC3

<sup>1260</sup> Jeyavathy – HC4

<sup>1261</sup> Bina – HC5

<sup>1262</sup> Priya – HC6

<sup>1263</sup> Mariam – HC8

<sup>1264</sup> Sweety - HC7

### **i. Drawing on Culture.**

While presenting three reasons why she considers covering the head proper Amar<sup>1265</sup> also makes a clear statement that it does not show any inferiority or superiority. She constructs her story to present that covering the head is necessary because in her church they insist on it, in her city the Muslim women even the old ones cover and Amar herself likes covering the head. Thus she presents her demand for compulsory covering while rejecting it as a symbol of female subordination.

Jeyavathy<sup>1266</sup> also has three points to demand that covering the head is necessary. She elaborately explains a particular situation in a meeting in which the women did not cover the head and disapproves of it. Further she draws from her Power Ministry<sup>1267</sup> in which it is compulsorily insisted upon. The third point Jeyavathy puts forward is quite interesting. She claims that only by covering the head one may feel the presence of God, because of what the Bible says. However Jeyavathy rejects the notion that it shows female subordination. In fact she is surprised to hear of such a notion. This is displayed by her rhetorical question whether it says so in the Bible.

Bina's lengthy narration<sup>1268</sup> is quite interesting with humorous examples of what is honourable and what is not. She draws from a cultural practice of removing the footwear when one enters a worship place. Referring to covering the head, she uses the word 'disrespectful' for not

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<sup>1265</sup> Amar – HC3

<sup>1266</sup> Jeyavathy – HC4

<sup>1267</sup> Power Ministry is the name given to the work some persons who involve themselves in the Jesus Calls Ministry do. These persons also called Jesus Calls evangelists go the Jesus Calls headquarters on some days and pray for the persons who come there for counselling and prayer. These persons have to had the experience of receiving the power of the Holy Spirit in a specific experience of being filled and anointed by the Holy Spirit.

<sup>1268</sup> Bina – HC5

covering. Further she does not like not covering. The emphasis is shown by her repetition of the word 'respectful'. She adds on to her argument of demanding head covering claiming it to be a discipline that is good. But she rejects any idea of inferiority or superiority and female submission.

## **ii. Explicit Rejection of Female Submission.**

Priya<sup>1269</sup> also has a string of reasons for her argument for covering the head. She demands it because she holds that the Bible says so. So she finds it a problem when someone does not do so. However she repeatedly states that it does not show the subordination of the woman. Sweety's short statement<sup>1270</sup> simply denies any symbolism of head covering being female submission or subordination. Mariam also in the construction of her narrative<sup>1271</sup> rejects the idea of female submission or subordination while insisting on the covering of head. She explicitly states that it is good though it is a tradition and refers to 1Corinthians without any particular reference to chapter or verse.

In closing Amar makes a strong statement that leaving the head or hair open is not right. This seals her story without any opportunity given for any argument. Jeyavathy has no formal closure that once again is probably meant to indicate that the issue is closed with no further argument or debate. Bina has a well-rounded conclusion which is firm and neat. Priya's repeated claim that she really does not know the significance closes her narrative well. Sweety's brief statement is not left hanging in the air though it has no formal opening or

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<sup>1269</sup> Priya – HC6

<sup>1270</sup> Sweety - HC7

<sup>1271</sup> Mariam – HC8

closure. It is a firm statement. Mariam in a similar way to the other stories ends with a firm rejection of the idea of head covering being a symbol of female subordination.

## **2. Rationalising as Humility.**

Some participants such as Ester, Amar, Heera and Saguna construct their stories about head covering in a different manner. They rationalise the practice as showing humility based on tradition or custom or culture.

Of these Amar<sup>1272</sup>, Heera<sup>1273</sup> and Saguna<sup>1274</sup> have some formal opening. Ester<sup>1275</sup> goes straight into the point of her story. Amar has a descriptive opening about the practice of covering the head in her church. In her church it is insisted on from quite a young age even before the girls go through the ceremony of confirmation. Heera has a claim about how covering or not covering is immaterial for her. This seems to trivialise. Saguna's opening roots the practice in tradition and culture.

### **i. Using Repetitive Words.**

Ester in her narrative<sup>1276</sup> uses the words 'respect' and 'humility' to show that for her the significance of head covering is respect for the Lord and humility. Amar<sup>1277</sup> repeatedly uses the word 'modesty'. Heera<sup>1278</sup> uses several words to denote humility – 'respect', 'reverence',

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<sup>1272</sup> Amar – HC10

<sup>1273</sup> Heera – HC11

<sup>1274</sup> Saguna – HC12

<sup>1275</sup> Ester – HC9

<sup>1276</sup> Ester – HC9

<sup>1277</sup> Amar – HC10

<sup>1278</sup> Heera – HC11



‘humility’ and ‘modesty’. It is interesting to note that she uses a rhetorical question – ‘Why don’t you humble yourself?’ This powerfully portrays her point.

## **ii. Claim of Humility.**

Saguna<sup>1279</sup> claims that covering the head helps one to feel the presence of God. She does not explicitly use any word or phrase or argument to show humility. But it probably can be surmised that humility is required to feel the presence of God.

Ester’s bare statement is that it, meaning head covering is not for that and only humility. She refers to head covering being a symbol of subordination by her word ‘it’ and says that head covering is not for subordination, but for humility. She has no formal closure. But she has made her point firmly and probably wants to leave it at that. Amar has a formal closure of repeatedly claiming that she likes covering the head. Heera’s end follows the same pattern as her opening. She reiterates her claim that it is immaterial for her that trivialises the issue. Saguna in a simple manner closes her story with the claim that it is her personal opinion. These various closures show that the women have a variety of opinions or may use various strategies and tools to construct their narratives.

## **3. Acknowledging Humility, with Explicit Rejection of Subordination.**

Udhaya, Lovely and Jeyam not only construct their narratives about women’s head covering but also make sure to reject explicitly the idea that it is a symbol of women’s subordination.

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<sup>1279</sup> Saguna – HC12

Udhaya<sup>1280</sup>, Lovely<sup>1281</sup> and Jeyam<sup>1282</sup> all begin with the phrase ‘covering the head’. This leads right into the core of the narrative.

All make two points each. Udhaya<sup>1283</sup> claims increased concentration. However she also explicitly rejects the idea of female subordination. She shows her firm rejection by stating that there is no link between the two issues. She also uses the word ‘humbling’. Lovely has a lengthy narration<sup>1284</sup> about women’s hair being a pride for them. She draws the point that to cover this hair that is a pride, is to display humility. Stating several times that we should humble ourselves before God she suggests that this could be one explanation. She also rejects head covering as a symbol of female subordination. Jeyam<sup>1285</sup> categorically rejects the notion of female submission. However for her covering the head shows honouring God and modesty. She uses the word ‘modesty’ twice to show emphasis.

Udhaya closes with a statement that she should check the interpretation that head covering symbolises female subordination. Lovely ends by advocating head covering. Her emphasis is shown by the use of the word ‘definitely’. Jeyam closes with the claim of her understanding of the significance of the practice.

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<sup>1280</sup> Udhaya – HC13

<sup>1281</sup> Lovely – HC14

<sup>1282</sup> Jeyam – HC15

<sup>1283</sup> Udhaya – HC13

<sup>1284</sup> Lovely – HC14

<sup>1285</sup> Jeyam – HC15

#### 4. Head Covering required for Honour explicitly rejecting it as a Symbol of Subordination.

Three participants narrate their viewpoint about women's head covering showing that it is to give honour to God and not as a symbol of women's subordination. Flora, Ranjithamani and Jeyam construct their narratives in this pattern. All begin by clearly stating the issue with the use of the phrase 'head covering'<sup>1286</sup>. There is no elaborate context setting. The listener is expected to understand the practice and issue.

Flora in her narrative<sup>1287</sup> attributes to the practice of head covering the effect of giving honour to God. Ranjithamani<sup>1288</sup> roots it in the Corinthian passage and claims it to be a good practice. She elaborately narrates that not covering dishonours God and she reiterates her claim by stating that head covering honours God. The points of dishonouring and honouring are repeated probably to give a firm emphasis. Jeyam's narrative<sup>1289</sup> has been already considered in the previous section above about narratives that use the construction of narratives about head covering for humility rejecting subordination of women from a different perspective. Here again it falls into this narrative pattern. She also uses the word 'honour' and 'dishonour' repeatedly. All three explicitly reject the idea that covering the head shows subordination of women to men.

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<sup>1286</sup> Flora – HC16  
Ranjithamani – HC17  
Jeyam – HC15

<sup>1287</sup> Flora – HC16

<sup>1288</sup> Ranjithamani – HC17

<sup>1289</sup> Jeyam – HC15

Flora's narrative piece has no formal closure while Ranjithamani closes with the claim of obedience to God's word in honouring God. Jeyam briefly ends with the understanding that it shows modesty. However none give any space for argument or challenge.

### **5. Compulsion of Head Covering to show Modesty and Not to Attract.**

One set of narrators tell their stories about women's head covering demanding it to be compulsory for the sake of modesty<sup>1290</sup> and not to attract or distract others. Tiny, Gem, Saral and Swarna constitute this group. Of these, three explicitly indicate rejection of head covering as a symbol of subordination. These open their narratives with the use of the phrase 'covering of the head'<sup>1291</sup>. Thus the subject matter of their narratives is explicitly stated.

#### **i. Using Personal Experience for Construction.**

Each of these stories is elaborately constructed. Tiny<sup>1292</sup> begins by claiming that head covering is necessary and goes on to construct her explanation. She describes how the dressing up of women becomes an attraction. She also draws from her experience that her husband did not allow her to dress up grandly while going to church. She uses terms such as 'attraction', 'distraction' and 'modest'. However she is quite keen to make clear that head covering is not to show that men are superior to women or women are subordinate to men. An interesting point of construction in Tiny's story is that while speaking about attraction and distraction she also adds that men are a little weak where woman-gazing is concerned.

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<sup>1290</sup> Derne discusses the practice of women in North India either drawing the *saree* over their head or using the custom of veiling for modesty, Derne, 1995, pp. 26-27

<sup>1291</sup> Tiny – HC18  
Gem – HC21  
Saral – HC20  
Swarna – HC19

<sup>1292</sup> Tiny – HC18

Swarna<sup>1293</sup> in her own way constructs her point elaborately. She like Tiny draws from her experience. As a little girl she was not allowed to have flowers on her hair while going to church in order not to cause any distraction or disturbance. She constructs her argument that covering helps to remove any distraction of attention of others who may watch the hairstyle, flowers on the hair and jewellery. She uses the word 'disturbance'. It is important to note that Swarna right at the beginning itself roots her argument in the Bible. Saral<sup>1294</sup> repeatedly uses words such as 'disciplining', 'attraction', 'undistracted' and 'distraction'. But she also does not accept women's subordination.

## ii. Using Biblical and Cultural Material.

Gem's construction<sup>1295</sup> is interesting in the way she combines biblical and cultural material. She roots her explanation in one point in 1Corinthians 11. She points out that because of 'angels' women should cover their head. It is interesting how she links up this with Indian mythology and history. In Indian mythology it is said that a lot of celestial beings also waited for one beautiful woman Damayanti to garland them and to choose them as her husband. The interesting point Gem draws from this is that women are desired by even angelic beings. So she advocates covering the head so that a person may pray to Jesus Christ without any disturbance or obstruction by good or evil spirits. In Indian history it is said that after the Moghul invasion the Hindu women of nobility were to cover their head in order not to be carried away by the invading Muslims. However she rejects the notion of women being.

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<sup>1293</sup> Swarna – HC19

<sup>1294</sup> Saral – HC20

<sup>1295</sup> Gem – HC21

Compare what Gem says about women attracting even angels and evil spirits with Wadley's note about the myth of feminine evil. Susan S. Wadley, ed. *The Powers Of Tamil Women*. Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 154

inferior or being subordinated. Her insistence is for women not to attract men with the beauty of their head.

Tiny has a formal closure that head covering is for modesty and devotedness. Gem has no formal end. However her statement is firm and her story is not left hanging in the air. Saral also has a firm formal closure of insisting on the necessity of head covering. Swarna has an emphatic winding up of her story rooting it in the Bible without any reference or explanation.

### **C. Rationalising.**

Bina and Sweety use the technique of rationalisation in their construction of stories about women's headcovering. Bina<sup>1296</sup> and Sweety<sup>1297</sup> begin their stories giving clues to their rationalisation. Bina says 'it is there 'because of the angels'. Sweety begins with 'It is written in one place that your hair itself is a glory for you' and 'but what people say is'.

Bina goes on to construct her rationalisation<sup>1298</sup> that women need to cover their head because of the angels. She gives an elaborate explanation of the angels in Genesis 6 seeing that the daughters of men are beautiful and being tempted. Her sentences are not complete. This may be so in order to expect that the listener fills in the other details. However she rationalises that woman who is given her hair as glory, in the church should cover her head and be modest. She brings again the point that the Apostle Paul mentions the angels. This is the crux of her rationalisation – the presence of the angels.

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<sup>1296</sup> Bina – HC22

<sup>1297</sup> Sweety – HC23, HC24

<sup>1298</sup> Bina – HC22

Sweety in one narrative<sup>1299</sup> rationalises her stand with the statement about the hair being glory. This unlike Bina leads Sweety to take a view that women may or may not cover their head. However she also rationalises with the point of reverence. In her second story<sup>1300</sup> she does not bring a direct point for rationalising head covering. She brings a piece about an elderly person who was not happy about people not kneeling while praying. However she extends this to rationalise her point of 'reverence' in covering the head.

Though both Bina and Sweety use the strategy of rationalisation they come to different conclusions. The end of Bina's narrative concludes with a demand for head covering while Sweety ends with an option to do either way.

#### **D. Rooting It in Cultural Practice.**

Interestingly Lita and Saguna use the method of constructing their narratives about women's head covering by rooting it in tradition and culture as a cultural practice. These two women do not find any biblical basis or theological argument. This is interesting because much of the compulsion for head covering as taught by the complementarians comes from a particular interpretation of Paul's writing in 1Corinthians 11. Reinforced by the cultural practice in India many Christian women in India would just accept the practice and would go to the extent of saying that it is in the Bible. But as seen in the sections describing the narratives of other women in this sample, they may not subscribe to the complementarian view in its totality or they may even reinterpret the injunction given by Paul. Neither of these two women begins with the explicit statement about the subject matter. Lita starts<sup>1301</sup> with a statement about

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<sup>1299</sup> Sweety – HC23

<sup>1300</sup> Sweety – HC24

<sup>1301</sup> Lita – HC25

women being equal in the church. Probably this helps her in her trivialisation of the practice in her main narrative. Saguna goes directly into her point<sup>1302</sup>. This also probably helps her in her core point.

Lita constructs her story<sup>1303</sup> of trivialisation of the practice of head covering labelling it as a mere habit. She twice refers to 'Paul's time' and also uses the word 'habit'. Saguna<sup>1304</sup> also uses repeatedly the words 'habit' and 'culture'. Similar to Bina and Sweety in the previous section, Lita and Saguna also use similar tools but arrive at different conclusions. Lita closes her narrative by reiterating the practice in Paul's time while Saguna holds her approval of head covering done for reverence as her personal opinion.

#### **E. Compulsion with Flexibility.**

Amar and Sweety interestingly have stories that are constructed to demand compulsion of women's head covering. This once again is interesting for the reasons given above in subsection D. But their stories are also tempered with flexibility in the compulsion. Amar has an elaborate opening of describing what happened when once a Hindu attended their church<sup>1305</sup>. This gives a lead into her main narrative that is described below. Sweety has no explicit statement or indication of her subject matter<sup>1306</sup>. This also probably helps her in her construction of her point with flexibility.

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<sup>1302</sup> Saguna - HC12

<sup>1303</sup> Lita – HC25

<sup>1304</sup> Saguna, HC12

<sup>1305</sup> Amar – HC26

<sup>1306</sup> Sweety – HC27



Amar's<sup>1307</sup> opening with the incident of a Hindu coming to her church and asking about head covering helps her construction. The Hindu had asked why some cover and others do not cover their head and whether there was no hard and fast rule. Amar had to explain that no one is compelled. She uses this to bring her point of flexibility. This is shown by the statement that no one says that women should compulsorily cover their head; but those who want do so. However Amar proceeds with the narrative to describe how it is advocated in her church for women from an early age. This is interesting that Amar moves to a different position from that she began with. Sweety's construction<sup>1308</sup> that the practice of head covering is an external one helps her to put forward her point of flexibility.

Here also the two narrators differ in their statement at the end. Amar holds that women in her church cover their head while Sweety closes with the statement that it is all right whether they cover or do not cover. Thus they achieve flexibility in their construction.

#### **F. Trivialisation for Those Who do not Cover.**

Lila has an interesting way of constructing her story about women's head covering. She is the only one who explicitly trivialises the practice of those who do not cover their head at worship. Lila's opening<sup>1309</sup> goes directly into her narrative. This lack of a formal opening requires the listener to understand about what she is talking.

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<sup>1307</sup> Amar – HC26

<sup>1308</sup> Sweety – HC27

<sup>1309</sup> Lila - HC28

In an interesting manner Lila <sup>1310</sup> trivialises the behaviour of those who do not cover. She rationalises their concentration and not being aware of the cover falling away. She brings in emphasis for her by stating that they do not do so purposely. An added excuse is that they are young ones. Nowhere in the narrative is it stated that she is talking about only the young ones. However in her own way she trivialises the behaviour of those who do not cover. Just as her opening Lila's ending is also left open. There is no formal opening and closure. Having made her point in a brief narrative Lila leaves it at that.

Most of these narrators construct stories of approving of or demanding head covering of women during worship and prayer. It may be rooted in their personal theological understanding, cultural practice or biblical material. It may even be rationalised as in the narratives of Bina and Sweety. On the other hand almost all reject it as a symbol of subordination or female submission as the complementarians would teach from their interpretation of 1Cor.11 (see APPENDIX 5B, section II). Bina and Gem would even point to the necessity for headcovering for the sake of the angels; but, they would in no way accept any subordination or female submission. Amar and Sweety display flexibility in their construction. Lila trivialises the practice of those who do not cover. But the majority in their perception and construction require or advocate head covering of women but not for subordination or submission. Their reasons given would be to follow the practice of head covering because it is the custom, tradition or culture. It may even be for modesty, humility, and concentration while praying, honouring God or not to attract undue attention.

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<sup>1310</sup> Lila - HC28

## **II. Narratives about Husband as the Head.**

One of the issues that arose in the focus groups as a result of exposure to the studies of the biblical passages pertaining to gender practice was the understanding of the headship of the husband as stated by the Apostle Paul in Ephesians chapter five. This also generated varied patterns of narratives in which the women used several different strategies of construction such as acceptance and acceptance with their own explanations and understanding.<sup>1311</sup>

### **A. Constructing their own Interpretations.**

Quite a few narrators do not challenge or question the view that the husband is the head. But it is interesting that they construct the narratives pouring their own content into the concept or idea of the headship of the husband just as they have displayed their own interpretations about the head covering. Their stories are constructed to put forward their interpretations. Ester, Bina, Lovely, Swarna and Saral construct narratives of their own interpretations of the concept of headship.

Each narrator begins in her own way. Some do not even indicate that their narrative is about the subject matter of the headship of the husband. Ester begins<sup>1312</sup> with the word 'unity' which gives a clue to what she is about to state. Bina<sup>1313</sup> affirms that the husband is the 'head' but later proceeds in her construction to explicate her understanding. Lovely begins<sup>1314</sup> by expressing her confusion about why the husband alone has been named as the head that she

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<sup>1311</sup> Shashi Jain also notes that the husband is the head of the family. Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 132

<sup>1312</sup> Ester – HH(Headship of husband)1. The narratives about headship of husband are found in Appendix 11.

<sup>1313</sup> Bina – HH2

<sup>1314</sup> Lovely – HH3

resolves in the main story that is explained below. Swarna also begins<sup>1315</sup> with her own understanding. Saral opens with an explanation from the Indian family<sup>1316</sup> of the man being the main breadwinner.

Ester constructs her interpretation<sup>1317</sup> with the repeated use of the word ‘unity’ and the words ‘understanding’ and ‘giving in’ to pack her own meaning into the term ‘head’.

Bina has a lengthy piece<sup>1318</sup>. She puts forward several points to explain her interpretation of how the husband is the head. She begins her explanation with the claim that the head should be in Christ. She also acknowledges that it is difficult if it is not so and there will be conflict. She gives a solution for this situation – to correct gently. It is interesting to note that Bina in her construction brings in points from her general claim of religion and what Jesus has said. At the same time she graphically points out that it is not an implicit obedience of listening to everything the husband says. Further in detail she contrasts the head that is in Christ and the one who is a child of Satan. She advocates the pattern of doing everything with love. On the other hand she rejects headship if the husband is autocratic.

Lovely having begun saying that she is confused proceeds to give her explanation<sup>1319</sup>. She explains that the husband being the head is being in the position of a head of a group who coordinates consulting with every one else. He is the one who takes the final decision. Swarna

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<sup>1315</sup> Swarna – HH4

<sup>1316</sup> Saral – HH5

<sup>1317</sup> Ester – HH1

<sup>1318</sup> Bina – HH2

<sup>1319</sup> Lovely – HH3

has a long story<sup>1320</sup> with graphic imagery to argue her point. She begins with an analogy to explain the relationship between Christ and the Church. She proceeds to explain from the natural world how the head and the body are interconnected and interdependent. She also brings in the idea that it is a strong support. Quite interestingly she goes on to explain the effect produced by the headless body and a head severed from the body. This she applies to the victory of Christ over the Devil. She extends her explanation of interconnectedness and interdependence to the relationship between the Christ and the Church. Thus she constructs her narrative of explanations.

Saral in her own way draws from the Indian family and tries to explain the headship of the husband<sup>1321</sup>. For her it seems to be the one who brings home the finance. She points out that many women in the Indian family are house wives and do not go out for earning. This aspect of earning makes the husband the head or the leader in Saral's interpretation. However she is keen in repeatedly stating that in other matters there is equal responsibility for all members of the family.

Ester neatly closes with the statement that the husband is the head. Bina ends with the negative example of an autocratic husband who cannot be the head. Lovely explicitly finishes with the claim that this is her understanding. Swarna brings around her story to match the opening that this is to explicate the relationship between the Christ and the Church. Saral also like Lovely completes her narrative with the claim that this is her meaning.

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<sup>1320</sup> Swarna – HH4

<sup>1321</sup> Saral – HH5

Compare Saral's claim that the husband is the breadwinner in many Indian families and the wife is in charge of the domestic sphere with Mishler's statement that family economy is gendered and the support-dependence arrangement of husband and wife is the hallmark of the traditional family, Mishler, 1999, p. 126; see also Bott cited by Fransella and Frost, 1977, p. 15 and also p. 17

## B. Interpretation of Adjustment.

Three participants interpret the husband's headship in a particular manner. Their narratives are constructed interpreting the headship as a relationship of adjustment and understanding on the part of both the husband and wife. Udhaya, Tiny and Gem interpret headship with mutual understanding and adjustment in their construction of stories about the headship of the husband. All three in the opening<sup>1322</sup> explicitly show their subject matter by using the word 'head' or 'husband'. There is no confusion or doubt about the main theme of their narratives. Udhaya<sup>1323</sup> uses words such as 'equality' and 'understanding'. However in her interpretation she puts in the content of acceptance of the headship of the husband and submissiveness even if the husband does not understand. It is interesting to note that she supports her point with the explanation that lack of understanding is the reason for more divorces at present. She admits that women are well educated and expect more freedom at present. What is more interesting is Udhaya's interpretation that it is not wrong if the woman is submissive if she is not given the freedom though this may appear to conflict with her view of 'equality'.

Tiny categorically rejects the idea that the husband is the boss<sup>1324</sup>. She does not see this appropriate for the present day. In her narration she gives the reason that in the former days women were kept subordinate and so were submissive. Interestingly she brings in the example of Sarah who called Abraham 'lord'<sup>1325</sup>. But she proceeds to explain that this does not mean that Abraham was dominating Sarah. For Tiny the husband is the head in 'certain things'. But

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<sup>1322</sup> Udhaya – HH6  
Tiny – HH7  
Gem – HH8

<sup>1323</sup> Udhaya – HH6

<sup>1324</sup> Tiny – HH7

<sup>1325</sup> 1Peter 3: 6

she is keen also to explain that this does not give room for domination. It is giving in with love. Tiny is not rationalising but interpreting with a relationship of adjustment.

Gem in her construction<sup>1326</sup> explains that the husband is the head and women cannot oppose or argue with them. However she also interprets this to be based on understanding and giving in.

Udhaya closes with her solution of submissiveness for conflict. Tiny also emphasises giving in with love. Gem ends her narration with the claim of blessing and joy in giving the first place to the husband.

### **C. Acceptance Rejecting Domination.**

Many narrators in their stories construct a pattern of acceptance of the headship of the husband. But they explicitly and firmly construct stories that deny and reject male domination. Flora, Jeyavathy, Bina, Ranjithamani, Saguna, Mariam and Jeyam use this strategy of constructing stories of accepting the headship of the husband while rejecting his domination.

Some begin their narrative clearly indicating the issue by mentioning the word 'head'<sup>1327</sup>. Some others start with some other point in the same biblical passage. These are varied. Bina starts with the concept of one flesh<sup>1328</sup>. Mariam points out the relationship between Christ and

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<sup>1326</sup> Gem – HH8

<sup>1327</sup> Flora – HH9  
Jeyavathy – HH10  
Ranjithamani – HH12  
Saguna – HH13

<sup>1328</sup> Bina – HH11

the Church<sup>1329</sup>. Jeyam begins talking about the relationship between the husband and the wife<sup>1330</sup>.

Flora's piece is brief and to the point<sup>1331</sup>. She states that the husband is the head and qualifies it with 'but'. She proceeds to explain that it should not be domination. Her story is based on the point that the husband is the head as Christ is the head. Drawing the analogy she does not explicate it.

Jeyavathy<sup>1332</sup> also accepts that the husband is the head. She brings in the example of Sarah who used the term 'lord' for her husband Abraham. This for Jeyavathy denotes the honour Sarah gave to Abraham. Jeyavathy interprets this as placing the husband next to the Lord. However she constructs her qualifying statement as a response to a further question. She also claims that it is not domination.

Bina<sup>1333</sup> begins with her main point straightaway. She points to the idea of one flesh and explicates headship without domination basing it on the saying that there is none who hates his own flesh. Though Bina does not explicitly use words such as 'headship' and 'domination', she expects the listener to arrive at the conclusion that a one flesh relationship in which a person does not hate his own flesh necessitates lack of domination. Ranjithamani also uses the

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<sup>1329</sup> Mariam – HH14

<sup>1330</sup> Jeyam – HH15

<sup>1331</sup> Flora – HH9

<sup>1332</sup> Jeyavathy – HH10

<sup>1333</sup> Bina – HH11



one flesh concept<sup>1334</sup>. She brings out the idea that the couple is not divided. She takes some pains to explain that the wife has to give honour and respect to the husband who is the head. Immediately she proceeds to explain further that the man should not dominate. She emphasises her point by repeating that the woman should not be kept a slave. Ranjithamani continues to explain that there should be a consultative pattern and that the husband is the head in the family as the Christ is the head of the Church.

Saguna constructs her narrative with an elaborate explication of the concept of headship<sup>1335</sup>. She works out her explanation from the idea of Christ being the head<sup>1336</sup>. She uses the analogy pointing out that the Christ washed the feet<sup>1337</sup> and claimed to be like one who serves<sup>1338</sup>. She continues her explanation of Christ being the head neither dominating nor keeping under bondage. For her Christ is obeyed because of love and because of a filial relationship. So in Saguna's interpretation there should be mutual love between the husband and the wife. She further enumerates the necessary qualities of peace and fear of God. She reiterates her point that the husband is the head to oversee and not to dominate or treat others as slaves.

Mariam constructs her interpretation<sup>1339</sup> on the basis of the relationship between Christ and the Church. Having accepted the headship of the husband, she repeatedly emphasises that it is not domination. She further explains that it shows the importance of the head upon which other

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<sup>1334</sup> Ranjithamani – HH12

This speaks of wife's deference to the husband. Riessman, notes this in her research about south Indian women. See , Riessman, 2002, p. 703

<sup>1335</sup> Saguna – HH13

<sup>1336</sup> Ephesians 5:23

<sup>1337</sup> John 13: 5

<sup>1338</sup> Luke 22: 27

<sup>1339</sup> Mariam – HH14

parts depend. Jeyam<sup>1340</sup> begins with this idea of support. Having claimed the headship of the husband she also repeatedly rejects domination. She goes on to explain how the head should act with the help of the others. Repeating her rejection of the idea of domination or slavery, she continues to draw examples from social institutions. In organizations and schools there is a head to coordinate. This is the model Jeyam advocates in her interpretation.

Flora's brief piece is closed with the claim that the husband is the head. Jeyavathy, Saguna and Jeyam end on the note of rejection of domination. Bina's brief statement is left with emphasis without any formal closure. Ranjithamani similar to Flora closes with the acceptance of the husband's headship. Mariam completes her narrative emphasizing the importance of the head.

#### **D. Moralising and Rationalising.**

Two participants moralise and rationalise the issue of headship of husband in their narratives. One does not accept it and the other accepts it. Heera who does not accept the headship of husband constructs a story of moralising and rationalising. Melody in her construction of moralising and rationalising that is explained below shows that she accepts the headship of the husband. Heera has an elaborate opening of describing the situation of being required to accept the headship of the husband<sup>1341</sup>. But Melody goes straight into her narrative<sup>1342</sup>.

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<sup>1340</sup> Jeyam – HH15

<sup>1341</sup> Heera – HH16

<sup>1342</sup> Melody – HH17

Heera finds her rationalisation<sup>1343</sup> in her explanation that probably outside India in other countries men are better and more understanding. She moralises the religious advice given to accept the husband's headship by contrasting the male domination in India and her supposition of lack of it elsewhere. However she rationalises the claim in India that the husband is like God. This is based on the surmise that in the Brahmin community men are different being helpful to the women and so could be considered as gods. She brings in the statement of her students that their husbands help them for support of her point. Thus she moralises the requirement for accepting the headship of the husband and rationalises her claim that men are better outside India while in India they are vile with male domination except in one community. But within this community also she applies it to being helpful and does not make clear whether it is for all aspects of life. Her rejection of the headship of the husband is not explicitly stated. But it comes out in her moralising and rationalising with the use of the phrase 'all right, what to do, accept it'.

Melody rationalises<sup>1344</sup> the headship of the husband claiming it not to be like a servant. She moralises the husband's authority with the concept of wife's submission as unto the Lord and rationalises that it must be for a good purpose. She further constructs her narrative on the rationale that there should be total union between the man and the woman.

In spite of the differing tones of the two narratives, the narrators close their pieces with a positive note. Heera ends with her positive appreciation of the modern men who help their wives while Melody closes with the demand for total union of the man and the woman.

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<sup>1343</sup> Heera – HH16

<sup>1344</sup> Melody – HH17

### E. Advocating Female Submission.

One narrator has a story advocating female submission. Amar in constructing her narrative of the counsel given to women in her church advocates female submission. Amar's narrative opens<sup>1345</sup> with a clear indication of the context and the subject matter.

Amar<sup>1346</sup> takes pains to describe and explain her point. In her church the female workers teach the married women to obey their husbands. They also advocate agreeing to what the husband says, not acting independently and being submissive. Amar explains how the advice brings in the example of Sarah who called Abraham 'my lord' and obeyed him. She by using repetition continues to emphasise her point and the point of the advice given to women to obey and be submissive. It is strange that Amar proceeds to describe the situation of women earning more than the men. The strangeness is that in such a situation also she explains that female submission is taught. Amar closes her narrative with the repetition of the advice given. This leaves no space for any one to question or challenge.

The way the women construct their narratives in response to the issue of the husband being the head is varied. One may not find anyone outrightly saying that the husband is not the head. But do they mean in their self perception and self construction that they subscribe to the concept of the headship of the husband or accept the husband's headship? Quite a few women such as Ester, Bina, Lovely, Swarna and Saral construct narratives of their own interpretation.

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<sup>1345</sup> Amar – HH18

<sup>1346</sup> Amar – HH18

Amar speaks about the advice given to the women in her church that they should obey and be submissive to their husbands. In narrating about the headship of the husband several of these narrators mention obedience and submissiveness. U. A. Shimray in a study notes that a Naga wife is to obey and be submissive. Further conclusions are that the position of a Naga woman is egalitarian. The society is patriarchal though the woman is not considered as slave or property. There is considerable freedom for a Naga woman. U. A. Shimray, 'Women's Work in Naga Society', *EPW*. April 24-30. 2004, pp. 1698-1711

It is unity for Ester; for Bina it is the husband who is in Christ and acts in love; Lovely explains it as being the head who consults with others and acts; Swarna describes in detail that it is a relationship of interconnectedness, mutuality, support and love; and, for Saral it is the husband being the main breadwinner while practicing equality in the other aspects of spousal relationship. Udhaya describes the headship of the husband as a relationship of adjustment and giving in. Most of these women, such as those mentioned earlier above and Flora, Jeyavathy, Ranjithamani, Saguna, Bina, Mariam, Jeyam and Melody reject any subordination, domination or oppression. Melody moralises the headship of the husband when the wife submits as to the Lord for a good purpose. Heera rationalises it when the husband is helpful as in the Brahmin community. Amar constructs a narrative of how the submission of the wife is taught in her church. However, Amar does not seem to accept domination or oppression as it may be seen from her narratives about spousal relationship, treatment of children, women's education and career and head covering. She constructs a picture of self perception and self construction that is one of equality, freedom, strength, well-being and care.

## **CONCLUSION.**

Thus it is seen in this chapter how the participants construct their stories about several different issues related to religious activities and beliefs. They use strategies and techniques of

- valuing which is making it valuable
- ennobling which is making something or someone noble, good, great or magnificent.
- valorising that is making the story appear good and full of strength and boldness. It is in a sense making it look noble.
- construction of an inner state of peace and contentment
- making no tall claims
- building narratives of boldness and power

- rationalisation. This is the strategy of story construction the narrators use when they rationalise their story by attempting to provide a good enough reason for their story to appear acceptable in a situation in which the outsider, the listener or the audience may not see any rational reason.
- approval
- justification
- approval with reservation
- disapproval
- advocating
- ambivalence
- making a demand
- rejecting
- making an acknowledgement
- demanding compulsion
- rooting in culture
- making a defense
- proposing interpretations and
- acceptance. Several different tools such as repetition and emphasis are also used in their construction. The different categories of religious discourse are analysed in this manner.

In the narratives about women's general involvement in church activities I find

- valuing of Sunday observance
- construction of stories of inner peace and content in their involvement in the church or religious activities
- making the point that they do their bit without any tall claim
- ennobling women's involvement based on the Bible
- highlighting the benefits
- drawing contrasts
- claims of boldness in involvement
- stories of powerful and active involvement and
- rationalising the involvement of women.

In considering the issue of women preaching and teaching, there are narratives of defense based on God's approval, justifying women's preaching and teaching, claims of personal approval and eulogising. The issue of women's role in church administration drew varied responses such as disapproval, approval, vehement advocating and advocating as valuable.

Similarly the question of women's ordination also drew very varied responses. Some disapproved for the reason of personal objection. Some others brought out reasons of pollution, conflict with the supposed role of women, psychological and religious obstacles and Paul's sayings. Some were ambivalent in their opinion. Some approved claiming God's approval of fitness of all, using biblical examples, rationalising using the basis of talent, theological understanding, God's call and guidance and training.

Two issues, head covering and headship of husband were discussed under cultural practices and behaviour based on religious mores. Some demanded compulsory head covering based on practice and personal theological understanding. Most of the participants rejected the idea that head covering should be considered a sign of subordination. Head covering is considered as a cultural practice or showing humility or honour or modesty or a safeguard not to attract attention. Support for this practice is drawn from biblical material or culture or custom.

The issue of the notion of the headship of the husband has drawn various interesting responses. Almost all agree with the notion of the headship of the husband. However their explanations vary. Some have their own interpretation of the content and meaning. Some participants consider it as unity or understanding or giving in or adjustment or coordinator of a group or a relationship of love, interconnectedness, interdependence, strong support and mutual love. Most of them categorically reject the idea of domination and autocratic behaviour. Quite a few point to the notion of 'one flesh' and the analogy of the relationship between Christ and the Church. One participant describes how in her church female submission is taught. These stories contribute to how the women perceive and construct their experiences that fit with the overall aim of the research. Once again it is found that the experiences of these women as elicited from their stories cannot be put into well defined boxes of theoretical discussions about Indian women being oppressed and subordinated. It is also found that the women do not seem to fit the egalitarian or complementarian views in an 'either this or that' manner. Their experiences and self perceptions seem to be in a 'this and that' category.

Invariably most of them subscribe to women's head covering and the headship of the husband. But they reinterpret, pour their own content, give their own reasons and categorically reject



the notion of either being a symbol of subordination or oppression of women. In their perception women are not subordinate and not to be dominated or oppressed. Even when most of them do not advocate women's ordination, it is found that ordination is not a symbol of freedom and equality for these women. Their constructions of pouring in their own content and reinterpreting issues of head covering and headship of husband bring out the lack of discrepancy between their perceptions and constructions of stories of spousal relationship, treatment of children, and opportunities of education and career. It has been noted in the chapters dealing with relationships in the family, namely spousal relationship and treatment of children, and perspectives on education and career the narratives do not match the picture portrayed by academic discussions on Indian women. Likewise one may say that their constructions do not match the theological discussions<sup>1347</sup> on women's role in church and during worship, head covering and headship of husband. The two perspectives of evangelical theology on the issues of women's role in the church, head covering and headship of husband differ. The complementarians advocate women's subordination and submission. Women's head covering during worship is to display this position of subordination. Women ought to keep silent during worship and ought not to teach and preach in order not to exercise authority over men. The husband is the head of the family and the wife has to submit to his authority, leadership and rule. The egalitarians do not agree with these. Women may preach and teach. Women need not keep silent during worship. The head covering does not apply to situations everywhere at all times. The headship of the husband is not rulership but loving caring relationship of mutuality and interdependence. It is found that the women narrators who may disapprove of women teaching and preaching do not subscribe to a view of women's subordination.

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<sup>1347</sup> See the complementarian and egalitarian views on these described in Appendices 5B and 5C.

The women may subscribe to head covering and headship of husband. But they do not accept subordination and domination. They pour their own content into these concepts. They reinterpret and negotiate. They rationalise, moralise and justify. They do not construct stories that fit these two theological positions.

In the researcher's view these intricate perceptions and constructions could not have been gathered simply with a questionnaire method. It is the narratives and the way the women tell their stories that bring out these aspects of their self perception and self construction. These narratives display their feelings, thoughts, beliefs and reactions and responses on their own terms rather than in comparison with a supposed 'norm'. It is these that have been so often overlooked in other studies. This is a contribution of this study.

Having seen the various responses to the issues of religious discourse I move to issues of social discourse in the next chapter. Religious and social discourses are both creators and products of the self-perception and self-construction of the members of a particular community. So it is important to analyse the components of religious and social discourses of the narratives of the members of the focus groups.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SOCIAL DISCOURSE

#### Introduction.

The previous chapter dealt with the issues of religious discourse in the presentation of the narratives of self-perception and self-construction of the narrators who participated in the focus groups. Issues of social discourse are important in a study of gender practice.<sup>1348</sup> It has been seen in Chapter 2, section II, B in the quotation from Bleier that our brains produce the cultures that limit our potentialities.<sup>1349</sup> In the same chapter in section II, D it has been pointed out that Graham claims that human agency is both creator and product of culture.<sup>1350</sup> Thus our culture that is part of our social milieu is both creator and product of the self-perception and self-construction of the members of a particular community. So the components of social milieu are significant in analysing the self-perception and self-construction of the members of the sample group. It is more so in this study because the components to which these members orient themselves pertain to issues regarding women. The issues dealt with in this chapter are the girl child and related issues, childlessness, dowry, widowhood, single status, single parenthood, domestic violence and response to sex workers. In the cultural understanding of these issues a woman is held to be inferior and sometimes even a commodity or a sex object. Ujvala Rajadhyaksha and Swati Smita discuss gender inequalitarian culture and the low status accorded to women.<sup>1351</sup> So a discussion of these issues is crucial to a perspective of who a

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<sup>1348</sup> Social life is a significant area for exploration in gender studies and studies about gender practice. See Vimala Mehta, 1979. This is one of the areas she explores in her study of attitude of educated women towards social issues.

<sup>1349</sup> Bleier, 1984, p. viii

<sup>1350</sup> See Graham, 1995, p. 118

<sup>1351</sup> Ujvala Rajadhyaksha and Swati Smita. 'Tracing a Timeline for Work and Family Research in India', *EPW*. April 24 – 30, 2004, p. 1674

woman is and her value and status. Several of these issues have been highlighted, discussed and brought to the fore in the social forum. Tamil films, television programs and serials, street theatre, newspaper and magazines, books of all types – the serious ones, novels and short stories have brought an awareness and sensitization about these issues. The Indian government has been taking steps to deal with these issues through separate departments such as the former social welfare department that has been bifurcated to deal with the issues of women and children separately. Along with the Government, Non-governmental Organisations, Faith-based Organisations, Women's Self Help Groups and various public and private bodies have been dealing with these issues. The Church also has joined in this consciousness raising.

The following articles, studies and books show how these various issues have been dealt with. Niranjan Pant's book deals with issues about a girl child.<sup>1352</sup> Sarada Natarajan also has her study in a book form about female infanticide in Tamil Nadu.<sup>1353</sup> K. S. Sunanda's title of her book is provocative.<sup>1354</sup> Kanakalatha Mukund has written an article<sup>1355</sup> on how women's property rights have changed over time resulting in inequality and discrimination when women lost much of their property rights. She also discusses how the value of a woman has been eroded as the practice of *sridhanam*<sup>1356</sup> has degenerated to dowry. *Sridhanam* was originally the jewellery, things and property the parents of the bride gave her for her own use especially in communities in which the married daughter had no claim to the ancestral or

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<sup>1352</sup> Niranjan Pant. *Status of Girl Child and Women in India*. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1995

<sup>1353</sup> Sarada Natarajan. *Watering the Neighbour's Plant. Media Perspectives on Female Infanticide in Tamil Nadu*. M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, 1997

<sup>1354</sup> K. S. Sunanda. *Girl Child Born To Die In Killing Fields?* Alternative For India Development, Madras, 1995

<sup>1355</sup> Kanakalatha Mukund. 'Women's Property Rights in South India. A Review', *EPW*. May 29, 1999, pp. 1352-58

<sup>1356</sup> *sridhanam* is the gift in cash or kind or both given to the woman by her parents when she is married.

parental property. This has degenerated into dowry that is demanded and received by the parents of the bridegroom with no claim for the daughter for the use of or authority over the dowry. Asghar Ali Engineer's article argues for protecting the rights of divorced Muslim women and for giving them maintenance.<sup>1357</sup> N. S. Krishnakumari's book deals with the status of single women.<sup>1358</sup> Nisha Srivastava reports of Vanagana, a women's group in Uttar Pradesh, which organised a campaign for awareness of domestic violence by putting on a play based on a real incident followed by discussion.<sup>1359</sup> M. Sundara Raj's book is a detailed historical study about the growth, suppression and control of prostitution in Madras.<sup>1360</sup> Amrit Srinivasan's doctoral dissertation is about temple prostitution in Tamil Nadu.<sup>1361</sup>

The existence of such studies and books shows awareness and knowledge about these social issues in the society. These cultural understandings and how the participants orient themselves to these are displayed in the narratives about social issues constructed by the women of the sample group.

## **SECTION ONE. DISCOURSE ABOUT THE GIRL CHILD AND RELATED ISSUES.**

Gender issues related to who a woman is begin from the issues related to the girl child. Studies<sup>1362</sup> reveal that quite often a girl child is not valued or welcomed. She is disposed of

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<sup>1357</sup> Asghar Ali Engineer. 'Muslim Women and Maintenance', *EPW*. 12June, 1999, pp. 1488-9

<sup>1358</sup> N. S. Krishnakumari. *Status Of Single Women In India*. Uppal Publishing House, NewDelhi, 1987

<sup>1359</sup> Nisha Srivastava. 'Exposing Violence against Women', *EPW*. Vol. 34, 6Feb., 1999, pp. 453-4

<sup>1360</sup> M. Sundara Raj. *Prostitution In Madras. A Study in Historical Perspective*. Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1993

<sup>1361</sup> Amrit Srinivasan. 'Temple 'Prostitution' And Community Reform. An Examination of the ethnographic, historical and textual context of the devadasi of Tamil Nadu, South India', Ph. D., Cambridge, nd.

<sup>1362</sup> Niranjana Pant, 1995, p. 63 – discrimination against females.

either before or after birth by the use of female feticide or female infanticide.<sup>1363</sup> In many situations the girl child is discriminated against by not being given proper nutrition, health care, education and opportunities for holistic development. The causes for imbalance are both economic and social.<sup>1364</sup> She is considered a burden and a liability.<sup>1365</sup> She is vulnerable and looked upon as a threat to the sexual purity and morality of men. She is to be married off as soon as possible. She is perceived as a temptress and a seductress. She is attributed impurity and pollution. Further there is no problem in the minds of sexists to use her as a piece of convenience. This devaluing of a girl child that leads to discrimination and abuse is an issue responded to by the members of the focus groups. In this section I examine how these women construct their narratives about the girl child.

### **I. Positive Valuing of the Girl Child.**

Many participants vigorously construct narratives that value the girl child. Udhaya, Bina, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam put forward several different supportive points to display their view of positive valuing of the girl child. All these narratives open with specific reference to the girl child making a statement that it is wrong. Some may say explicitly that female infanticide or feticide is wrong while others may not explicitly say what is wrong. Four<sup>1366</sup> of them are direct and crisp in their opening while Bina<sup>1367</sup> has an elaborate detailed opening. They begin with a

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<sup>1363</sup> Batra and Dangwal note that because of desire for a male child the female foetus is aborted. G. S. Batra and R. C. Dangwal. *Globalisation and liberalisation. New Developments*. Deep & Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2000, p.115

<sup>1364</sup> Pant, p. 67

<sup>1365</sup> Batra and Dangwal, 2000, p. 107

<sup>1366</sup> Udhaya – GC(Girl child)1. The narratives about the girl child are found in Appendix 12.

Saral – GC3

Swarna – GC4

Jeyam – GC5

<sup>1367</sup> Bina – GC2

condemnation of female infanticide or feticide. It is quite clear that the context is that of their response to the issues related to the girl child.

Udhaya<sup>1368</sup> is crisp and short in making an explicit statement that a girl child is precious. On the other hand Bina<sup>1369</sup> goes into a lengthy description of showing how a girl child is precious. It is interesting to note that Bina begins her narrative with an inclusive statement of equality and that one should accept what God gives whether it is a girl or a boy child. However she proceeds to claim that in these days it is better to have a girl child because a daughter is obedient compared to a son. Her claim is that a boy may be wayward – ‘boys become a big problem for the parents rather than the girl’. Quite strangely (the strangeness of Bina’s construction is her switching around different valuations of boys and girls) Bina in the next moment highlights the concern about the girl child having to be married off. Thus she uses the strategies of positive valuing of one over the other and contrast in her narrative. Finally she concludes that both a girl and a boy are valuable. Bina goes into lengthy descriptions of how she was happy to have had a girl and a boy. Her narrative also includes how her mother wanted to stay with her and the loneliness in her brother’s house led to her death. Bina is keen to strengthen her narrative construction with examples from her personal experiences.

Saral<sup>1370</sup> also contrasts the affectionate and non-affectionate behaviour of girls and boys to uphold her view that girls are equal to boys. She claims that girls study well and are ready to support their parents. Swarna<sup>1371</sup> follows the same line of argument. She contrasts having girls

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<sup>1368</sup> Udhaya – GC1

<sup>1369</sup> Bina – GC2

<sup>1370</sup> Saral – GC3

<sup>1371</sup> Swarna – GC4

and boys. She claims that girls support the parents and a daughter would never be quiet seeing the mother starve. On the other hand she states that some parents moan having brought up a son who has not been helpful. Jeyam<sup>1372</sup> is no exception to the view that girls are supportive of the parents. She finds fault with parents who want sons. Her claim is that the parents spend equally for the son and the daughter. She goes further to say that many parents are happy with the daughter while many incur sorrow because of the sons. All these women construct their narratives of positive valuing of the girl child, achieving their end using various techniques and tools such as contrast and use of personal examples.

Udhaya has no formal closure. Probably she feels that having made her point there is no need for a specific closure. Bina, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam close emphasising the positive valuing of the girl child. The last three further use the technique of condemnation of female feticide and infanticide in their closure.

## **II. Equality or no Discrimination.**

Three narrators specifically and explicitly claim equality or no discrimination towards a girl child. Tiny, Saral and Jeyam use this strategy. The opening in these narratives is quite clear. Tiny begins<sup>1373</sup> claiming no difference and the other two<sup>1374</sup> condemn female feticide or infanticide.

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<sup>1372</sup> Jeyam – GC5

<sup>1373</sup> Tiny – GC6

<sup>1374</sup> Saral – GC4  
Jeyam – GC5



### **A. Using Specific Terms.**

The claim of equality or no discrimination is made in several different ways. Tiny<sup>1375</sup> uses words such as ‘no difference’, ‘same’ and ‘in the same way’. She also points out that the birth and the nurture of both boys and girls are in the same way.

### **B. Girls Shown to be Better.**

Saral<sup>1376</sup> builds up her argument of equality by piling up points that girls study well, are ready to support the parents and are loving. Jeyam<sup>1377</sup> has her own way of showing that girls are valuable. She begins with the statement that the same expenditure is made for both girls and boys. She proceeds to point out that girls are more helpful to parents while many parents live losing peace and joy because of sons.

Tiny closes her narrative with a rhetorical question why any difference should be shown. Saral and Jeyam whose narratives have been looked at from a different pattern of positive valuing of the girl child described above in section I, close with an emphatic condemnation of female feticide and infanticide.

## **III. Outright Condemnation.**

Quite a few of these participants outrightly condemn female infanticide and feticide. Female infanticide or feticide is a significant issue related to one’s view about and attitude towards the girl child. Jeyavathy, Mariam, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam quite vehemently condemn any

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<sup>1375</sup> Tiny – GC6

<sup>1376</sup> Saral – GC3

<sup>1377</sup> Jeyam – GC5

practice of female infanticide or feticide. All five open<sup>1378</sup> their narratives with specific indication of their subject matter of the girl child. All condemn female infanticide or feticide. The question may be raised whether there is anyone who does not condemn female infanticide or feticide. Studies about these two issues<sup>1379</sup> reveal that in areas where it is practised or prevalent the parents themselves or the community do not want to let the girl child live because of economic reasons such as having to spend for the marriage and later for the deliveries of babies or other social reasons such as not wanting their girls to be abused, abducted, kidnapped or sold.

### **A. Rooting in God's Work.**

Jeyavathy<sup>1380</sup> uses the example of a Hindu friend who was enabled to have a child. She goes into elaborate detail to bring out her thesis that God gives a child and even in dire situations enables a child to be born. Her friend had a tube pregnancy and the doctor had told her that she would not be able to have another child or only after quite some time. So the young friend was taking contraceptive pills. Jeyavathy advised her that nothing is impossible with God and asked her to stop the contraceptive while continuing to pray for her. The friend conceived again. Her doctor was worried. But another doctor advised her to wait and take a scan. All the while the group prayed for this young woman. She has been able to have a child. Thus in

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<sup>1378</sup> Jeyavathy – GC7  
Mariam – GC8  
Saral – GC3  
Swarna – GC4  
Jeyam – GC5

<sup>1379</sup> The studies about female infanticide and feticide referred to in this research are: Rehana Ghadially. ed. *Women in Indian Society. A Reader*. Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1988; Sarada Natarajan. *Watering the Neighbour's Plant. Media Perspectives on Female Infanticide in Tamil Nadu*. M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, 1997; Niranjana Pant. *Status of Girl Child and Women in India*. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1995; K. S. Sunanda. *Girl Child Born To Die In Killing Fields?* Alternative For India Development, Madras, 1995;

<sup>1380</sup> Jeyavathy – GC7

Jeyavathy's opinion she rejects resorting to contraceptive pills or abortion because it is God who gives a child. She probably uses this to argue that if it is God's will a person may have a child as divine blessing and so one should not destroy the fetus.

### **B. Rooting in Biblical Theology.**

Mariam<sup>1381</sup> roots her argument in biblical theology of her own understanding of Gal. 3:28. She also claims equality based on the biblical material that there is no male or female in the sight of God. Mariam does not only condemn female feticide or infanticide, but also goes further. She provides examples of where it occurs in some areas such as Salem, not in her area but somewhere else. However she holds that it is wrong. She also recommends that one may root out the practice if we tell them about the benefits of girl children to the country.

### **C. Contrasting Boys and Girls.**

Saral<sup>1382</sup>, Swarna<sup>1383</sup> and Jeyam<sup>1384</sup> all highlight the positive value of girl children. These stories have been already considered under different patterns of positive valuing of the girl child. Equality, no discrimination and outright condemnation have all been dealt with above. These narrators in their stories highlight the positive value of girls over that of boys using the technique of contrast. Swarna also makes a religious claim that it is God who gives a child male or female.

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<sup>1381</sup> Mariam – GC8

<sup>1382</sup> Saral – GC3

<sup>1383</sup> Swarna – GC4

<sup>1384</sup> Jeyam – GC5

Jeyavathy, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam close their narratives reiterating their condemnation of destroying a girl child. Swarna strengthens her narrative by going beyond destruction of a girl child to harming a girl child. Jeyam stresses that we need girl children. Mariam closes with her recommendation to eradicate the practice of female feticide or infanticide. This she does by moralising the benefit of girl children. All these narrators make a statement that female infanticide or feticide is wrong, provide examples and close.

#### **IV. Bemoaning.**

Two members have quite an elaborate piece each bemoaning the way the girl child is treated. Amar and Gem bemoan the treatment meted out to girl children. Gem also goes into a lengthy piece suggesting several ways of helping a girl child that are described below in the explication of the core of the narrative. Both the narratives explicitly open with the subject matter. There is no doubt about what the narrators are speaking. Amar begins with girl children being abandoned<sup>1385</sup> and Gem begins with the issues of abortion and scanning for selective decision<sup>1386</sup>.

Amar<sup>1387</sup> not only bemoans the fact that girl children are abandoned but also suggests that the country benefit if girl children could be brought up following the examples of former missionaries who helped abandoned girl children. Amar uses the techniques of moralising about and positive valuing. Gem<sup>1388</sup> begins with bemoaning the selective abortion of female fetus and the hard life of women. But later she eulogises the situation of girls who could be

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<sup>1385</sup> Amar – GC9

<sup>1386</sup> Gem – GC10

<sup>1387</sup> Amar – GC9

<sup>1388</sup> Gem – GC10

educated and employed. She has a lengthy narrative using the tools of suggestions such as how a girl child could be brought up well with the help of parents, friends, family and others. She envisions the value of keeping a girl child occupied with useful and purposeful occupations. It appears that both Amar and Gem use positive valuing of the girl child. However these two narratives are slightly different from other narratives of positive valuing because of their main strategies of bemoaning and giving suggestions for the development of a girl child. For their narrative construction both Amar and Gem draw from examples and experiences in the wider society. These probably give their narratives the strength of real life experience and authenticity.

Amar closes by highlighting the necessity of having a broadminded perspective (the narrative does not speak of Amar's broadminded perspective, but of people having a broadminded perspective) and the affection girl children display. Gem closes with her suggestion to bring up girl children well making a faith claim that prayer is essential in the efforts of parents to bring up girl children.

The narrators themselves women (adults grown up from being girl children!) construct stories of positive valuing of a girl child. Some would go even further and hold that girls are better. However they would also not give up their commitment to equality without discrimination.

Some stories are responses to the issue of female infanticide and feticide.<sup>1389</sup> Everyone is against it. It may be asked whether anyone would be for it. It has been explained above in section III, why some communities and some parents would resort to female infanticide and female feticide. Jeyavathy, Mariam, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam construct stories of outright

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<sup>1389</sup> See Ghadially, 1988, pp. 178 – 185; see also Chapter Two, section III. B

condemnation rooting their narratives in God's work and biblical theology. It is God who gives the child and it is not right for humans to destroy what God gives. Amar and Gem bemoan the practices of female infanticide and feticide. They narrate stories with their perception of how it may be avoided by finding ways of making a girl child useful and beneficial.

## **SECTION TWO. DISCOURSE ABOUT CHILDLESSNESS.**

The narratives about childlessness are varied. The narrators orient themselves to the situation in a variety of ways.

### **I. Identity Construction with Acceptance.**

Several of the women in their narratives about childlessness construct identities of the childless. One set of these construct identity of acceptance. Another set is that of persons who accept their identity of the childless while still looking for a change. One other set is stories of persons who have positive opportunities and are valued without being denigrated in their identity of the childless. One another set of stories is the identity construction of those who are ill treated because of being childless. These different categories of identity constructions will be dealt with separately. Ester, Udhaya, Bina, Mariam, Saral and Jeyam construct narratives of identity of the childless that accept what God gives and in their stories avoid victimisation.

Only the narrative of Ester<sup>1390</sup> is not clear about what she speaks except that her responses are short and address the questions raised. Mariam begins her narrative<sup>1391</sup> with the assertion that children are the gift of God; in fact she says that the fruit of the womb is an inheritance from

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<sup>1390</sup> Ester - CL(Childlessness)1. The narratives about childlessness are found in Appendix 12.

<sup>1391</sup> Mariam – CL4

the Lord<sup>1392</sup>. She begins with this statement based on the Bible. The others open by specifically stating that they speak about childlessness<sup>1393</sup>.

### **A. Making a Faith Claim.**

In the core of their stories they bring out the main point in various ways. Ester<sup>1394</sup> having said that it is what God gives brings up the rhetorical question of what people can do if this gift has not been given. She seems to say indirectly that one has to accept what God gives or withholds. Thus she constructs the identity of a childless person with a religious claim of acceptance. Udhaya<sup>1395</sup> seems to make her point indirectly. She suggests praying about childlessness. But she also points out that being childless is not wrong. This again is an identity construction avoiding victimisation. Bina<sup>1396</sup> constructs her narrative to build an identity of acceptance, rationalising it with the faith claim that if God has not given the gift of children we cannot do anything else except accept the situation. She elaborates her narrative.

She goes on to say that it is neither a sin nor a cause for blame or accusation by using the technique of avoiding accusation. She justifies childlessness with the onus placed on God who places each person in a particular position that is to be accepted. Her rationale is similar to the assertion of others that children are God's gift and a great blessing. However she affirms that

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<sup>1392</sup> This is found in Ps. 127: 3

<sup>1393</sup> Udhaya – CL2

Bina – CL3

Saral – CL5

Jeyam – CL6

<sup>1394</sup> Ester - CL1

<sup>1395</sup> Udhaya – CL2

<sup>1396</sup> Bina – CL3

Compare this and the narratives of others which orient themselves to the master cultural narrative about biological motherhood. Riessman in her research about south Indian women notes that the master cultural narrative claims that biological motherhood is central to the identity of women. Riessman, 2002, p. 704

childlessness is not a cause for accusation or victimisation. She suggests that the childless may pray and receive. But childlessness also may be simply an identity to be accepted.

### **B. Suggesting a Solution.**

Mariam<sup>1397</sup> has an interesting narrative slightly different from those of the others. She suggests adoption as a solution for childlessness supporting her view with some noble causes. According to Mariam adoption helps the destitute and orphan children. Further it helps the adopting parents to have a balanced life. Thus Mariam uses moralising. Saral<sup>1398</sup> in her narrative suggests adoption apart from accepting childlessness. She goes further than advocating acceptance and adoption. She is quite strong in her technique of avoiding victimisation such as suppression, stigmatisation, divorce and creation of problems by the parents. Jeyam<sup>1399</sup> has an indirect way of constructing her story. Her brief statement categorically asserts that we should not ostracise the childless. It appears that she constructs an identity of acceptance of childlessness along with avoiding victimisation.

All these narrators in some way or other close their narratives of identity construction of acceptance of childlessness along with avoiding victimisation. There may not be any elaborate closure. However this probably shows that once these women have constructed the particular identity there is no further need or room for any elaboration.

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<sup>1397</sup> Mariam – CL4

<sup>1398</sup> Saral – CL5

Riessman also points out that childlessness becomes a cause for stigmatisation. , Riessman, 2002, p. 702

<sup>1399</sup> Jeyam – CL6



## II. Identity of Acceptance Coupled with Change.

Tiny in her narrative about childlessness quite positively constructs an identity of acceptance but also suggests that change may be sought. So in her narrative a particular identity is not firmly established. It is an identity that may change. Tiny's narrative<sup>1400</sup> goes straight into the subject matter of childlessness. Though her narrative is elaborate, Tiny brings out her identity construction right at the beginning.

Tiny<sup>1401</sup> displays several aspects of her construction in her narrative. She begins by advocating a strategy of praying to remove childlessness. However she proceeds to affirm that it is neither a sin nor a stigma. This once again is avoiding victimisation. On the other hand she makes a religious claim that children are an inheritance from the Lord and childlessness produces unhappiness. But she in her identity construction places the burden of unhappiness on the other members of the family who cause the unhappiness. Tiny supports her construction with a real life example of a young woman who was verbally abused by her father-in-law because of childlessness. At this point of her narrative Tiny brings out the identity of acceptance coupled with seeking change from the example of this particular young woman who had been later blessed with a child. Thus the identity Tiny constructs is not firmly fixed but is fluid with the possibility of change.

This identity of seeking and achieving change in spite of acceptance of childlessness closes Tiny's narrative. This fluid identity that may change is acceptable for Tiny. It is quite compatible with her construction of an identity of acceptance.

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<sup>1400</sup> Tiny - CL7

<sup>1401</sup> Tiny – CL7

### **III. Identity of Positive Value.**

A few participants in their stories highlight the identity of the positive value of the childless. They construct the goodness of the identity in spite of not having children. Flora, Lovely and Swarna rationalise their construction of positive value of the identity of the childless with the claim that there are other blessings for those who do not have children. All three introduce the context in a simple and direct manner<sup>1402</sup>. Construction of a positive identity of the childless or children is the focus of the narrative.

#### **A. Positive Valuing Seeing the Advantages.**

Flora's construction is short and goes straight to the point<sup>1403</sup>. She brings out the positive identity of many childless (this narrative does not specify whether it is about childless women or childless man or woman) who serve and minister gloriously, because childlessness does not seem to be a lack or a handicap. Lovely takes pains to construct her narrative elaborately to bring out her point<sup>1404</sup>. She reasons that God has a plan for the life of each person. So those who do not have the blessing of children may have different blessings. She also recommends praying for the childless and adoption. Thus Lovely sees some positive value, even if some are childless, of placing the burden or onus on God.

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<sup>1402</sup> Flora – CL8  
Lovely – CL9  
Swarna – CL10

<sup>1403</sup> Flora – CL8

<sup>1404</sup> Lovely – CL9

## **B. Positive Valuing of the Childless with rooting in the Bible.**

Swarna has a detailed construction<sup>1405</sup>. She roots her construction in a religious claim that children are an inheritance from the Lord and that we probably do not know why God has not given this blessing. However she argues that there must be some good and positive value because all things work together for good to those who love God<sup>1406</sup>. Thus Swarna bases her argument on the Bible with the burden placed on God. She proceeds to support her view with a real life example from her experience. She was blessed with her second child not long after the first one, though a childless person was the first one to pick up as a visitor (not exactly handling) her first child. She effectively uses a cultural notion and saying that if a childless person picks up the first child then the couple would not have another child. This she has found untrue in her experience. So she uses this point to strengthen her construction of a positive identity of the childless. She further constructs the positive identity contrasting the freedom the childless have with the situation of others who have to take care of the needs of the children.

Flora having constructed the identity in her own way probably does not feel the need for any formal closure. Lovely closes her narrative with the speculation that God may have some plans for the childless thus strengthening her construction of a positive identity of the childless. Swarna carries forward her argument in the end by recommending comforting and counselling the childless with the proposition that God has some good for them in this. This technique helps her construction of a positive identity of the childless.

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<sup>1405</sup> Swarna – CL10

<sup>1406</sup> Romans 8: 28

#### IV. The Construction of Victim Identity.

Two members construct their narratives displaying the victim identity of the childless. These stories though quite short and crisp bring out the emotions of anger of the narrators that sharpen the victim identity. Jeyavathy and Tiny display their anger at the way the childless are treated which aids their identity construction. Jeyavathy's narrative is short. But it opens with the clear statement of the focus of childlessness<sup>1407</sup>. Tiny's statement is quite strange. It is not even a sentence. However it has to be assumed that she is speaking about childlessness because of her response to the question about childlessness.

Jeyavathy<sup>1408</sup> brings out her anger at the treatment given to the childless. She constructs the victim identity of the childless that are made into nothing. This probably shows her anger at this sort of treatment. Tiny also indicates her anger in her string of words that they would make it into some sort of nothingness<sup>1409</sup>. In fact the listener has to fill in the words and concept in Tiny's piece. In both the narratives the words such as 'nothing' and 'in some manner' clarify the construction of victim identity.

Having expressed their anger in brief and also some incomplete statements, both Jeyavathy and Tiny leave their narratives open with no formal closure. It is probably quite fitting that their narratives do not require any closure once the victim identity has been constructed.

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<sup>1407</sup> Jeyavathy – CL11

<sup>1408</sup> Jeyavathy – CL11

Compare this with what Wadley notes about the barren woman being considered a ruin. Wadley, 1980, p. 155; Caplan also notes that barrenness is terrible, Caplan, 1985, p. 55

<sup>1409</sup> Tiny – CL12

## V. Moralising.

There is one story moralising the issue and the state of childlessness. Amar moralises the issue of childlessness citing the example of her son and daughter-in-law. Amar opens<sup>1410</sup> her narrative putting forward a point with the claim that it is in the Bible, to explain the main point of her story. This point claimed is about when a person is born or when a person dies. Amar seems to moralise the time set by God for birth and death. In her interpretation God does not delay even a minute. This claim is supposed to be based in the Bible but is not given any reference. Amar quite cleverly and skilfully sets the stage for her narrative about childlessness.

Amar effectively moves from her opening about God marking the time for the birth and death of each person to her narrative about the childlessness of her son and daughter-in-law<sup>1411</sup>. From a general religious claim she moves to personal experience. She is quite careful at the outset to avoid victimisation by stating that she does not view who is at fault, her son or her daughter-in-law. She moves the story cleverly to the point that she is sad that God has not yet fixed the time of birth of her grandchild. Thus she places the onus on God. She constructs her narrative with the use of the strategy of hopeful and expectant waiting for a grandchild that may be a grand daughter or a grand son. It is quite interesting to note how Amar is sensitive to gender issues and careful not to make a preference between a grandson and a granddaughter.

Her avoiding of victimisation of her son and daughter-in-law is displayed through elaborate narrating of their love and affection towards the children of her two daughters. She is keener to bring out the various ways in which her daughter-in-law showers her love on the nieces and nephews and how the children also cling to her with affection. Amar further uses the

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<sup>1410</sup> Amar – CL13

<sup>1411</sup> Amar – CL13

mechanism of defense of her daughter-in-law. For this she brings in the case of her daughter-in-law's affection to negate the usual saying that childless persons are jealous.

Amar does not close her narrative with just the religious claim and defense of her daughter-in-law. These probably do not seem to be sufficient for her rationalisation. She seems to want to make her case of defense strong. She constructs her story recognising the possibility of adoption for a childless couple. She proceeds to explain why her son and daughter-in-law have not adopted. She sensitively defends them providing the cause for their not adopting, their not wanting to burden the elderly parents with the care of an adopted child. In her long drawn narrative Amar quite cleverly and effectively moralises and rationalises to defend the childless. She orients herself to the social stigma and the usual suggestion such as adoption and cleverly and skilfully covers these points in her narrative.

Amar's closure is also defensive. She defends both her son and daughter-in-law in their not adopting a child. Along with this she closes her narrative defending her three children who do not want to trouble the parents.

These narratives about childlessness are constructed to portray attitudes of acceptance. The storyteller such as Mariam may use a faith claim or suggest a solution such as adoption. Some like Tiny may suggest acceptance while also using prayer to change the situation. Flora, Lovely and Swarna construct stories of an identity of positive value for the childless of being used in God's service. Jeyavathy and Tiny narrate stories of victimisation directed at the childless but do not approve of the victimisation. Amar uses her own experience of her son and daughter-in-law being childless. But she has an elaborate story of moralising that God has a time for the birth and the death of every single person and also wondering probably the time

has not yet come for God to give her a grandson or a granddaughter through her son and daughter. In these narratives it may be seen that the perception of these women about childlessness is not negative rating of the childless. They turn to their religious claims to construct their stories. In their perception it is God who gives a child and the state of childlessness is not a point to accuse or blame. In these stories it may be seen that their religious beliefs play a major role in forming their perceptions and constructions.

### **SECTION THREE. DISCOURSE ABOUT DOWRY.**

The practice of dowry being the cash given by the parents of the bride to the parents of the bridegroom is prevalent in many communities especially in South India. Many of the Tamil Christians also follow this custom. However as may be seen from the narratives many do not approve of this. The members of the focus group respond to this issue in various ways. Shashi Jain notes that even the educated have accepted dowry as part of the system.<sup>1412</sup>

#### **I. Angry Response at Victimisation of some due to the Practice.**

Amar and Bina construct stories of vehement and angry disapproval of the dowry practice. Both Amar and Bina have clear and definite openings. Amar begins<sup>1413</sup> with an incident. Bina begins with the requirement for a bridegroom<sup>1414</sup>. Amar sets the setting by describing the burden of dowry practice among the people in Hyderabad. It makes one wonder why Bina starts by stating that a bridegroom should be well employed. However later it may be surmised that this index of employment sets the rate of the dowry that is one of the causes for Bina's

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<sup>1412</sup> Shashi Jain, 1988, p. 99; Caplan notes that the Brahmins take dowry, Caplan, 1985, p.45

<sup>1413</sup> Amar – D(Dowry)1. The narratives about dowry are found in Appendix 12.

<sup>1414</sup> Bina – D2

anger about the practice. Both the narrators thus employ the tool of victimisation to construct their stories.

Amar<sup>1415</sup> who begins with an incident just switches over to the description of the burden of the practice even before she describes the incident. She goes into elaborate detail about the demands made by the family of the bridegroom. Further she explains how oppressive the custom is in producing mental worry and financial burden of even debt. She proceeds to list the ill effects. Girl children are stopped from having high education for fear of not finding appropriate bridegrooms. Further the girls are also kept at home without taking up employment for the same reason. After having elaborated the ill effects of the practice of dowry Amar narrates the tragic incident of a brother and three sisters who committed suicide for fear of not being able to face the burden of dowry for the three girls. These fuel the anger of Amar at the practice of dowry. Amar has not completed her tirade against dowry. She moves to the issue of girls and the parents facing the problem of keeping unmarried girls at home. She narrates the constant pestering of those who bombard them with questions and tells how the daughters themselves are under mental pressure thus creating problems for the parents. Thus Amar strings several pieces in her narrative to heighten the victimisation. Bina<sup>1416</sup> also highlights how the practice of dowry is oppressive by way of fixing up rates. Bina's negative criticism is carried out to the extent of cautioning people against looking for a bridegroom in one southern district of Tamil Nadu. This is also a strategy of victimisation that Bina uses in her construction of the story of dowry being an oppressive practice and her own negative criticism as explained above.

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<sup>1415</sup> Amar – D1

<sup>1416</sup> Bina – D2

Bina's point about parents looking for a boy with a well paid job and willing to give dowry resonates with what Desai and Krishnaraj note, 1987, p. 205



Amar's narrative does not seem to have any formal closure. However her bemoaning itself is a closure. Bina also closes with her proverbial statement about a particular community that is supposed to demand huge sums as dowry. Thus both effectively and graphically use the technique of victimisation to construct their stories of angry disapproval.

## **II. Disapproval.**

Several participants construct stories of their clear and explicit disapproval of the practice of dowry. Amar, Ester, Jeyavathy, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Swarna, Jeyam and Saral categorically disapprove of the practice of dowry. All except Ester, Jeyavathy and Saral indicate in their opening explicitly the subject matter of their narratives<sup>1417</sup>. Ester begins with a statement about marriage<sup>1418</sup>. Jeyavathy's short narrative<sup>1419</sup> is criticizing the attitude of people in looking for a bride or a bridegroom. Saral opens<sup>1420</sup> with a claim that the discussion is about equality. In her opinion this seems quite befitting a discussion about dowry, a practice that does not display equality.

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<sup>1417</sup> Amar – D3

Bina – D8

Mariam – D11

Lovely – D10

Swarna – D9

Jeyam – D6

<sup>1418</sup> Ester – D4

<sup>1419</sup> Jeyavathy - D5

<sup>1420</sup> Saral – D7

### **A. Sheer Disapproval.**

Amar<sup>1421</sup> constructs her story of disapproval by lamenting the fact that Christians also demand dowry just as the non-Christians do. Ester<sup>1422</sup> uses a rhetorical question of criticism in her construction of disapproval. She does not completely spell out her argument. However the listener is expected to fill in the details. For Ester when two persons get married and begin their lives together money transaction between the parents is totally unnecessary. This point is used by Ester for rationalisation.

### **B. Pointing out the Fear of Parents.**

Jeyavathy<sup>1423</sup> does not even mention the word 'dowry'. However her disapproval is constructed through the statement that none seems to reject a boy for being dark. She implicitly wants the listener to surmise that the practice of dowry that is more oppressive if the girl is dark does not show any negativism when the boy is dark. Jeyam constructs her narrative of disapproval<sup>1424</sup> by indicating why some parents are willing to give a dowry and also keep saving up for the dowry of their daughter. According to Jeyam it is the fear of the parents of not being able to get a boy who is well educated and well employed. This strategy of victimisation is effective in Jeyam's construction of disapproval. It is noteworthy that Jeyam for emphasis brings in a real life example that some boys have withstood the pressure of the parents and married without dowry. This she claims is the way for society to change. She

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<sup>1421</sup> Amar – D3

<sup>1422</sup> Ester – D4

<sup>1423</sup> Jeyavathy – D5

<sup>1424</sup> Jeyam – D6

Jeyam's advice that the boys should oppose the practice of dowry resonates with the suggestion of Prithvi Nath Tikoo. *Indian Women. A Brief Socio-Cultural Survey*. B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1985, pp..37-8

recommends the opposition of both the parents and the boys to get rid of the practice of dowry. All these tools are used by Jeyam firmly to construct disapproval.

### **C. Pointing to a Better Way.**

Saral<sup>1425</sup> having begun indicating that the discussion is about equality, points out that dowry leads to suppression of women. She advocates sharing, citing the example of western custom. This constructs her disapproval by displaying the victimisation of dowry being a tool of suppression and an alternate pattern.

### **D. Elaboration using Personal Experience.**

Bina's narrative is quite elaborate<sup>1426</sup>. Having begun with the disapproval of the practice of dowry she proceeds to analyse the practice. She acknowledges the fact that when parents of the girl refuse to give dowry people do not come forward to marry the girl. She goes on to narrate from her own situation of preparing for her daughter's marriage. She is willing to give a gift of several items for her daughter. However she cites her own experience of rejecting an offer of a bridegroom who is quite rich. Probably this means a huge dowry to which Bina does not agree. Bina also makes a faith claim that she is praying for God's will to be shown. However in spite of her disapproval of the custom of dowry on principle, Bina does not want to refuse to give some amount and items for her own daughter. Thus her story of disapproval is constructed with an allowance. On the other hand she is also not willing to accept any offer of a proposal in which the people demand a certain amount or other things. This probably

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<sup>1425</sup> Saral – D7

<sup>1426</sup> Bina – D8

Bina and some others state that without dowry young women do not get married at all. It is not possible to find a husband without dowry especially if the young woman is dark. Compare this with what Alfred de Souza has documented in his edited book. Dowry is an evil. However 96% of the respondents favoured dowry because that is the only means for some to get a husband. Further there is a fear of remaining unmarried which makes people favour dowry. De Souza ed., 1975, pp. 83, 84

shows the use of a tool of avoiding victimisation. Bina stresses that attitude is important for her. Thus her construction of disapproval is emphasised. Swarna<sup>1427</sup> indicates that it is mean to ask for money. She cites the example of her own sister for whom the parents gave some money when the boy's people said that they needed some money for the expenses. However she constructs her story of disapproval by claiming that demanding is not right, especially demanding property. Her disapproval is shown in her stating that it is good to take a stand not to give any money.

#### **E. Basing on Faith Claim.**

Lovely has an elaborate narrative<sup>1428</sup>. Having constructed her narration of disapproval, she brings out the victimisation of many parents who succumb to the evil practice for fear of their daughter not getting married. It is interesting to note that Lovely brings in a contrast. Citing the practice in the former days when the boy's people gave gifts to the girl provides the contrast. Lovely having constructed her story of disapproval does not stop with that. She makes a suggestion for the evil to be removed through prayer. She proceeds to quote from real life examples in which both the parties share the expenses without demanding a dowry to meet the expenses. Lovely's construction moves to hope that through prayer the situation may be changed. This strategy of hope is probably used by Lovely to underscore her construction of disapproval. Mariam<sup>1429</sup> recognises the fact that the practice of dowry has become a business and a culture. However she constructs her story of disapproval claiming it to be unbiblical.

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<sup>1427</sup> Swarna – D9

<sup>1428</sup> Lovely – D10

<sup>1429</sup> Mariam – D11

Amar has no formal closure. But her statement of disapproval itself ends the narrative. Ester's brief statement seems like not having a closure. However teasing her friend by pointing out that her friend's community is known to have the practice of dowry, in an indirect way closes her narrative of disapproval. Similarly Jeyavathy also closes her narrative with no formal ending. Jeyam repeats in closure her claim that the practice can be removed only by the stand the boys take. Saral closes her narrative repeating her recommendation of sharing the expenses. Bina closes with her own standpoint regarding her daughter which emphasises her story of disapproval. Swarna closes her narrative repeating that the demand of dowry at the time of the marriage is uncultured. Lovely having indicated the way to remove the practice of dowry closes her narrative reiterating her claim of victimisation of the parents and the girl. Mariam ends her narrative with a theological claim that according to the Bible it is wrong to give dowry. All these women use various strategies and tools to construct their stories of disapproval.

### **III. Rooting in Culture that should Change.**

Udhaya specifically roots the practice of dowry in culture and emphasises that it should change. She narrates her piece interspersed with much laughter. She explicitly indicates in her opening that her narrative is about dowry<sup>1430</sup>. She has no further elaborate description of the context.

The core or central point of Udhaya's story<sup>1431</sup> is that the practice of dowry has become a culture. She is quite clear that the practice of dowry is wrong. She does not condone it. She further recommends that it should change. Udhaya closes her narrative with her

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<sup>1430</sup> Udhaya – D12

<sup>1431</sup> Udhaya – D12

recommendation that the practice of dowry should change. This closure with a suggestion for change is Udhaya's strategy of firm resolution of the complicating action of the problem of dowry. There is no further elaboration or discussion. Her construction takes care of the fact that outright claiming that dowry is wrong may be problematic. So she finds an explanation.

#### **IV. Disapproval with Concession.**

One narrator clearly expresses her disapproval of the practice of dowry. However she carries on her story further. Flora in this manner explains what may be approved of and considered acceptable. This provides a concession to her construction of disapproval that like the construction of Udhaya circumvents the problem of outright disapproval. Flora's narrative opens directly with the issue of dowry and her disapproval of it<sup>1432</sup>. There is no need for any further description of the context.

Flora<sup>1433</sup> repeatedly states that giving and receiving dowry is wrong. However she does not stop with the assertion that dowry is wrong but makes a concession to her story of disapproval that what is given as a gift to the children by the parents may be received. Thus Flora provides a concession that a willing gift is acceptable. At the end of her narrative Flora reiterates her view about dowry. Having made her disapproval clear and adding the concession, she reiterates her point by asserting that it is wrong to force the parents of the girl to give dowry. Thus her story in effect is one of disapproval in spite of the positive concession.

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<sup>1432</sup> Flora –D13

<sup>1433</sup> Flora – D13

## **V. Disapproval with Rationalisation of the Practice.**

Some of the narrators apart from disapproving the practice of dowry proceed to rationalise why it is followed as a custom. This construction also similar to those of Udhaya and Flora probably attempts to go around the problem of outright disapproval. Tiny, Gem and Saguna cite various reasons to rationalise the practice of dowry though basically they disapprove of the custom. Two of these, Tiny<sup>1434</sup> and Saguna<sup>1435</sup> open their narratives with the assertion that the practice of dowry is wrong. Gem does not directly indicate that it is wrong. But she begins<sup>1436</sup> with a general statement that all people will not be able to give dowry. This generalisation leads into her construction of disapproval. In all these three narratives the central core is constructed elaborately. Each person puts forward some argument to rationalise the practice.

### **A. Justification based on Later Good Treatment of the Bride.**

Tiny<sup>1437</sup> having affirmed that the practice of dowry is wrong proceeds to look at it from a different standpoint. She argues that girls who are dark will not be married off unless a dowry is offered. She also justifies it by stating that after the marriage the girl is well treated in the marital home. However she proceeds to reiterate her disapproval by suggesting that only if boys take a stand the practice of dowry can be eradicated.

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<sup>1434</sup> Tiny – D14

<sup>1435</sup> Saguna – D16

<sup>1436</sup> Gem – D15

<sup>1437</sup> Tiny – D14

## **B. Drawing from Personal Experience.**

Gem<sup>1438</sup> after her opening cites an example from her personal life that her mother faced difficulty in giving a dowry of money and gold jewellery. Probably that is why she begins her narrative saying that not all people will be able to give dowry. This generalisation prepares the listener for the personal example provided later. Then she narrates how she took a stand of not receiving any dowry for her only son. This contrast in the two personal examples is quite effectively used in her construction of disapproval. But after this disapproval she proceeds to rationalise the practice of dowry that is strange. She lists a few points to justify dowry. Initially she defends the practice as a necessity to cover the expenses when one party is not able to do so. The next point is strange to the listener. Gem complains that many girls do not value marriage if no dowry is given. Even if a huge amount is given some girls come back to the parental home divorcing. Some who do not give dowry resort to hurtful talk in the marital home because they do not recognise the value of marriage. Thus Gem argues that the practice of dowry has been instituted by our ancestors for some positive value whose construction is strange.

## **C. Rationalising with the Point of Financial Need.**

Saguna<sup>1439</sup> having opened with the assertion that giving and receiving dowry is wrong proceeds to rationalise the practice. She narrates the point that at times some families because of their financial need may be compelled to get a dowry. However she does not outrightly approve of dowry in situations of financial need. She qualifies her allowance with the statement that there is nothing wrong if those who receive get what is given. Probably she means that whatever is given has to be received without question or demand.

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<sup>1438</sup> Gem – D15

<sup>1439</sup> Saguna – D16



All three close their narratives with their rationalisations. Tiny closes her narrative with her point that unless a dowry is given dark girls may not get married. She also points out in her closure that a dowry is demanded and made rational when the boy earns well. Gem in her closure makes a speculation about her point of rationalisation. She wonders aloud that our ancestors must have followed the practice of dowry for some good. Saguna ends her narrative with her rationalising argument that those who are in financial need may compel the girl's side to give dowry and in such a case they should receive what is given. It is not at all clear where these three stand at the end. Probably they in principle disapprove of the practice of dowry, but want to make a concession by way of rationalisation when some follow the practice.

## **VI. Disapproval Showing a Higher Ideal.**

One narrator not merely disapproves of the practice of dowry but also in her story delineates a higher ideal. Jeyavathy constructs her story drawing from her own experience pointing to a higher ideal of not following the custom of dowry. She opens<sup>1440</sup> her lengthy narrative with the construction of disapproval that it is not good to receive dowry. Her contention is that it becomes a commercialised practice. This leads into the rest of her story.

Having constructed her disapproval Jeyavathy proceeds to support her view with her reasons<sup>1441</sup>. She claims that it becomes a trade. Further she disapproves of some who boast how much money and jewellery they gave. This disapproval of negative behaviour helps her

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<sup>1440</sup> Jeyavathy – D17

<sup>1441</sup> Jeyavathy – D17

Jeyavathy points out that some are quite proud to boast that they had given such vast amount of dowry to get their daughter married. Compare what S. L. Hooja says about demonstration tendency and competition in the issue of dowry. S. L. Hooja. *Dowry System In India. A Case Study*. Asia Press, Delhi, First Edition, 1969, p. 1; this exhibitionism of dowry is noted by Prithvi Nath Tikoo, 1985, p. 34

to move to her explication of a higher ideal. Jeyavathy's higher ideal is that people should look for a virtuous and God-fearing girl. If not, when money is given the first place, she argues that there will be no peace. Jeyavathy supports her view with examples from life.<sup>1442</sup> The first one is how a good girl had to face the problem of dowry and those who brought offers put dowry first without considering the fact that the girl had good conduct, education and looks. For this Jeyavathy suggests a way of prayer. If the girl prays, Jeyavathy advocates that there will be a solution. This she supports in her construction of the story with her own experience.<sup>1443</sup> Her father was much worried when her marriage was being postponed. Her parents did not have much money. However when she prayed, finally a medical doctor was willing to marry her. The bridegroom's people only wanted the girl because she was God-fearing and involved in Christian work. They even undertook the wedding expenses. She emphasises the need for praying. Thus Jeyavathy constructs her story of disapproval effectively drawing from her personal experience to advocate a higher ideal. Jeyavathy closes her narrative with the emphatic claim that God provides an appropriate husband when we pray which clinches her pointing to a higher ideal.

## **VII. Rationalising the Practice.**

One of the members rationalises the practice of dowry. She does not at this point disapprove of it. She seems to accept it or take it for granted. Ranjithamani does not in her narration raise any objection to the practice of dowry. Her narrative is different from three other narratives that rationalise the practice in that the other three disapprove of the practice and yet rationalise while Ranjithamani does not seem to disapprove of the custom. Ranjithamani opens<sup>1444</sup> her

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<sup>1442</sup> Jeyavathy –D18

<sup>1443</sup> Jeyavathy – D 19

<sup>1444</sup> Ranjithamani – D20

narrative with the explicit indication of the subject matter of dowry.

Ranjithamani does not construct any theorising or argument. She simply narrates<sup>1445</sup> what they did for her daughter and what they expect for her son. From these two anecdotes probably one is to guess her construction of rationalisation. She narrates that for her daughter even before the bridegroom's party made any demand, Ranjithamani and her people made the offer of a particular sum of money and a certain amount of jewellery. She stresses that the boy's party made no demand. She also explains how they could not at first give the agreed amount of jewellery that they promised to give later. This giving Ranjithamani justifies as a loving gift to the daughter when she goes away from the parental home. She makes it clear that there should be no compulsion. This probably brings out her construction of disapproval of dowry as a compulsory demand and justifies it as a parental gift. Her story construction probably brings this out in her next anecdote of their expectation for their son. She narrates that they do not demand a huge dowry. Their expectation is that the girl should be well behaved. She makes it clear that though they do not demand dowry or expect any huge dowry, what is being given by way of jewellery should match their status. She emphasises that they do not expect a huge dowry. Thus Ranjithamani's story seems to employ various strategies of implicit disapproval of demand coupled with approval of a willing gift.

Ranjithamani closes her narrative reiterating her claim for her son that they do not expect a huge dowry. This probably underscores her construction of disapproval of one behaviour while approving another behaviour.

What does one make out of these narratives about the practice of dowry? Some such as Amar,

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<sup>1445</sup> Ranjithamani – D20

Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Swarna, Jeyam, Ester, Jeyavathy, Saral, Udhaya, Flora, Tiny and Saguna say explicitly that it is wrong to give or receive dowry. They are quite sure about this in their stories. Saral points to a better way of both the parties sharing the expenses. Lovely constructs her story with the claim that with prayer the custom may be changed. Jeyavathy roots her perception in her own experience of her marriage to a doctor without any dowry or demand for the bride's party to spend for the wedding. Udhaya also constructs a story stating that it is a culture that should change. On the other hand, some of the narratives display an approval of the custom or giving an allowance pointing to the fear of the parents that the daughters may not get married, that a dark girl may not find a husband if her parents do not offer a dowry, that the brides after marriage are treated well, that the bridegroom's parents may be in financial need and that it may not be a demand but a willing gift of the bride's parents. These may be used to construct rationalisations. But in the end they do not valorise or glorify the practice. Looking at the practice, it may not always be considered as demeaning, debasing or portraying a picture of secondary status for women. The literature especially the ones looking into the historical root shows that the practice of dowry started as a gift for the bride given by her parents.<sup>1446</sup> So some of the narrators justify and rationalise the practice of dowry. But in their perception and construction there is no loss of equality and freedom.

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<sup>1446</sup> Kanakalatha Mukund. 'Women's Property Rights in South India. A Review', *EPW*. May29, 1999, pp. 1352-58. Though Mukund says that the practice of giving a gift has degenerated into dowry given to the parents of the bridegroom, it is not always the case. In many communities and families the dowry is given to the bride as she goes away to her marital home. In many cases the dowry enhances the position and the status of the daughter-in-law in her marital home. This is also pointed out in Tiny's narrative about the later good treatment given to the bride.

## SECTION FOUR. DISCOURSE ABOUT WIDOWHOOD.

It may be noted that widowhood brings about much deprivation.<sup>1447</sup> This is stated in the study of Alka Ranjan that widowhood brings about severe social, economic and cultural deprivations.<sup>1448</sup> Sachidananda Mohanty's article about two book traditions in Orissa lists widow remarriage as one of the issues dealt with in one book tradition.<sup>1449</sup>

### I. Positive Compassion.

Most of the members of the focus groups such as Udhaya, Jeyavathy, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam construct their narratives about widowhood using the strategy of positive compassionate action. All except Jeyavathy, Mariam and Jeyam begin<sup>1450</sup> with direct reference to widowhood by using the term. Jeyavathy<sup>1451</sup>, Mariam<sup>1452</sup> and Jeyam<sup>1453</sup> indicate the point of their narratives by indirect reference to widowhood.

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<sup>1447</sup> This is supported by Fransella and Frost, 1977, p.114

<sup>1448</sup> Alka Ranjan, 'Determinants of Well-Being among Widows. An Exploratory Study in Varanasi', *EPW*, Oct.27, 2001, p. 4088

<sup>1449</sup> Sachidananda Mohanty, 'Female Identity and Conduct. Book Tradition in Orissa,' *EPW*, 24, Jan.2004, pp. 333-36

<sup>1450</sup> Udhaya – W(Widowhood)1. The narratives about widowhood are found in Appendix 12.

Bina – W5

Lovely – W7

Saral – W3

Swarna – W8

<sup>1451</sup> Jeyavathy – W2

<sup>1452</sup> Mariam – W6

<sup>1453</sup> Jeyam – W4

### **A. Pointing out the Difficulties of Widows.**

Udhaya<sup>1454</sup> having begun by contrasting the Hindu and Christian cultures, vehemently objects to the ill treatment of widows. She quickly proceeds to recommend over and over again that we should help the widows. Thus she uses contrast, objection of victimisation and mitigation of suffering or positive action in her construction. Jeyavathy<sup>1455</sup> constructs her narrative effectively providing a real life example of a family in which a widow with three children has been struggling to bring up and educate the children. She recommends positive action by others especially the church. Positive compassion and help are advocated. Saral's narrative<sup>1456</sup> of compassion is revealed through the use of words such as 'helpless', 'very difficult' and 'should help'. This point of helping through the church is repeated and emphasised. Jeyam goes deep into the matter with her construction of positive compassion<sup>1457</sup>. She argues that God has set a time to take away the husband and it may happen to any one of us. So Jeyam recommends that we have compassion such as any one of us would have upon ourselves. Jeyam points to the many difficulties a widow has to face in finding financial support, bringing up the children, facing the hurtful talk of the children, having lost the help the husband would have given and grieving over the loss. Jeyam uses the strategy of highlighting the psychological and emotional trauma and pain a widow goes through. So she rejects any taunting or hurting. Repeatedly she advocates help and compassion without ostracism and hate.

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<sup>1454</sup> Udhaya – W1

<sup>1455</sup> Jeyavathy – W2

<sup>1456</sup> Saral – W3

<sup>1457</sup> Jeyam – W4

## **B. Making a Biblical Point.**

Bina gives a detailed description<sup>1458</sup> of a compassionate attitude. She brings out the point that in the Christian community widows are not ostracised and ill-treated. They are equally respected and well treated with other elderly persons. This use of contrast helps Bina in her emphasis of positive compassion. Bina has another interesting point that widows without encumbrance may be free to serve God and others without much restriction. She uses phrases such as 'it's not a stigma at all' and 'not handicapped at all' to construct positive compassion. This role of religion may be both egalitarian and complementarian. Positive compassion towards widows may be found because of their point about the dignity of a person.

Thus a positive valuing makes her construction mitigate the evil of widowhood. Bina is realistic about practical situations. She recognises that a widow has to take care of the family single handedly. It is to be noted that Bina whose husband is abroad (at the time of the field work) equates her situation of having to handle everything by herself with that of a widow. In her story she also looks at the financial need if the widow is not earning. Bina constructs the biblical view of God's care for the destitute and the widow. It is heartening to note that Bina moves her story to claim that God cares for the widow only through us. So she demands that we should help. Mariam also roots her construction in the biblical material<sup>1459</sup> of Paul's injunction to help widows. Thus Mariam constructs for the widows an identity of much respected persons. She repeatedly emphasises that we of the church must necessarily help the widows. Lovely<sup>1460</sup> bases her story construction in the biblical material of a separate order

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<sup>1458</sup> Bina – W5

Caplan notes about young widows' necessity to work, Caplan, 1985, p.89

<sup>1459</sup> Mariam – W6

<sup>1460</sup> Lovely – W7

having been formed for the widows. Her use of phrases and words such as ‘additional compassion’, ‘extra care and concern’ and ‘we should definitely give’ helps her justify compassion towards widows. Swarna makes a theological claim<sup>1461</sup> that we do not know why God has taken the husband and that God must have some purpose or good in it. She constructs her story with positive valuing. However she like others emphasises that a widow struggling with children should be helped without being turned away. This point to help is repeated to show the emphasis.

Udhaya closes her narrative highlighting the positive value of helping widows with compassion. Jeyavathy ends her narrative with practical action to help widows. Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam all close their narratives recommending positive compassion and help for the widow. Some are quite emphatic and strong. Jeyam suggests that if one is not able to help should not be a hindrance that adds force to her story.

## **II. Angry Disapproval of Mean Treatment.**

One participant in a short and crisp statement narrates and expresses her angry disapproval of the mean treatment given to widows. Jeyavathy is quite angry about the appalling treatment given to widows. Jeyavathy<sup>1462</sup> has no formal opening but the word ‘it’ for her short and crisp narrative of anger at the treatment meted out to widows.

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<sup>1461</sup> Swarna – W8

<sup>1462</sup> Jeyavathy – W9



It is quite interesting that Jeyavathy's construction<sup>1463</sup> does not even explicitly display about what she is speaking or what ill treatment widows face in some communities<sup>1464</sup>. All that she asserts is that it is terrible in one community. It is left to the listener to surmise the subject matter and details of the treatment that angers Jeyavathy. She packs her subject matter in one simple and short cryptic word 'it'. Her use of the word 'terrible' shows her angry disapproval of the ill treatment meted out to widows.

Jeyavathy's closure is also as hidden as the whole narrative. She effectively uses the emphatic 'yes' to construct her affirmation of anger and disapproval. Probably she means 'yes, the treatment given is terrible'.

### **III. Pattern of Contrast.**

Bina and Tiny construct narratives about widowhood using contrast that brings out the difference in treatment given to widows in the Christian community. They focus on the positive attitude of Christians and contrast it with the negative attitude shown by some others.

Bina opens her narrative with the statement that it is a testimony<sup>1465</sup>. There is no further indication of about what she is to speak. Tiny<sup>1466</sup> opens with a cryptic statement that 'we do not ostracise them'. The remaining portions of the narratives that are described below help the listener to understand about what the narrators speak.

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<sup>1463</sup> Jeyavathy - W9

<sup>1464</sup> Probably Jeyavathy is thinking about the ill treatment meted out to widows in some communities. See also Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 83 – 86 and also Alka Ranjan, *EPW*, Oct.27, 2001; in some communities they are shaven, rid of jewellery and good clothing, they are considered inauspicious and not given good food.

<sup>1465</sup> Bina – W10

<sup>1466</sup> Tiny – W11

In contrasting the treatment given to widows in the Christian and some other communities Bina<sup>1467</sup> begins with the ostracism shown to widows in barring them from being present at auspicious functions. She contrasts this with the way in the church widows are respected and given a place of honour as elderly persons. Again she reverts to the ill treatment given to the widows in some communities considering them as inauspicious to be seen when a person goes out of the house. Bina also criticises how in communities that emphasise astrological considerations such situations as widowhood should happen. This probably is satire. It is not clear why Bina brings up this point. Probably she wants to point out the futility of meticulous calculations to emphasise her contrast. Tiny<sup>1468</sup> having begun with the positive treatment given to widows in Christian communities contrasts it with the treatment given in some other communities. She highlights the treatment of widows as family members in Christian communities. She uses the technique of clarification by stating that a widow in the Christian community is given the same respect that she was given when her husband was alive. Tiny also narrates an anecdote from her own experience of having had a Brahmin friend. Tiny goes into great detail of her questioning her friend about the dilemma of not knowing whether a person is a widow and having to cross a widow when the people on some business are on their way and being meticulous about auspicious times. This Tiny uses in her construction of contrast between the Christians and some others in their treatment of widows.

Bina does not seem to have a formal closure. Her point of the astrologer not being effective is the closure to her narrative of contrast. Tiny has a positive end. She closes with a faith claim.

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<sup>1467</sup> Bina – W10

<sup>1468</sup> Tiny – W11

Tiny refers to the practice of the Brahmins considering a widow inauspicious. This means that a married woman is auspicious. Compare this with what Wadley notes about auspicious married women and the widow being most inauspicious. Wadley, 1980, p. 155

She asserts that though the Christians do not look for the auspicious in spite of going through troubles just like the others, the hand of the Lord upholds them. She claims that it is their faith that counts. Thus these two narrators use contrast to construct their narratives about widowhood.

#### **IV. Seeing an Opportunity for Service.**

Jeyavathy is one person who narrates a piece about widowhood positively valuing it as an opportunity for service. Jeyavathy opens<sup>1469</sup> her narrative with a clear indication of her positive outlook of widows mingling with others in society. This sets the stage for the point made in the story.

In her construction of positive valuing<sup>1470</sup> Jeyavathy moves to her main point that widows have more time and opportunity to serve the Lord. They are free to do so if the children have been married and settled. She underlines the fact that in the Christian community widows are not ostracised. All join together and work unitedly. Thus Jeyavathy uses contrast pointing to the treatment meted out to widows among the Hindus especially in villages. She supports her view of the ostracisation and the resulting sorrow of widows from her experience with widows in **Jesus Calls** ministry. She narrates how when such ostracised widows are prayed for they find joy in accepting the Lord. This adds to her positive valuing. Jeyavathy closes her narrative of positive valuing of widows with a positive note about the widows who find joy in being prayed for in **Jesus Calls**.

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<sup>1469</sup> Jeyavathy – W12

<sup>1470</sup> Jeyavathy – W12

Looking at the construction of narratives about widowhood, it is noted that all storytellers have a perception of positive compassion. Some go further than mere compassion in their perception and construction. They would point to the need for active help. Some narrate stories that root their perception in biblical material of compassion to the widow and widowhood not being a handicap. Jeyavathy constructs a narrative of angry disapproval at the mean treatment of widows in some other communities. Bina and Tiny also construct stories of contrast of the ways in which widows are treated in Christian and some other communities. Jeyavathy perceives an opportunity for the widow to minister in a positive manner. Thus these narrators construct their stories to bring out the positive response to widowhood.

## **SECTION FIVE. DISCOURSE ABOUT SINGLE STATUS.**

The status of singleness of a woman is one of the social issues in the discourse about who a woman is. This issue has been dealt with in the focus groups. Some women have expressed their views regarding the issue of 'singleness'.

### **I. 'No Problem'.**

Some women such as Ester, Flora, Tiny and Bina have narratives about singleness. Their pieces may be categorised as constructions of 'no problem'. Each narrator opens in a different way. Ester begins<sup>1471</sup> by saying 'they may be like that'. The listener is expected to understand what she is talking about. Flora opens<sup>1472</sup> with 'it depends upon their calling'. This also demands that the listener has to make his or her own conclusion of what the story is about. Tiny is the only one who explicitly states<sup>1473</sup> about what she is speaking. Bina starts stating

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<sup>1471</sup> Ester – S(Singleness)1. The narratives about the single status or singleness are found in Appendix 12.

<sup>1472</sup> Flora - S2

<sup>1473</sup> Tiny – S3

that it is not a defect<sup>1474</sup>. She does not specify what is not a defect. However the core points explain what these narrators are talking about.

#### **A. Making a Faith Claim.**

Ester<sup>1475</sup> uses rhetoric that the Lord is also with those who remain unmarried. She constructs the story with positive valuing of the unmarried being able to serve more. Flora<sup>1476</sup> in the entire narrative does not explicitly mention the subject matter. She simply asserts that it is according to the calling of each person and is not wrong. Probably what Flora means is that remaining single is not wrong. Thus she uses positive valuing and defense.

#### **B. Singleness is not a Defect to Ostracise.**

Tiny<sup>1477</sup> is elaborate. She at first points out that in this culture the unmarried single persons are sometimes ostracised and asserts that they should not be ostracised. Tiny proceeds to use justification and explanation that the reason a person remains single may be circumstantial or by choice. Then she comes out with her clinching point that it is not wrong. She goes further to put forward a positive point that the single person should also be loved and supported with help. Thus Tiny also uses defense and positive valuing. Bina<sup>1478</sup> acknowledges that sometimes the single person is made to feel bad about the single status. She says that a single person may feel bad. But others should not speak or think of the single status as a defect. Bina constructs her story using disapproval of negative attitude, rationalisation of singleness and defense of the single.

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<sup>1474</sup> Bina – S4

<sup>1475</sup> Ester – S1

<sup>1476</sup> Flora – S2

<sup>1477</sup> Tiny – S3

<sup>1478</sup> Bina – S4

None of the four narrators has any formal end. Ester stops with positive valuing. Flora ends with the defense that it is not wrong. Tiny advocates practical help. Bina also defends by asserting that we should not speak or think of it as a defect. Thus all of them construct positive valuing which may be categorised as stories of ‘no problem’.

## **II. Vehement Defense.**

Udhaya has a narrative of vehement defense of the status of singleness. Her piece is short but emphatic. Udhaya begins<sup>1479</sup> her piece with a clear indication of the subject matter by using the term ‘singleness’.

Udhaya<sup>1480</sup> vigorously defends the status of singleness. According to her it is dependent upon the mindset of each person. Then she objects to any ill feeling towards the single. She does not specify what it is. But vehemently and repeatedly says it is not so. She probably means that singleness is not any aberration or wrongdoing or defect. Her emphatic objection that it is not so is the closure. For her the matter is closed. She has constructed the narrative of her defense of the single in claiming that it is not wrong.

## **III. Positive Valuing.**

Bina is one person who constructs her story about singleness positively valuing the state of singleness, elaborately bringing out the benefit and value of singleness. Bina clearly states what her subject matter is by using the term ‘singleness’<sup>1481</sup>. Then she proceeds to construct her narrative of positive valuing.

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<sup>1479</sup> Udhaya – S5

<sup>1480</sup> Udhaya – S5

<sup>1481</sup> Bina – S6

Bina<sup>1482</sup> commends singleness by choice. She roots her justification in the biblical material of what the Apostle Paul says. She goes on to note that the single ones have the opportunity to serve God better. She asserts that it is an ideal position. However she constructs the story recognising that it needs quite a strong will power to stay single. So she brings out the fact that it is better to get married rather than being fickle minded after choosing to be single. She is quite strong in her construction. She recognises that the society may criticise the single ones. However Bina advises that the single ones need not worry about it, because they have a greater opportunity to serve God. Bina goes on to say that the married person cannot serve God as much as a single person. However Bina on second thoughts claims that even a married person may serve God well if the husband is cooperative. Thus she uses the strategy of positively valuing the status of singleness quite strongly and clearly.

The complicating action of narrating about the status of singleness is resolved by Bina in her closure by acknowledging that either way, married or single, a person can serve God in whichever way God uses that person. Thus the matter is closed with positive valuing.

The manner in which the narrators construct their stories about the status of singlehood or the single status, reveals their perception of singleness not being a problem or a point for ostracisation. Some construct narratives of vehement defense and positive valuing. Thus these women do not subscribe to the picture portrayed by the academic literature about single status<sup>1483</sup> that is one of victimisation, ostracisation and helplessness.

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<sup>1482</sup> Bina – S6

<sup>1483</sup> N. S. Krishnakumari. *Status Of Single Women In India*. Uppal Publishing House, NewDelhi, 1987

## **SECTION SIX. DISCOURSE ABOUT SINGLE PARENTHOOD.**

The issue of single parenthood was also discussed in the focus groups. The term ‘single parenthood’ was used to cover any type of single parenthood, the parent being a single person unmarried, married, separated, divorced or deserted, or a widow or a widower. The narrators in their story construction did not make a fine distinction among these categories. They focused mainly on a parent having to carry on life single-handedly.

### **I. Defense against Victimisation.**

Jeyavathy, Tiny and Bina narrate their responses about single parenthood using the strategy of construction of defense against victimisation. Jeyavathy begins<sup>1484</sup> by saying that it is wrong. It is not stated what is wrong. The whole narrative does not explicitly refer to the subject matter. However the listener is expected to surmise the point of discussion. Tiny’s partial statement has no formal opening<sup>1485</sup>. In her narrative also the subject matter has to be deduced from the context of discussion. Bina begins<sup>1486</sup> by saying it is the same problem. In the opening she does not say what the problem is. However her core narrative reveals the point under discussion.

### **A. Assertions.**

In Jeyavathy’s narrative<sup>1487</sup> the complicating point is that it is wrong. Later she states that people speak ill when someone comes forward to help. She seems to refer to the help a person

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<sup>1484</sup> Jeyavathy – SP(Single Parenthood)1. The narratives about single parenthood are found in Appendix 12.

<sup>1485</sup> Tiny – SP2

<sup>1486</sup> Bina – SP3

<sup>1487</sup> Jeyavathy – SP1

The economic, social, psychological and sexual vulnerability of single women is noted in N. S. Krishnakumari, 1987, p. 7



seeks to render to a single parent. It is probable that she claims that it is wrong not to help and to speak ill. Through these short phrases and assertions she constructs a defense against victimisation.

### **B. Making the Point Implicitly.**

Tiny<sup>1488</sup> also claims that people speak ill of those who come forward to help. This once again must be the help anyone wants to give to a single parent. From this it has to be concluded that Tiny constructs a victim identity. Further she seems also to construct a defense which is implicit and not explicit. Bina<sup>1489</sup> is clearer. She specifically states that even for a father who is a single parent there are different kinds of problems. She probably expects the listener to conclude that the female single parent has problems. She makes clear statements that it is difficult to manage everything and when God places one in the situation of a single parent it is difficult to manage. This is Bina's construction of a victim identity. She also constructs an implicit defense.

All three have no formal resolution. But all of them resolve the complicating event with the claim that it is difficult. This winds up their narratives of defense against victimisation.

## **II. Advocacy.**

Four of the narrators have quite elaborate narrative pieces about their response to the issue of single parenthood. Lovely, Saral, Swarna and Jeyam construct stories of advocacy coupled with understanding and compassion. Lovely<sup>1490</sup> and Jeyam<sup>1491</sup> make it clear in the opening

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<sup>1488</sup> Tiny – SP2

<sup>1489</sup> Bina – SP3

Krishnakumari notes the problem of a single woman bringing up the children. Krishnakumari, 1987

<sup>1490</sup> Lovely – SP4

itself that they are speaking about a single parent who is a divorcee. Saral<sup>1492</sup> similar to the use by Lovely and Jeyam uses explicitly the phrase 'single parenthood' in the opening. Swarna does not indicate the subject matter in the opening<sup>1493</sup>. But the course of the narrative reveals that she is talking about a single parent who is a divorcee.

#### **A. Lamenting Style.**

Lovely<sup>1494</sup> laments that in the society there is not much mature feeling towards a divorcee. The first reaction is one of repulsion and accusation that the divorcee did not adjust. Lovely in her narrative imagination wants the listener to place her or him in the place of the divorcee and speculate what would have happened if they had been in the position of the divorcee. She complains that we look at the outward condition of the divorcee and do not realise that that person might have had a lot of problems. She recommends having a second thought. Her stance of understanding is displayed through her statement that we cannot blame the divorcee.

Further her view of having to help the divorcee is put forward by her recommendation to give the necessary mental support. Lovely proceeds to narrate about her maid who was a divorcee. She claims a deeper understanding and compassion only through having listened to the experience of her maid. She compassionately relates the pain of the maid whose boy baby was separated from the mother who was divorced. Thus Lovely has a lengthy narrative about the necessity to show understanding and compassion to help a divorcee. She constructs her story

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<sup>1491</sup> Jeyam – SP6

<sup>1492</sup> Saral – SP5

<sup>1493</sup> Swarna – SP7

<sup>1494</sup> Lovely – SP4

Some of these narrators point out the discrimination against divorced women. See Krishnakumari, 1987

of advocacy using various tools and techniques such as defense of the position of the divorcee, victimisation found in the attitude of people towards a divorcee, empathising by placing one in the situation of the divorcee and display of compassion in her recommendation to give mental support and her example of showing compassion to her maid.

## **B. 'Do Not Know'.**

Saral<sup>1495</sup> also constructs her narrative with understanding and the recommendation to help. She complains that a lot of us first have a reaction of accusation towards a divorcee. She carries further her understanding by claiming that many do not blame the boy. Often the girl is accused as not behaving properly and being arrogant. Saral adds that the accusers judge it to be a just punishment for the divorced woman. But Saral claims that we do not know who was at fault. So her solution is to help such people through the church. Her story of advocacy uses techniques of defense of the divorcee in the situation of being accused, victimisation in being blamed, empathising with the divorcee's difficult situation and recommendation for positive help.

Jeyam<sup>1496</sup> is another person of the opinion that we do not know why the divorce happened. She is against deriding the divorcee without understanding. She also follows in her narrative of understanding an unusual line of thought. She thinks that it may be God's plan. However she recommends a rebuilding of a different sort. She advocates help for the divorcee by way of remarriage or coping with a single life. Jeyam gives some positive suggestion. She suggests linking up the divorcee with some service agency to be actively involved in serving others.

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<sup>1495</sup> Saral – SP5

<sup>1496</sup> Jeyam – SP6

Thus Jeyam uses strategies of understanding, compassion and giving suggestions for practical help in her construction of a story of advocacy.

### **C. Making a Religious Claim.**

Swarna<sup>1497</sup> constructs her narrative of advocacy coupled with understanding through her claim that there must be some mistake or fault on both sides. Swarna's understanding and demand for help take a line of thought that is not taken by others. She makes a religious claim that the devil tries to separate Christian families and suggests prayer. Further she constructs her theological view that God joins a family together and does not intend to separate it later. So Swarna recommends that efforts must be taken to reconcile the divorced. She has an unusual biblical basis for her line of thought. She applies a verse about closing the breach in the walls of a city. For her reconciliation of the divorced is similar to mending the breach. Her suggestion is to help with prayer and any possible effort to lead them to reconciliation. Thus Swarna constructs her story of advocacy coupled with compassion and understanding using techniques of religious and theological claims.

All four of them close their long narratives of advocacy with the emphasis on concern and positive help. Lovely speaks of concern. Saral demands help. Swarna suggests helping the divorcee. Jeyam also recommends helping without rejection. They use similar strategies and techniques in their own ways.

All the narrators who construct their stories about single parenthood have spoken about divorcees. They construct their perceptions of defense against victimisation and advocacy to help. They bring in assertions, claims, religious or biblical points to construct their

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<sup>1497</sup> Swarna – SP7

perceptions. No single narrator has any negative perception or accusation. In their perception single parenthood has to be responded to with compassion and help. This is different from the dire situation, victimisation and helplessness of the single women, including divorcees portrayed in N. S. Krishnakumari's book<sup>1498</sup>.

## **SECTION SEVEN. DISCOURSE ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.**

The two narratives about domestic violence reveal that there is quite a bit of awareness. There are efforts taken to raise awareness also as seen from the article of Nisha Srivastava. This is based on the collection of stories about the efforts of Vanagana a women's group in Uttar Pradesh. This group organised a campaign for awareness of domestic violence by putting on a street play based on a real life incident and having a discussion.<sup>1499</sup> Neera Desai and Maithreyi Krishnaraj note that there is growing violence against women such as rape, wife beating, family violence, dowry deaths and prostitution. They also note that these women are considered as victims to be saved or as objects of welfare and not as equal participants.<sup>1500</sup>

### **I. 'For the Sake of Peace in the Family'.**

One person has constructed an elaborate narration of how a woman should respond to abusive or provocative situations in the family. Jeyavathy advocates a particular role of the woman to keep the peace of the family and bring about peace. She constructs a particular identity and role for a woman in the family. Jeyavathy begins with the word 'in the house' and does not

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<sup>1498</sup> Krishnakumari, 1987

<sup>1499</sup> Srivastava, 6Feb., 1999, pp. 453-4

Neetha has studied women domestics in Delhi. She has examined the role of the women in migration, job search and social networking. However she has also discovered social control by males, patriarchal relations and wife beating. N. Neetha, 'Making of Female Breadwinners', *EPW*, April 24-30, 2004, pp. 1681-88

<sup>1500</sup> Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, p.6. These two authors also note that there is an increase in violence against women because of absence of transformation of values and as a strategy of retaliation, Desai and Krishnaraj, 1987, p. 21

indicate about what she is narrating<sup>1501</sup>. However her narrative piece clearly indicates the subject matter and her response to the issue at hand.

The complicating point in Jeyavathy's narrative is how a woman handles domestic violence. She constructs an elaborate and descriptive story<sup>1502</sup>. She claims that often when women talk back without patience the man is angered. When the man gets angry he begins to beat with whatever he is able to get hold of. Thus she constructs a victim identity. However Jeyavathy constructs a solution that women should behave in such a way that such a provocative situation is not precipitated. She also holds that women should not do what the husband does not like. She complains that many women do not bear with the situation. Her view is that when women do not bear with patience there is a lot of fighting and quarrels in the family. She says that it is well if the woman does not talk back. Then there will be peace and happiness in the family. Thus she constructs a peace making role for the woman. She also puts forward that many women bear with patience. In some families the man drinks and beats. But the next morning the husband is quite happy. It is not stated explicitly why the husband is happy. Probably Jeyavathy expects the listener to surmise that it is because of the patient bearing of the wife. Jeyavathy does not merely advocate a course of patience on the part of the woman. She constructs a more active and constructive course to follow. She advocates the woman to pray and work out peace. She in her construction uses the tool of disapproval of the woman leaving the husband. Her argument is that it is only one life and once married the woman is supposed to be with the husband. She recommends prayer and counselling to correct and change the husband. She also claims that when a woman does this God is sure to give peace and happiness in the family. Jeyavathy seems to place the responsibility of keeping the peace

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<sup>1501</sup> Jeyavathy - V( Domestic Violence)1. The narratives about domestic violence are found in Appendix 12.

<sup>1502</sup> Jeyavathy – V1

of the family in the hands of the woman. She lists causal reasons for the break down of the peace when the woman talks back angering the man. She also provides rectification measures to avoid beating. She bases her construction on a faith claim of pastoral care.

This positive advice to pray and correct which paves the way to peace and happiness is the resolution in Jeyavathy's narrative. So there is no further formal closure. Thus her construction of a particular identity and role of the woman in the family is closed with a religious claim.

## **II. Outright Condemnation.**

One other person also has a response to the issue of domestic violence. This response is constructed along entirely different lines of thought. This narrative uses the technique of total condemnation of domestic violence by way of wife battering. Tiny is completely against wife beating. Tiny begins<sup>1503</sup> her narrative with explicit statement of the issue of discussion. She uses the word 'domestic violence'. Then she proceeds to a specific type of violence namely wife beating by the husband.

She categorically<sup>1504</sup> objects to wife beating. She holds that we should be happy with all. She is emphatic that it is wrong to beat even if the woman does anything wrong. Tiny in her construction of outright condemnation provides an alternate course of action that she could be reprimanded and corrected. Unlike Jeyavathy she holds that such behaviour will increase the problems and confusion. She not only narrates about wife beating, but also includes discriminatory treatment to relatives as being domestic violence or abuse. This is interesting

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<sup>1503</sup> Tiny – V2

<sup>1504</sup> Tiny – V2

that she constructs her story recognising both physical and emotional abuse as parts of domestic violence. Her argument is that Christians must love one another. Thus Tiny constructs a story of vehement objection to and condemnation of domestic violence of any type, physical, emotional or psychological. She reinforces again and again that wife beating is wrong. By raising the question whether the wife is a child to be beaten, she by implication makes the point that an adult should not be beaten. This is also evident in the statement that by beating any mistake cannot be corrected. Beating will only cause more confusion. So Tiny claims that it is obvious that beating is not the solution by emphasising the problems of beating. Having constructed her narrative of outright condemnation and objection to domestic violence Tiny closes her narrative without any further debate or question.

These narratives do not portray or construct any active rationalisation, defense or justification of domestic violence. But while Tiny constructs a story of outright condemnation, Jeyavathy's perception and construction may be different. She does not accept domestic violence, as it exists. But she constructs a story of finding ways of circumventing, removing, handling or negotiating with domestic violence with the woman responding to it with positive attitudes of patience and prayer. This in Jeyavathy's perception does not demean or degrade the woman. It is only a positive response to handle the situation and change it. This is not found in the literature about domestic violence.<sup>1505</sup> Probably Jeyavathy's perception and construction stems from her Christian belief that the woman is patient for the sake of the peace of the family and attempts to change the situation with prayer.

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<sup>1505</sup> Ghadially, 1988, pp. 151-166



## SECTION EIGHT. DISCOURSE ABOUT RESPONSE TO SEX WORKERS

The response of the narrators to the issue of sex workers has been quite varied.<sup>1506</sup> The members construct their narratives using various strategies, techniques and tools.

### I. Positive Defense.

Quite a few participants construct their narratives that touch upon the different aspects of the issue of sex workers. However these narrators use the strategy of positive defense combined with the demand for loving practical action and help. Udhaya, Bina, Mariam, Lovely, Saral and Swarna all advocate loving help to sex workers in the construction of their narratives of defense.

Udhaya does not specify about what she is speaking. She just begins by saying that it is wrong<sup>1507</sup>. Bina openly begins sympathizing with those involved in sex work<sup>1508</sup>. Mariam opens with the recognition that some are forced into sex work<sup>1509</sup>. Lovely opens with disapproval of sex work<sup>1510</sup>. Saral begins in a strange manner of asking whether sex work is found in the Christian community. But later she recognises that the discussion is about sex work in general<sup>1511</sup>. Swarna opens like some others with disapproval of sex work<sup>1512</sup>. However she also proceeds with her narrative of defense and demand for positive practical help.

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<sup>1506</sup> There is a historical study of growth, suppression and control of prostitution in Madras. Sundara Raj, 1993

<sup>1507</sup> Udhaya – SW(Sex Work)1. The narratives about response to sex workers are found in Appendix 12.

<sup>1508</sup> Bina – SW3

<sup>1509</sup> Mariam – SW2

<sup>1510</sup> Lovely – SW4

<sup>1511</sup> Saral – SW5

<sup>1512</sup> Swarna – SW6

### **A. Compassion to those Forced into it.**

Udhaya<sup>1513</sup> argues that sex workers are in it because they do not have other options. However she recommends a positive attitude of love and affection without rejection. She avoids victimisation. Mariam<sup>1514</sup> recognises that some are forced into sex work while some take it up for income. She roots her story in the biblical example of Jesus forgiving the Samaritan woman and the woman caught in adultery, providing examples to support her stance. Thus her construction is a defense. She like the others recommends working for the liberation and development of those in sex work.

### **B. Explicit Use of God's Forgiveness.**

Bina has a lengthy narrative<sup>1515</sup> touching upon various aspects of sex work. She recognises that some are forced into it. She recommends a positive line of action of helping them to come out of it. Thus she constructs her story of defense. It is interesting to note that Bina brings in faith content. She advocates telling the sex workers about God and helping them come out of sex work. She also adds that we do not condemn them which is a positive defense. However she does not approve of those who persist in sex work. Even for these she suggests the way out. She claims that when God forgives we cannot blame them. Bina proceeds elaborately to describe those who are allured by sex work. However it is interesting to note that Bina also says that after a sex worker has given up that we should neither remember it nor bring it up. Thus she constructs an identity of a transformed life.

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<sup>1513</sup> Udhaya – SW1

<sup>1514</sup> Mariam – SW2

Some like Mariam explicitly state that some sex workers are forced into it. Compare what Devaki Jain says about some sex workers being victims to treachery. Devaki Jain ed. *Indian Women*. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1975, p. 263

<sup>1515</sup> Bina – SW3

Lovely begins<sup>1516</sup> by disapproving of sex work rooting it in the biblical view of sin. Then she uses the strategy of demanding acceptance of sex workers while rejecting sex work. She like the others roots her argument in God's forgiveness and restoration of them to a good path. Many of these narrators use the technique of avoiding the construction of a victim identity or victimisation. Lovely recommends that we should help them as good companions. This is quite interesting because of the indicating of positive course of action.

### **C. Advocating Help to Come Out of sex work.**

Saral's narrative is similar to those of others<sup>1517</sup>. She disapproves of and rejects sex work. However she also roots the cause of women's entry into sex work in economic problem or the family situation or lack of parental love. She recommends helping the sex workers to come out of it. Swarna also follows a narrative construction similar to the others. She disapproves of sex work<sup>1518</sup>. However she also recommends that we help them to come out of it and pray for them. She constructs an identity of normal life for those who come out. Her argument is rooted in God's acceptance of anyone and every one that she uses as the basis for demanding that God's children should not reject anyone. Thus almost all of them construct stories of defense and delineate a practical line of action to help the sex workers to come out of sex work.

All six of these narrators having constructed their stories of positive defense close their narratives with the recommendation to help the sex workers to come out of the work. This

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<sup>1516</sup> Lovely – SW4

<sup>1517</sup> Saral – SW5

<sup>1518</sup> Swarna – SW6

emphatic recommendation itself serves as the closure with no other formal ending. For these narrators there is no further debate or questioning or gainsaying.

## **II. Positive Acceptance.**

Two women Flora and Jeyam construct their narratives about sex workers using the strategy of positive acceptance. Their narratives do not condone sex work or the sex industry but their positive acceptance is constructed about those who are caught in the web of sex work. These narrators may not as the previous set of narrators explicitly work out a line of practical help for the sex workers to come out of it; however, they do display similar positive acceptance of the sex workers.

Flora and Jeyam open their narratives differently. Flora begins<sup>1519</sup> by constructing a story of acceptance without rejection. This opening does not explicitly reveal the issue under consideration. In fact the whole narrative does not mention the issue of response to sex workers. However it is expected to be understood. Jeyam explicitly opens using the term ‘prostitution’ and does not leave any room for doubt about the matter under discussion<sup>1520</sup>.

The main thrust of Flora’s construction<sup>1521</sup> is not merely not rejecting the sex workers. She also like some others roots her argument in the fact that Jesus did not reject any one. She bases her construction on Jesus’ saying that the harlots shall enter heaven. Her contention is that when they are shown love they come out of it and if we hate them they continue in their sin.

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<sup>1519</sup> Flora – SW7

<sup>1520</sup> Jeyam – SW8

<sup>1521</sup> Flora – SW7

Jeyam uses the strategy<sup>1522</sup> of recommending an effort to know the reasons for the sex workers involved in such a life style. She lists some reasons for the sex workers to be caught up in it. They might have gone astray, and, not being able to come into mainstream society after a bad experience, they may have entered sex work for lack of other options. They may have been orphaned or in financial need. She claims inside knowledge from her acquaintance with social workers. She uses her acknowledgement of the pain of hearing the histories of various sex workers to construct her story of positive acceptance.

Similar to the other narratives about sex workers these two also do not have any formal closure. Probably having constructed their stories of positive acceptance they do not feel the necessity to have any further formal ending.

### **III. Apparent Ambivalence.**

Tiny constructs her narrative using a strategy that appears to be ambivalent. It is neither outright condemnation nor unconditional acceptance. Tiny's opening<sup>1523</sup> does not indicate explicitly the subject matter of her narrative. Probably in spite of this lack of explicit mention of the issue throughout the narrative the listener is expected to understand the issue.

Tiny<sup>1524</sup> uses repetition to emphasise that those who get caught unawares in sex work may be forgiven and helped to come out of it. On the other hand she is quite clear in her disapproval of those who purposely get involved in sex work and persist in it. But at one point she constructs some approval of help for them also. She even recommends informing the

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<sup>1522</sup> Jeyam – SW8

<sup>1523</sup> Tiny – SW9

<sup>1524</sup> Tiny – SW9

government to help the sex workers to come out of it. Tiny is not ambivalent. It is probable that she in her mind constructs two categories of sex workers, the ones caught unaware in it and those who purposely enter sex work and persist in it. Her construction of these two different identities elicits different lines of construction in her narrative. However for both she advocates practical positive help.

Tiny also has no formal ending of her narrative. Having constructed her story of two different categories of sex workers and advocacy for both she completes the narrative.

#### **IV. Identity Construction Rooted in Causal Factors.**

Jeyavathy in her narrative elaborately uses examples from real life to construct an identity of sex workers rooting it in causal factors. Jeyavathy's narrative does not explicitly state the context of the issue in the beginning<sup>1525</sup>. But her elaborate construction clearly displays the issue.

Right at the outset Jeyavathy<sup>1526</sup> roots the cause for the behaviour of the children in the upbringing by the parents. Then she proceeds to narrate a real life example to support her point. She says that in one family the mother herself involved the daughters in sex work. Jeyavathy bases this in the causal factor of poverty. However she does not accept the rationale. She rejects the causal factor of poverty because she constructs a theological understanding that if we ask God, God would set us free from poverty. Jeyavathy's contention is that God does not want us to be poor. She also proposes that those who do not know this involve their young daughters in sex work. Though Jeyavathy does not approve of parents selling their daughters

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<sup>1525</sup> Jeyavathy – SW10

<sup>1526</sup> Jeyavathy – SW10

for sex work she constructs her story using the tool of sympathy. She however expresses her disapproval emphatically. Jeyavathy's solution is to send the children to Sunday school. This according to her will help the children to love the Lord. Apart from this Jeyavathy also recommends parental discipline encouraging the children to read the Bible and pray. This will keep the children from becoming wayward. She also points out the distraction of the television to mislead or misguide parents and children. Her final solution is praying for the children. Thus Jeyavathy disapproves of sex work but also suggests remedial measures of parental discipline and faith nurture as ways to bring up children.

Jeyavathy having suggested the solution to bring up children with discipline and faith nurture leaves her narrative without a formal closure. Her remedial solution suffices.

## **V. Blaming the Woman.**

There is one narrative in which the narrator uses the technique of blaming the woman for the continuance and flourishing of sex work. However Bina's construction does not seem to display vehement condemnation. She begins<sup>1527</sup> her narrative with the identity construction of women being used as a commodity. However she does not specifically explicate at the beginning what this identity construction of commodity of being used means. But her narrative as it proceeds displays her argument.

Bina's whole argument<sup>1528</sup> seems to hinge on the fact that if women do not give in or make themselves available, the sex industry cannot flourish. Thus she seems to fault the women. Her narrative however is interspersed with the recognition of the part of the men also. But

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<sup>1527</sup> Bina – SW11

<sup>1528</sup> Bina – SW11

ultimately she seems to place the onus on the women. She says that many men have a weakness and women exploit that weakness for the sake of money. She holds that if the women were not available men would stay with their own wives and family. However she recognises that according to what the Lord has said, lust on the part of anyone is sin and adultery<sup>1529</sup>. Then she moves once again to her initial construction of different identities for women and men. She holds that women have less sexual urge and some men definitely need a sexual partner. Bina approves of the solution for the sexual urge of men to be resolved in the pattern of each one having his own wife. But Bina disapproves of women who exploit such men and make them fall into their net. She also argues that sex cannot be had unless the woman also is willing to give place. She holds that only in rape sex can be forced on a person. She makes it clear that we are not talking about rape but prostitution. So it is the woman who instigates. Thus she seems to construct a story faulting the woman. Though Bina blames men who go to other women leaving their wives, ultimately she blames women for the greater role of women in the continuance of the sex industry.

Thus having laid the blame at the feet of the women who entice men and encourage sex work Bina closes her narrative.

## **VI. Vehement Disapproval.**

Some of the participants in their narratives display vehement disapproval of sex workers. It is possible that their disapproval is not of the sex workers as persons but of sex work. Ranjithamani, Saguna and Gem construct their narratives with a display of outright negative disapproval.

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<sup>1529</sup> Matthew 5: 28



All three indicate that they are speaking about young girls or women. Ranjithamani<sup>1530</sup> does not say what her narrative about young girls is. Saguna directly opens<sup>1531</sup> with her statement that it is terrible to make children a commodity. She probably means young women or girls. Gem begins by providing the reason for women to go astray<sup>1532</sup>.

Ranjithamani constructs her narrative<sup>1533</sup> on the basis of what she has heard and seen in real life. She describes in detail how the sex work is carried on using young girls. She points out how it is made a moneymaking industry. She bemoans the fact that for the sake of money and love of money girls are used in the sex work. She reveals her pain at having seen this though she disapproves of it. She also proposes a positive remedy of fear of God, fear of Jesus Christ to be freed from this wrong path. She not only proposes a remedy but also indicates her positive action of praying for this. Again she narrates some concrete examples she has witnessed. She clearly constructs a story of vehement disapproval.

Saguna<sup>1534</sup> is also clear and emphatic in her disapproval of making children a commodity. She must be referring to young girls. She roots it in the causal factor of financial need. However she does not mince words to construct her disapproval. She also proposes a faith based solution of prayer. It is interesting to note that Saguna goes on to say that we must pray that such practices are not followed in Christian families. It is not clear why she uses this distinction of Christian families.

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<sup>1530</sup> Ranjithamani – SW12

<sup>1531</sup> Saguna – SW13

<sup>1532</sup> Gem – SW14

<sup>1533</sup> Ranjithamani – SW12

<sup>1534</sup> Saguna – SW13

Gem<sup>1535</sup> bases the reason for girls going astray on the lack of discipline at home. However Gem recognises that in families that do not have male children a necessity arises for girls to do everything. It is strange that Gem constructs a story of the possibility of girls to go astray when they have to go out for errands while accepting the fact that the girl children have to go out for errands when there is no boy in the family. She further provides a case in which the father had deserted the family and the mother with four daughters looked to the eldest for financial support. Having to please the mother the eldest daughter had to borrow or resort to wrong means. So Gem proposes the solution to be content with what little one has but with fear of God which will be a blessing. It is strange that Gem here digresses to some comment about the children of teachers, catechists and pastors. She probably constructs for these children an identity of being mischievous. It is not clear what is the thrust or purpose of her construction at this point.

Ranjithamani closes with her vehement disapproval that it is wrong to use young girls in sex work. Saguna closes with her suggestion to pray. Gem leaves her narrative open with the identity construction about the children of certain category of people. All these three women construct narratives of vehement disapproval of sex work. Their narrative may not show any antagonism against the sex workers. Thus the participants construct various narratives to display their responses to the issue of sex workers.

These narratives show the awareness of these women and their perceptions of positive compassion advocating help. Some seem to show ambivalence, blaming the woman and disapproval. But it is not a total rejection that demeans the sex workers. Those who disapprove

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<sup>1535</sup> Gem – SW14

construct their stories to reveal their attitude of disapproval of the practice and not the person. The storytellers by constructing narratives showing the causal factors that some are forced into it due to economic reasons and for social reasons of lack of love and care display their perception of compassion. The academic literature<sup>1536</sup> seems to resonate with the perceptions of these women. But, being Christians, only these women construct stories displaying God's forgiveness.

## CONCLUSION.

In this chapter the narratives about many different issues have been analysed. The women narrators who are situated in the society with these issues orient themselves to these issues using various strategies, techniques and tools. They use:

- positive valuing
- construction of equality or no discrimination
- outright condemnation
- technique of bemoaning
- moralising
- identity construction
- acceptance
- victim identity
- strategy of angry response
- disapproval
- contrast
- making a faith or a religious claim

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<sup>1536</sup> Tellis-Nayak, 1983, pp. 97-104

- basing on biblical material
- drawing from personal example and experience
- suggesting a solution
- rooting in culture
- rationalisation
- justification
- strategy of positive compassion
- pattern of opportunity
- strategy of no problem
- defense
- advocacy
- apparent ambivalence
- blaming.

With these methods they construct identities. Thus they build stories about who a woman is.

In building self-perception and self-construction they display a **positive valuing of a girl child**, equality or no discrimination between a girl and a boy, outright condemnation of female infanticide and feticide, considering the girl child better, contrast between boys and girls and bemoaning the treatment given to girl children. There is a view rejecting the use of contraceptives and abortion.

**The issue of childlessness drew responses of acceptance**, suggesting a solution for change, claiming children as gifts of God and God being the giver of children, seeing a positive value with advantage, pointing to victim identity construction and rejection of such identity and ill treatment, defense of the childless, moralising and suggesting solutions such as adoption.

**The practice of dowry is categorically disapproved of** by most of the narrators displaying an angry response to victimisation. However this has been also made problematic. So some resort to rationalisation, justification and explanation. Some of the reasons pointed out are the fear of parents that the girl may not be married, culture and financial need of some families. However a better option of sharing the expenses is also stated.

**The discussion of widowhood brought out responses of positive compassion** recognising the difficulties and needs of widows, leading to suggestions and recommendations to help in practical ways. The contrast between the different treatments of widows in different communities is brought out. While angry disapproval of mean or ill treatment is displayed the biblical pattern of God's concern and care for the widow is also highlighted. The positive value of freedom and opportunity for greater service is also recognised. Single status is accepted. Any victimisation or faulting or accusing or denigration is disapproved with defense of the position of the single ones.

**The situation of single parenthood** especially of divorcees draws compassionate understanding and acceptance recommending help. The victimisation of accusation and faulting is vehemently condemned. This recognises the tendency in society to blame the woman without deeper understanding. So advocacy is proposed.

**Domestic violence brings out two types of response.** One is that of laying the burden at the feet of the woman, requiring her to be patient and not provocative, and to keep the peace of the house while resorting to counselling and praying. The other view displays outright disapproval and condemnation of any type of domestic violence, physical, emotional and psychological.

**The issue of sex work also draws a variety of responses.** There is a positive acceptance with the recognition to help the sex workers to come out of their situation. The causal reasons such as being forced into it because of deception, lack of love in the family and economic need are also pointed out. However positive attitude of compassion and understanding is displayed. Some show disapproval probably of sex work and not the sex worker. Biblical examples of compassion and forgiveness are upheld.

Thus the narrators in responding to these various social issues display a variety of views and attitudes. They position themselves in their social milieu with these social issues to display their self-perception and self-construction in the context of these issues. Their stories cannot be fitted into well-defined slots of academic discussion. In the discussions above the difference between some of these responses and the academic literature has been pointed out. For example, Jeyavathy's construction about domestic violence has no parallel in the academic discussion. She brings in her Christian belief in advocating patience and prayer to change the situation. Similarly the academic literature about dowry, single status, single parenthood, childlessness and response to sex work portray pictures of helplessness and demeaning treatment. But these narrators would construct their stories by pointing to a way to handle the situation or problem. The distinct contribution is their rooting in their religious beliefs and biblical material with a faith claim. Particularly the response to sex workers has stories of pointing to God's forgiveness. This Christian background that informs their perceptions and enables their constructions is unique to this Christian community. This contributes to the overall aim of the research that is to elicit the self perception and self construction of these women from their narratives.

Having analysed the narratives of the storytellers in the particular components of their lived experiences, I move on to draw some significant conclusions from the study.

## CONCLUSIONS

Having analysed the narratives of the women members of the sample group and displayed the results, some conclusions may be presented. These conclusions specifically emerge out of this study. Further these conclusions pertain to the methodology, the sample and the results of the analysis of the narratives.

The findings of the research suggest that the self perception and self construction of the women of the sample group do not match the current rhetoric of gender studies about Indian women. It has been pointed out that gender research about Indian women depict Indian women to be oppressed and subordinated. The stories of the women in their perception and performance of identity construction display women who enjoy freedom, equality and opportunities for education and career. These also show that these women are actively involved in church and issues of women prominent in their society.

These women display identity construction using various strategies, techniques and tools of story telling to produce a 'tellable story' that fits their commonsense understanding. It is important to note that the narratives display the self perception and self construction of the narrators and not the opinions and ideas about them put forward by others. The identity is not one single monolithic or stereotyped one. The women are neither anti-men nor radical feminists. Their identity is complex, multifaceted and multifarious with many parts. They perceive and project themselves as significant members of the community and family, able and willing to support, negotiate with and strategise along with other members of the family and the community.

To produce 'tellable stories' about relationships in the family, they use strategies such as

- conformity to equality,
- equal treatment of children,
- rationalisation,
- justification
- explanation,
- construction of women's control,
- valorisation,
- conformity to culture,
- non-conformist experience,
- contrast,
- construction of various identities and that of
- victim identity.

Examples of these strategies used in the construction of stories of spousal relationship and treatment of children are given in the next paragraph.

Melody, Arunkumari, Mariam, Joy, Priya, Lita, Kamala, Bina and Ranjithamani tell stories of how the spousal relationship was one of togetherness. Many such as Udhaya, Amar, Ranjithamani, Melody, Priya and others explicitly and implicitly in these narrative pieces claim that there was no differential treatment between sons and daughters.

Some such as Joy rationalise the division of labour as domestic and social. Gem justifies her only son helping her in chores though it was not the practice in her family for men to involve in domestic chores. Swarna explains how her mother took care of the family responsibilities while her father was away and could have workers to take care of the lands. Devar constructs



a story of her mother having been in control of the family. Gem valorises her husband not sharing in domestic chores by stating that she neither liked it nor allowed it. Ranjithamani portrays how her father conformed to culture in the treatment of children in not allowing the daughter much freedom to go out alone after she had come of age. Lila tells how she did not conform to culture in allowing her daughter to mix with boys. Lita uses contrast to portray the difference in her husband's background of male domination and her background of her having been brought up with freedom to go out and do chores such as shopping and booking rail tickets meant for men.

Joy constructs an identity of a strong person in her narrative about her mother who took care of everything. Bina has a story of victim identity about chore sharing in her marital home; but her story of spousal relationship is one of equality. From these narratives and story construction it may be concluded that these women use various strategies to portray their self perception and self construction.

Religion for these women is very important and shapes their belief and behaviour. However it is not religion as a set of rules and regulations or doctrines and philosophical ideals but religion as they understand and interpret it for themselves in their daily life and practice. This is seen not only in how they interpret some of its regulations such as head covering as not implying subordination, but how they draw on religion to regulate their views of other areas of life such as widowhood, single parenthood and sex work. Thus religion is not an oppressive tool to subordinate or suppress them but an active agent to shape their gender practice. They perceive women's involvement in church activities as valuable and powerful. Their perceptions of women teaching, preaching and participating in church administration also receives approval from examples drawn from their own lives and those of others. If there is

any disapproval it may be explained away and not exclude women totally from active involvement in church activities. Women's ordination is not seen as a symbol of equality and freedom while the disapproval of it also is not seen oppressive and discriminatory.

The narratives about head covering and headship of husband also display perceptions and constructions that bring out the picture that these do not suppress or oppress women because the storytellers pour in their own content, reinterpret or invert these concepts. This counters some of the claims made about religion in academic studies such as the complementarian view of evangelical theology that assign a subordinate position to women under the authority of men. This view does not allow women to preach and teach. It advocates head covering of women during worship and submission to the rule of the husband as symbols of the subordinate position of women and authority-submission hierarchical pattern in man-woman relationship.

What has been said above about the self understanding, self perception and self construction of these women adds another facet to the understanding of Indian women especially Indian Christian women. These women strategise, negotiate and use many methods to display their understanding of their self perception and self construction. They are vigorous actors in their performance of their identity construction. They are not passive objects but active subjects in their construction of their narratives about their gender practice.

The conclusions that may be suggested with respect to the methodology and method used in this study are both positive and negative. The method of story telling is quite conducive, comfortable and enjoyable for these women. Story telling is for them a habitual art as Christian women used to give testimonies and share their experiences. It may even be

suggested that they prefer the narrative method to other methods because of its versatility, flexibility and open-ended nature.

However it has to be noted that the narrative method like any other method has its own limitations. The researcher has chosen selected facets of their gender practice. It is possible to raise the question of 'truth'. But on the other hand it has been noted about the narrative methodology, about the construction of 'self' and particularly about 'truth' in narrative method, that it is not 'truth' but the 'social meaning' of the self perception and self construction of the narrators. It is the significance of the perception and construction of these stories. The focus is on how these narrators construct their stories of self perception and self construction.

This study brings out the fact that the narrative method elicits a different perspective about the women of the sample group in comparison with the picture portrayed about Indian women in academic discussions and standard textbooks. This discrepancy is described in the sections of conclusion in chapter four, chapter five and chapter six. The distinct contribution of Christian women about the social issues is described in the conclusion of chapter seven. The narrative method is also different because it represents the self perception of the women themselves as subjects and not a picture of the women as objects. It may be possible to extrapolate this to Indian Christian women and Indian women.

If the findings are valid for this sample and if they may be true for other samples, then the strategies of work or ministry among women particularly among these women and similar samples have to be carefully reworked and revised. Any rhetoric about these women has to take into account the self perception and self construction of these women regarding them as

subjects and not as objects. The discussions about Indian women in standard textbooks are that they are subordinated and oppressed. The feminist discussion that subscribes to this view of Indian women tries to portray them as trapped and imprisoned by family, church and society. So they would try to conscientise them with strategies for awareness raising to break their 'prison walls' and seek their freedom. But these women do not present a picture of imprisonment within the walls of family, church and society. They present a picture of freedom, equality, strength, power and well-being. This sense of well-being has to be strengthened. Their self perception and self construction of equality, freedom and power have to be enhanced and encouraged. Their experiences may also be presented as models for others. Further research can be taken up along numerous lines. Similar study may be carried out for Christian women elsewhere in India and outside India. Several studies may be carried out with the same sample or similar sample choosing various other categories of their gender practice. It is possible to examine the same categories working out further probing into their strategies and methods used in their story telling and dealing with questions such as 'why' and 'how'. Studies using sample groups in a different geographical location, embedded in a different cultural milieu, hailing from different ethnic or racial background, possessing varying economic, religious and linguistic background, may be undertaken. It may be possible to select sample groups with homogenous properties with respect to age, culture, language, religion, background, educational level and career experience.

Thus the aim of this research to uncover the gender practice of the narrators from their stories of their lived experiences has shown that their stories do not fit the discussions about Indian women in standard text books. Their experiences cannot be put into well defined boxes of academic discussions. They reveal the self perception and self construction of the narrators as subjects. These women are not presented as objects of the viewpoint of somebody else. Their

stories are varied and multifaceted. Their self perception and self construction present these women as active performers and shapers of their experiences without oppressive domination by family, church and society. They use various strategies of story telling to produce a 'tellable' story of their experiences. They strategise and negotiate along with other members of the family and society to construct their identities. The picture that emerges is a community of women who are strong, powerful, able, free enjoying equality and well being.

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## **APPENDIX 1**

### **THE CONTEXT AND SETTING OF THE STUDY AND THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHURCH CHOSEN FOR THE FIELD WORK**

#### **I. Introduction.**

In the exploratory study, a questionnaire has been distributed during the period February 1999 to April 1999 to educated Indian women who are not part of the sample group chosen for the field study. The responses to some forty of the questionnaires have been received. Also, a female facilitator of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in Bargur block of the Dharmapuri district of Tamil Nadu in India has been interviewed along with the social worker and some animators of the 100 women's groups. Two focus groups of discussion of the issues arising out of the interviews and responses to the questionnaire have been held with Christian educated women, one in Bangalore and one in Vellore.

The intense focused field work was done by interviewing the female members of the families which are members of the Risen Redeemer's Church of South India (CSI) church in Kodambakkam, Chennai. Six focus groups were conducted to collect the narratives of these women. The material for the focus group discussions was provided. These were Bible study outlines based on some select passages in the Bible relating to women in creation, the man – woman relationship in family and church and the involvement of women in church worship. This is a descriptive study using a combination of questionnaire-reports, interviews and

observations.<sup>1537</sup> It is used to assess the status of the topic of study – gender practice of Indian Christian women.

## **II. The problem.**

The central research question is what does it mean to be a Tamil Indian Christian woman in Chennai, India at the turn of the millennium. This broad question can be split into some sub-questions: 1. What is the self-identity these women have within the network of the family relationships? 2. How do they view their access to or lack of opportunities for education and career? 3. What is their self-image of their involvement in church?

## **III. The Context and Setting of the Sample Chosen for the Intense Field Work.**

### **A. The sample group chosen for the field study.**

The women of the families which are members of the CSI Risen Redeemer's church, Kodambakkam, Chennai, have been chosen at random. More will be said about the sample in the section on 'entry into the field'.

### **B. Geographical location.**

The church is on the first cross street, United India Colony<sup>1538</sup>, Kodambakkam, the street leading in front of the Liberty theatre and hence known as the 'liberty church' to locate and to differentiate it from the Roman Catholic Fatima church on the fourth cross street of the United India Colony and church of the Evangelical Church of India and Tamil Baptist church in Trustpuram, and the Assemblies of God in Zackriah colony of the Kodambakkam area.

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<sup>1537</sup>At the early initial stage one book has been consulted for the descriptive research method. L. R. Gay. *Educational Research. Competencies for Analysis and Application*. Merrill Publishing Company, Columbus, Ohio, Third edition, 1987, first ed. 1976

<sup>1538</sup>This area which is named United India Colony was promoted by the United India Insurance company which procured the land and distributed it for housing

The members of the congregation mainly live in the following areas:

1. United India Colony
2. Taylor's Estate
3. Railway quarters
4. Akkbarabad
5. Patel street
6. Rangarajapuram
7. Subramanianagar
8. Azeeznagar
9. Trustpuram, Minor trustpuram
10. Ganganagar, Sivankoil street, Gangai ammankoil street, Power House and Ram theatre areas, Kamaraj colony, Ashoknagar, Kalaignar Karunanidhi Nagar
11. Zackria colony, Choolaimedu, Gill Nagar, Metha Nagar
12. Vadapalani and Salaigramam

Few active members have moved away to West Annanagar and Padi, but continue to attend the services and take part in the other activities of the Risen Redeemer's church. These are persons who have moved away from the Kodambakkam area and still continue to retain their membership in this church, attending worship and being involved in the activities of this church.



## C. The setting of the Kodambakkam area.

### 1. Geographical setting.

The Kodambakkam area lies west of the Chennai Beach-Tambaram railway line. It is one of the areas developed as the Chennai (then known as Madras) city (now a metropolis) began to expand west of the railway line in the fifties. It is between West Mambalam on the south and Choolaimedu on the north. Some of the early members of this church remember that some forty or fifty years ago, even on the eastern side of the railway line, the area between Nungambakkam (an adjacent area) and Kodambakkam, was a huge orchard of all kinds of trees, belonging to one man.<sup>1539</sup> The area from Mambalam to Mylapore was full of orchards and *tooppu* (gardens or orchards of certain fruitbearing trees) belonging to a petty king and the area from Mylapore to the eastern seashore (present-day Mandavelli and Foreshore Estate) were full of beautiful sand dunes.<sup>1540</sup> Vadapalani, the western periphery of Kodambakkam, began to expand only in the seventies. Interestingly, Vadapalani is the area where the cine world is - studios and other places of film producing industry. Even in 1970 when the parents of the researcher moved into the Kodambakkam area, the areas beyond Vadapalani were still paddy fields and *topes* of mango trees and coconut trees. At present by the turn of the century, Kodambakkam being well within the metropolis is no more the growing edge of the city.

The geographical setting places Kodambakkam close to the Beach – Tambaram electric train line (the commuter line) which gives greater facility of mobility to those who live here. The Kodambakkam overbridge arches across the railtrack which makes the connection between the east and west sides of the railtrack feasible. The electric train also gives the facility to reach

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<sup>1539</sup>Mrs. Rajakani, a member of the original group which worshipped in the car-shed of late Mrs. Sophie Selvanayagam's house, says that this was so when she got married and came to Madras and her late husband was in charge of this huge orchard

<sup>1540</sup>Mrs. Leela Paul, was seven years old when India gained its independence and recalls this and many other interesting points regarding the cloistering of the upper caste women and the celebration of Independence

the two main rail stations – the Chennai Central and Egmore stations, from which the trains from Chennai to other parts of India run. The electric train on this commuter line is quite frequent and starts at about 4.00am and the last train is at about 12.00pm.

## **2. Socio-economic and cultural setting of the Kodambakkam area.**

Socio-culturally the area has a variety of people from various caste background. Apart from the Tamilians from the other parts of the State, there are Malayalees (Keralites) and Telugu people, who have moved in from the neighbouring States. The socio-cultural background of this area is unlike some other parts of Chennai city where there are clusters of Marwadis (from the Marwar or Rajput region of Rajasthan) migrated some centuries ago at the time of the Islamic invasion into the western part of the then-known India (now Pakistan and western India); Sourashtras from Gujarat and Marathas from the Marathi (ruled by Sivaji who opposed the Moghul expansion) region; Naickers pushed from the Telugu Nayak kingdom by the Muslim rulers (There are two types or castes of people who were pushed from the Nayak or Vijayanagara Empire. One caste is the Reddy, the descendants of the royal family and the other is the Naickers, the administrators and financial managers - *kaNakkappiLLai*. However, now the Reddy caste people whether they are from Andhra or Karnataka or Tamil Nadu are the business people<sup>1541</sup>); Telugu sweeper-caste people from the Baptist mission regions of Nellore and Guntur where the LoneStar Mission saw a huge conversion movement among the depressed people, who migrated for work; Gujarathis, migrated fairly recently due to the population density in Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay) and for the sake of finding a market for their textile products from Surat and Ahmedabad areas of Gujarat. The Telugu people of Kodambakkam are distinct from the other Telugu migrants in that they are from the

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<sup>1541</sup>Information provided in a conversation with the researcher's computer engineer, Gopi Reddy, who hails from *jamindar*, rich landlord families in Arakonam and Jolarpet areas; his forefathers came to Tamil Nadu from the Vijayanagara empire about a century ago

upper castes unlike the Andhra Malas and Madigas of Nellore-Guntur region; they are neither the early migrants like the Naickers nor the recent ones who are involved in timber or pearl and gold jewellery business, but are those who migrated because of the film industry.

None of the people living in the Kodambakkam area can boast of their ancestors having lived there since several centuries, since the entire area is one of city expansion and development. This socio-geographical setting of the area being a newly developed one has given the flexibility for its residents to grow out of their socio-cultural moulds and traditions and the opportunity to attempt innovative patterns.

### **3. The socio-economic background.**

The economic background of the population of the Kodambakkam area is varied - from the rich to the poor. Though not an elite residential area, it is an area where all facilities are available. Like many other the so-called *brahmin* (where a lot of Brahmins live) areas (Mambalam, Mylapore, Adyar etc.), fresh vegetables and fruits and other commodities are always available and comparatively cheap unlike some other areas like Jamaliam which is becoming an area where many are building houses and moving in, but into a not-an-affluent or freshly developing area and not higher up in the economic scale. It is also not a congested area like Purasawalkam or George Town or Royapuram. Though many of the older houses with a lot of compound space have been given to the building promoters to build four-storey apartments, they are not congested like areas in Egmore, Vepery, Purasawalkam and Kellys where the recent Gujarathi migrants have built colonies of several blocks of nine-storey apartments; further, the reason for not being congested is the care taken to build only four storeys and to leave a lot of space around and in-between the buildings. The cost of living goes up if it is an area where the top-scale rich have been living (Nungambakkam, Adyar,

Besantnagar, Raja Annamalaipuram) or where the moneyed people move in (rich Malayalees in Chetput; Sri Lankan Tamils in Annanagar; Gujarathis in Purasawalkam). The conglomerate nature of the economic background is also due to the variegated nature of the work in which the inhabitants of the area are involved (unlike Perambur and Ayanavaram where most of them are employed in the railways).

The environment of the Kodambakkam area in its socio-cultural, economic and temporal setting delivers public goods such as good roads, transport, petrol stations, markets, shopping facilities, restaurants and hotels, computer centres, postal and telephone facilities, metro water facilities, sewerage and drainage systems, schools and colleges, worship places of temples, mosques and churches, theatres and hospitals, cinema theatres, parks and play grounds.

#### **D. The socio-cultural background of the sample group.**

##### **1. The linguistic background of the members.**

The members of the CSI Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam are predominately Tamilians with one or two Malayalees, Tamil-speaking Telugus and Anglo-Indian. However, due to the fact that many of the members are educated with knowledge of English and that many of the children are educated in English medium schools, many of the sample group are bi-lingual.

##### **2. The socio-cultural background.**

Apart from the few who are not Tamil people, the Tamil members are conglomerate in their socio-cultural background. They belong to the Nadar and Vellala people from the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu and to other caste groups from the Arakonam and Chingleput districts around Chennai.

Female education is not an issue or an opportunity to be fought for or a privilege of few. All women are educated. Women may either take up a career or be housewives. Employment and career are not seen as necessary or a necessary index of status or independence.

Marriage for women is seen to be the socio-cultural norm though there is some flexibility for women to choose the life of unmarried spinster. But marriage is not viewed as a necessary evil or a fettering imprisonment.

The pattern in a metropolis such as Chennai is that women of the older generations having been used to wearing a *saree* would mostly wear a *saree*. Many of the women from sixty downward would at home or at night wear a long housecoat. Some of the middle-aged women would wear a *churidar*. As for those below thirty or twenty it is not strange for them to wear either a *saree* or a *half-saree* or a *churidar* or a western dress, such as a dress or jeans or skirt and blouse. Many of the younger girls would wear an Indian long skirt and blouse. A few of the older women ride a cycle or a two-wheeler or drive a car. In the younger age group more women and girls ride a bi-cycle or a two-wheeler or drive a car. This gives them greater mobility.

### **3. The economic background.**

The economic background of the congregation members is varied, from the affluent (not the top-rich) to the poor. Several of them live in their own houses, whether in an affluent or poor locality. There is a marked difference between the poorer localities in this area and in some other areas in Chennai. For example, the slums in Kellys (Lachma Nagar) and Purasawalkam (those on Brick Kiln Road) and the tenement houses on Demellow's Road or Washermanpet are poor, filthy and much deprived. The slums in the Kodambakkam area, the one near Akkbarabad, Kamaraj colony and the ones in Trustpura and Minor Trustpura are markedly

different in that they are not as filthy as the others and the degree of the culture of violence and vice seems to be much less.

The members of this church comprise of the affluent business people, professionals, government officials and employees, college and school teachers, nurses, petty shop owners and those employed in petty jobs receiving daily or weekly wages. Among the participants, there is no female lawyer or police. According to the researcher's knowledge, the congregation members do not seem to have any female dentist (except one who has recently moved in with her husband and not a person born and brought up in the Kodambakkam CSI church community), agricultural expert, architect (one college student is in the architecture course), advertising agent, veterinarian, lawyer, police, business entrepreneur, shop owner, air-hostess, beautician, fashion-designer, hotel management executive or active politician (the wife of one of the early members, one Mr. Asirvatham, a postman, was a member of the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam. She is no more. Mr. Asirvatham was in the CSI Home for the Aged in Adyar, since the daughter-in-law was not willing to have him reside with them. Recently after the second marriage of the son following divorce, the new daughter-in-law and the son have been able to have Mr. Asirvatham with the family and the researcher has been unable to get the address from anyone). While the women of the older age group, who have entered the labour market, seem to have taken up the more traditional or the not-too-innovative jobs, the younger ones have entered the non-traditional jobs. There are doctors, engineers, bankers, teachers, nurses, management executives, computer professionals and those working in offices from the clerical cadre up to the officer levels. However, one member who was a television and audio script reader has her own video-dubbing studio. Another girl in the high school wants to become a lawyer and another high-schooler wants to be an air-hostess and her sister a dancer. There is an exception to this statement. One young woman

who has completed her engineering course in the fields of Electronics and Electrical engineering, is now serving in the Indian Navy as an officer.<sup>1542</sup>

There is no male or female member of this congregation who has gone for theological education and become an ordained pastor. There is no male member who has become a cross-cultural missionary or a full-time Christian worker in any para-church organization. Two women had become cross-cultural missionaries with indigenous mission agencies - one of them has returned from the field and continues evangelistic ministries in Kodambakkam and the other had to leave the field and work in the office of the mission agency because her husband and herself have been transferred by the agency to the head-office. One high schooler and two younger girls want to become medical missionaries; one young woman who has completed her speech therapy course wants to enter the mission field; a girl of seven years wants to be a missionary; and, another high schooler wants to become like her mother a woman taking up a praying ministry - counselling and praying for those with problems and needs. One young man of the congregation who wanted to be a missionary has joined another church for lack of encouragement.

#### **4. The denominational background.**

The Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam was started in 1958. Hence, it began and developed as a CSI church and not as a mission church like the British Wesleyan (Mount Wesley, Egmore Wesley, Broadway Wesley, Royapettah Wesley, Perambur Wesley) or High Anglican (St. Mathias) or low Anglican (St. Paul's) or London Missionary Society

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<sup>1542</sup> There are some thirteen women in the Indian Navy. This young woman has been serving in the Indian Navy for the past three years and she is one of the three from Tamil Nadu. The researcher is yet to meet this young woman and interview her. This information has been given to the researcher by the mother of the young woman. It is particularly significant that this woman is from the most conservative Nadar community from the Kanyakumari district in the southern tip of Tamil Nadu. The mother in her fifties had to go to a nearby town for her college education. She recounts that in those days only some four women went to college to this town from nearby villages. These women were escorted to and fro the bus stop by one of the male members of the family.

(Missionary Chapel) or the Army (Perambur Holy Cross, Garrison church in St. Thomas Mount) church or the Anderson chapel of the Madras Christian College in front of the High Court. It is also not a church planted with the new converts of an evangelistic effort.

## **E. The historical background<sup>1543</sup>.**

### **1. The Beginning.**

In mid-fifties, as the city expanded to the western side of the Beach-Tambaram railway line, it was noticed that there was no CSI church in the fast-developing western areas. Hence, the CSI City Mission Survey was entrusted to the Rev. Pettit of the British Wesleyan Methodist Mission. Six new CSI churches were started in Kodambakkam, Padi, Ambattur, Amijikarai, Ayanavaram and West Tambaram.

Some of the members of the CSI church of St. John the Baptist, who were residents of the Kodambakkam area formed the nucleus of the newly started CSI Risen Redeemer's church of Kodambakkam. Other Christians gradually joined the original members. Many of the original members are no more. However, some are alive and remember the early beginnings.

### **2. The Early Members.**

The early members were -

- i. Mr. and Mrs. Williams - both now retired; Mr. Williams works as the CSI Synod treasurer.
- ii. Mrs. Sophy Selvanayagam - no more

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<sup>1543</sup> Points taken from an article in the Silver Jubilee souvenir and personal talks with the first few members like Dr. Miss. Christy Moses, Mr. J. Bernard Thomas and Miss. Padma Isaac.



- iii. Miss. Padma Isaac and her mother - the mother is no more. Miss. Padma Isaac (Padma *akkaa* - elder sister - or aunty, affectionately called so) had been a long-standing woman member of the pastorate committee and quite active.
- iv. Mr. Melchi Solomon - no more; but, the son, Dr. Solomon and his wife are active members; one unmarried daughter, Miss. Stella Solomon, though she lives in Kellys with another brother, regularly attends the Sunday service in this church.
- v. Mr. and Mrs. S. A. S. Devanesan - had preserved a copy of the Silver Jubilee souvenir and provided the photocopy of the article about the history.
- vi. Mr. and Mrs. J. Arumainayagam - both no more
- vii. Mr. Samuel - a photographer, still alive; but, is not living in Kodambakkam any more and no one seems to know where he is.
- viii. Mr. Asirvatham - a retired postman; used to live in the CSI home for the aged in Adyar; no one seems to know where he is now; his wife who is no more, was an active member of the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam; she seems to have been the only female member of the church who had taken active part in politics.
- ix. Dr. Miss. Christy Moses - the early Sunday School was conducted in her home with the help of her brother-in-law, late Rev. Barnabas (retired at that time) and his wife who is also no more.
- x. Mr. and Mrs. J. Bernard Thomas - these two were key informants for the researcher's knowledge of the early years of the church and its members.
- xi. Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Dawson
- xii. Mr. and Mrs. Muthiah - Mr. Muthiah is no more
- xiii. Mr. Jeyaseelan
- xiv. Late Rev. Rhenius and Mrs. Rhenius
- xv. Late Mr. Dowie Abraham and Mrs. Dowie Abraham

### **3. The Early Church's Gathering.**

The early gatherings of the church members were held in the car shed of Mrs. Sophy Selvanayagam's house. As the members gathered and sang gospel songs other Christians also joined them. The CSI members of the original group had to go to the church of St. John the Baptist in Egmore for the communion service. Later the pastor of that church would come to Kodambakkam to conduct the communion service. Rev. Taylor was the first pastor in charge of the church. Rev. Barnabas though retired used to help in conducting services and preaching. The first communion service was held in the Community Hall. The first baptism was that of Surendar, the first son of Mr. and Mrs. S. A. S. Devanesan. The second one was that of Ruby, the first daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. Bernard Thomas.

Later the owner of Modern High School, which is not there any more, allowed the services to be conducted in his school. When the congregation grew, they bought a plot in front of the Liberty theatre and constructed initially a thatched shed. The testimony of the members is that at this stage and in the stages of later developments, the members of the congregation gave liberally, as in the case of the making of the tabernacle in the wilderness in the Book of Exodus in the Bible, which made the building of the church possible.

The present building even with an extension does not have enough space for all the members of the congregation. A few years back, another extension was considered; but, meanwhile, the services have been expanded into two in the morning of every Sunday - the English service at 6.30a.m. and the Tamil service at 8.00a.m. This has to some extent reduced the problem of accomadation. However, they have pulled down the former parish hall of low walls and asbestos roof, to build a three storey building to accomodate the parish hall, the Sunday School and the parsonage. This would enable the congregation to go ahead with the extension

of the church building into the space where the present parsonage stands by pulling down the present old parsonage.

The acquiring of the compound where the present parsonage and the parish hall stand, itself is a story of marvel, says Mr. J. Bernard Thomas who was the secretary of the Pastorate Committee for several years. When the church had to be expanded and a permanent parsonage had to be built instead of housing the pastor and his family in a rented house, the congregation could not afford to buy an entirely new plot large enough for a larger church building, a parsonage and a parish hall. By that time in the eighties, the Kodambakkam area had become a well-developed locality well within the city and land prices had soared high. However, the Hindu owner of the compound, right behind the church offered that compound with a built house and large compound space for a reasonable price. This enabled the congregation to use the house for the parsonage and put up a semi-temporary structure for the parish hall. Two adjacent compounds provided more access and hence allowed the expansion of the church on one side.

#### **4. The Early Sunday School.**

The early church meeting in the car shed and later in the thatched shed had no provision for a Sunday School. Hence, right from the beginning Dr. Miss. Christy Moses and her brother-in-law with his wife, conducted a Sunday School in their own home. She remembers that sometimes they even carried some small children to the Sunday School. Later this was shifted to the church premises when some space was available. However, until the additional compound was purchased and the parish hall was put up, the Sunday school had to be conducted in the church premises after the Sunday worship service was over. This became difficult for many children to stay after the worship service and make their way home or for

the parents to stay back until the Sunday School would be over, since as more areas developed the members were moving away from the Liberty area for better housing.

However, after the construction of the parish hall, the Sunday School is conducted during the Sunday morning worship service, which makes it possible for the children to go back home along with the parents (This is a pattern followed in many of the urban churches). This practice has its disadvantages also. The Sunday school teachers have to forego the privilege of total participation in the Sunday worship service. However, as Dr. Miss. Christy Moses says that even in those early days when the Sunday School had to be held at the time of the Sunday worship service, though the Sunday School teachers yearned for a fuller participation in the worship service, the need for giving guidance to the children found some willing people who would be Sunday School teachers at the cost of their missing the worship service. The majority of the Sunday School teachers were and are still women. These women have been sacrificial for the sake of imparting instruction and nurture to the children.

## **F. Development.**

### **1. Building development.**

The first congregation as already noted met in the car shed of Mrs. Sophy Selvanayagam's house. Later they met in Modern school. The present church premise was later bought and a thatched shed was initially put until the church building was built. This church was extended when the adjacent compound was bought to house the parsonage in the old house standing on that compound and an asbestos roofed low-walled hall was constructed to serve as the parish hall. Recently the temporary parish hall is being pulled down to construct a building to house the parsonage, the parish hall and the Sunday School. Once this is completed, the old parsonage will be pulled down and the church can be extended on the southern side into the

next compound. Until the new building is completed, the Sunday School meets in the temporary *shamiana* (temporary tent) put up every Sunday in the open space in front of the present parsonage.

## **2. Membership growth**

The membership of the church has grown from a few families in the beginning to some 800 families at present. Most of the members are Christians who have moved in from other areas in the metropolis or from places outside Chennai. There is hardly any who has been converted by the efforts of this congregation and become members of this congregation. The members of this congregation who are first generation Christians (they themselves having been converted) are those who have been converted elsewhere and have moved in here. This does not bring the evangelistic zeal of the church in question, because this church has involved in evangelistic efforts through which there have been people converted, baptised and become on-going Christians. But, these do not live in this area and continue as members of this church.

Arunkuntram is a village beyond Thiruporur on the way to Mahabalipuram. The Kodambakkam church carried on village evangelism, a worshipping group has been formed with the newly converted families and a church has been built. That congregation is at present under the jurisdiction of the Thiruporur pastorate, and is flourishing. For the past two years the Kodambakkam church has moved on to focus its efforts on another village, Veppedu in that area.

Palavakkam near Tirupathi in Andhra is another place where especially the Youth Fellowship members of this church have gone for evangelistic outreach and built a church for the

Christians who have already been living there and the newly converted Christians. That is also flourishing at present and is under the jurisdiction of the CSI church nearby.

Padmanabhapuram is an area close to Vadapalani, where also the evangelistic efforts of the Kodambakkam church has resulted in a church comprising of some Christians who have been living there and the newly converted Christians. This congregation is still under the jurisdiction of the Kodambakkam pastorate. A church building is being built there.

Apart from the congregations formed through the evangelistic efforts, there have been offshoots that have come up in adjacent areas and have later become independent pastorates as those areas developed and more members joined those congregations. The congregations which have been part of the Kodambakkam church and have later become independent are: Ashoknagar, Virugambakkam and Nungambakkam.

### **3. Development of activities<sup>1544</sup>.**

The church has not merely grown in numerical strength but also in the development of its activities. The worship services have been developed - in the seventies and eighties; there were two, one morning Tamil and one evening Tamil services on every Sunday. On the third Sunday evening, the worship service was conducted in English to cater to the need of the few non-Tamil members. This was also a Holy Communion service. But, now every Sunday there are two morning services - one, English one at 6.30a.m. and a Tamil one at 8.00a.m. As it is the custom in most of the CSI churches in Chennai, both these on the first and the third Sundays, are Holy Communion services. It has been already said that this practice of having

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<sup>1544</sup> The key informant for this section is Dr. Bina, who is one of the leading members of the church, and has been a member of the church since her parents retired and moved to the Kodambakkam area in late sixties and became members of this church

two services in the morning every Sunday has helped solve the problem of space and accomodation. Further, this caters to the need of the non-Tamil members and those who are more fluent with English, especially the younger generation with an English-medium education.

A recently added feature is the Holy Communion service at 6.30a.m. on the first of every month. This is a recent development in many of the Chennai churches - to begin the month with a Holy Communion service.

The other services or activities that have been added over the years are: the visit to the Home for the Aged in the evening of the second Sunday; the prayer cell for the poorer girls working in the export companies, held every Tuesday evening; the Bible study for women every Wednesday evening and recently this has included the writing of a memorised psalm in which the men also have been encouraged to join; the all night prayer for both men and women every fifth Friday night (this happens to be held approximately once in three months when there is a fifth Friday).

The local Sunday School conducted by Mrs. Kamalanbu in her home with the help of her daughters has been at present taken over by the Women's Fellowship, and every Thursday evening some members of the WF go to Mrs. Kamalanbu's house to help with the 'Sunday School' to which many non-Christian children and women come.

The half-night prayer held from 9.00p.m. to 12.00p.m. every Friday has been modified into an all-night prayer on the fifth Friday (if there is one) to include all members of the church. Some churches have an all-night prayer every month. In some churches the all-night prayer for men

and women are held on separate days to enable families to accomodate. In churches where there is a half-night prayer, it is mostly for men, since the women would find it difficult to find their way home in the middle of the night. To enable the women also to participate in the night prayer, it is held as an all night-prayer either once a month or on the fifth Friday, when that occurs.

The village outreach ministry has become focussed on one village until there is a worshipping group and a church is built.

The Youth Fellowship in the seventies was for some years held separately for young men and women, since some parents did not want to send their children to a mixed group. Now it is one Youth Fellowship for both young men and women meeting every Sunday after the morning Tamil worship service. This may be due to the increase in English-medium education and co-education institutions, and also the increase in the freedom for women in the metropolis to have an education, to hold a job and to move about comparatively easily.

Some other activities that have developed are those not necessarily run by the church but are undertaken by the female members of the church. Mrs. Saguna has for more than thirty years held a prayer cell for women every Tuesday afternoon in her home. At present, similar prayer cells for women are conducted in the home of Mrs. Heera every Monday afternoon, in Dr. Bina's home every Tuesday morning, in Mrs. Jeba's home every Wednesday noon and in Mrs. Viji's home every Thursday afternoon. Mrs. Jeyavathy, the daughter-in-law of one of the early members, conducts with the help of her daughter (a school girl) a 'Sunday School' for the neighbourhood non-Christian children and women in her house every Saturday afternoon.



#### **4. Changes in attitude.**

The impact of the English-medium education, co-education, mixing of men and women in the society and workplace and the growing freedom and equality given to women are reflected in some changes in the attitude of the congregation.

The pastorate committee has a strength of sixteen members. Even in the seventies (though the PC would have been slightly smaller in strength) the only woman-member of the PC was Miss. Padma Issac, one of the early members. The women did not come forward to fill the allocated one-third women membership of the PC. But now there are four women and one young woman (as one of the four youth members) elected to the PC. These unlike Miss. Padma Issac who had no other woman competing with her, have been elected with other women running for the elections.

The other area in which a change is noticed is the combining of the Youth Fellowship for boys and girls. In many Tamil churches these are held separately, while in the English churches there is only one Youth Fellowship for both boys and girls.

Another change is the increased participation of the women in leadership and the women members becoming more vocal.

The increase in the activities undertaken by the women members whether run by the church or on their own, is a marked change.

In the seventies, there was strict sex segregation in the seating during worship services and other meetings. But, at present there is a change. Though unlike the English churches where

any person may sit anywhere, there are women and girls sitting with the male members of their family on the side of the men, while the majority of the members follow the sex segregation pattern of seating. However, this is not approved by some of the traditional members. The men and women communicate separately when the communion is served. Exceptionally there may be a woman who goes to the altar to receive the communion along with her husband while it is the turn of the men to communicate. This is not viewed with approval by some members as it can be assessed by the comment made by one of the interviewee, while she spoke about women being modest: 'I don't like when some women go for communion along with the men. It is all right if they are in churches where they practise men and women mixing to receive communion. Why should they jostle with other men?'

## **G. The activities of the church and its female members.**

### **1. The worship services.**

#### **i. Sunday worship services.**

The CSI Risen Redeemer's church in Kodambakkam has three services every Sunday. In all the three worship services, the English one at 6.30a.m. and the Tamil ones at 8.00a.m. and 6.30p.m. both men and women participate. In all the services the offertory is taken by men on the men's side and by women on the women's side. In each service one lesson is read by a woman while another lesson is read by a man. The counting of the collection is also done by a group from the pastorate committee which includes women also. However, from the responses of the female interviewees, it is apparent that except on the second Sunday of August when the whole diocese celebrates a Women's Sunday the congregation has not had a female preacher. Some in the congregation have never even seen a female pastor. Obviously this means that there has been no female ordained pastor who has celebrated the Holy Communion or conducted a baptism or marriage or funeral.

The choir is a mixed choir unlike some churches where the choir is all male with young boys providing the soprano voices.

**ii. Holy Communion service on the first of a month.**

This is just like any other worship service in which the Holy Communion is celebrated. Both men and women participate in the service, in collecting the offertory, in reading the lessons, in carrying forward the elements and in counting the offertory.

**2. Other activities of the church run by the church administrative structure.**

**i. Other meetings on Sundays.**

**a. The Sunday School.**

The Sunday school superintendent is a woman who is also a female member of the PC. It is said that she had been the SS superintendent and the Vacation Bible School Director for the past sixteen years. Most of the SS and VBS teachers are women. The students are from kindergarten to school-leavers age groups. Many girls when they leave the SS at the time when they leave school take up the SS teaching. As already noted the Sunday school is conducted at the time of the Sunday morning 8.00a.m. Service. The children and the SS teachers leave the main service after the offertory lyric and go for the Sunday class. At present they meet in the *shamiana* provided in front of the parsonage. When the new complex is built the Sunday school will have a good building to meet.

**b. The Choir**

The choir is a longstanding feature of the church. Both men and women are members of the choir. Rigorous practice is given every Sunday. Unlike some churches in which women cannot be the members of the choir, this church has not displayed any sex or gender discrimination.

In some of the churches with an Anglican background, the women may sing in the choir, but cannot join in the processional and the recessional. But, in this church which has begun as a CSI church, there is no procession of the choir. Women are included in the procession of the elements for the Holy Communion and in the recession of the pastor and those who carry the Bible and the offertory.

#### **c. The Men's Fellowship.**

It may sound out of place that the men's fellowship is mentioned in the research that has focused on women. However, it fits the argument of this research that both men and women are created equally in the image of God and the relationship between them is not one of conflict or opposition or competition or hierarchy, but one of equal partnership, mutuality and interdependence with independence. The men's fellowship meets every Sunday. But the curious fact is that the men's fellowship is in charge of two evangelistic outreach efforts in which women are also included. The visit to the Home for the Aged in Adyar every second Sunday evening and the village ministry in Veppedu every third Sunday afternoon are projects of the men's fellowship. It is commendable that in these two projects women take active part.

#### **d. The Youth Fellowship.**

It is said that the Youth Fellowship had not been functioning properly for the past two or three years because of some differences of opinion and problems of relationships. However, it is hoped that it will begin to function in the near future. Three older women who have been concerned about the dysfunctional youth fellowship have taken it upon themselves to fast and pray for the smooth functioning of the Youth Fellowship. These women have begun to gather the young people together and help them meet sorting out differences and mending hurts.

Both young men and young women meet together, instead of the former practice of the boys and girls meeting separately (which is the practice in most of the Tamil churches, since the parents do not want inter-sex mixing and socialising).

The Youth Fellowship meets every Sunday after the morning Tamil service. They actively participate in the Youth Festival of the diocese. Even when the Youth Fellowship had been defunct, this participation in the annual diocesan Youth Festival had been carried on and the annual celebration of the Youth Sunday had also been carried on. The first or second Sunday of July is celebrated as the Youth Sunday in the diocese. Special service with the members of the Youth Fellowship conducting the service is held.

In the early seventies when the boys and the girls met separately, the two groups have sung special numbers in the Sunday or Carol services. At one point the girls had attempted a hospital visitation program. It had not been continued as the original group moved away when the members were married.

#### **e. The Women's Fellowship.**

The women's fellowship is a vital part of the church life. They meet every second Sunday after the morning Tamil service. Though comparatively a small percentage of the female members attend this monthly meeting, the WF has been making significant contribution through some of their activities.

The activities of the WF are: the prayer cell for the poorer girls working in the export company on Tuesday evening, the Bible verse memorising and Bible study for women on Wednesday evening, the 'Sunday Class' for the non-Christian women and children in Mrs. Kamalanbu's

house on Thursday evening, the fasting prayer on fourth Friday at mid-day, the support of the Polio Victims' Hospital in Kanchipuram and running the major stalls during the fund raising sales each year at Harvest Festival, on the diocesan sale day and the special sales for the mission agencies like Indian Missionary Society and National Missionary Society.

**f. Evangelistic efforts on Sundays.**

**(1) The Visit to the Home for the Aged.**

One of the projects of the Men's Fellowship is the monthly visit to *Anbagam* (Home of Love), the CSI Home for the Aged. An evening meeting is held for the inmates of the Home every second Sunday. Some songs are sung after an opening prayer. A portion from the Bible is read. Then a short message is given. On the day the researcher participated in this, to the researcher's surprise, at the time of the message it was announced that the researcher would give the message. The researcher gave a short message to encourage the old people. In keeping with the tenor of the research the punch line of the message was that every person no matter who, is valuable in the sight of God; because every person has been created by God in God's own image, and that the value and worth of a person is that God the Creator of the whole Universe has given God's own life for each person's redemption. After the message a song was sung and the meeting closed with prayer.

After the meeting the visiting team members talk to the old people individually to encourage them. Some eats are distributed.

Though the researcher could not meet Mr. Asirvatham, a postman and one of the early members of the congregation, since he had moved out of the Home to live with his son, the researcher was able to meet one Mrs. Sornam Richard, who was a member of the

Kodambakkam church and also having been a good friend of the researcher's mother used to accompany the researcher's mother in the various activities of the WF. Both Mrs. Richard and the researcher were happy to see one another after some twenty years and exchange news.

## **(2) The Village Outreach Ministry.**

The monthly village outreach ministry is also undertaken by the MF. On the third Sunday afternoon, a team of men, women and children (girls) go to an interior village, Veppedu near Thiruporur for evangelistic outreach. It is a village of mainly agricultural people. Two doctors, Dr. Solomon and Dr. Bina give medical help to the villagers. The girls, mainly Sunday School children gather the village children and conduct a Sunday School and games. This was new for the researcher, since adults undertake most of the village outreach ministries. Further, this is the first time the researcher has seen Sunday school girls conduct Sunday class for other children.

There are some three different areas or streets in this village. The men go around in these streets singing. At a few places they stop and give a gospel message. After that the villagers who want to be prayed for come to the pastor who prays for them. The women go to the women in the houses and talk to them. They pray for their needs. On the day the researcher joined this team, there were only few members. So, the women could not visit the homes, but had to join the singing. It is said that now and then the female members also may be asked to give the gospel message. The researcher remembers that while the researcher's parents were members of this congregation and the researcher was able to participate in the life and ministry of the congregation whenever the researcher had come for a vacation, once when the researcher had joined the village outreach team, the researcher was asked to give the gospel message.

## **ii. Other meetings and activities.**

### **a. Prayer for the work of the Indian Missionary Society.**

On the first of every month a few members gather at 7.00p. m. in the church premises and pray specifically for the work of the Indian Missionary Society. This is an early indigenous mission agency started by the first Indian Anglican bishop, Bishop V. S. Azariah in the early years of this century. The early work was among the Lambadas of the Dornakkal area in Andhra. At present the work is being carried on in several other states in India and some neighbouring countries also. The promotional secretary of I. M. S. in Chennai visits this prayer group to give the latest prayer requests. Both men and women join in this time of prayer.

### **b. Meeting for the Girls working in the export company.**

Every Tuesday evening at 6.30 p. m. some girls (economically from the poorer sections and without much education to get good employment) working in the export company (making garments) nearby come to the church for a meeting. There are both Christian and non-Christian girls of teenage age group. Some songs are sung. Then a short message is given. After that the girls are given an opportunity to give testimonies. When the meeting is closed with prayer, the girls stay back to be prayed for their needs. On the day the researcher had participated in this meeting, the researcher was requested (it had been informed earlier) to give the message. The researcher shared that every person including women has been created by God in God's own image. The message had been carried on to point out that humankind created by God had fallen and that redemption is possible through Jesus Christ. It was also shared how Jesus Christ brought the Kingdom of God, which embodied the great reversal as seen in the song of Mary. The message explained how Jesus Christ was a liberator of women



by giving some examples of the attitude and action of Jesus Christ. The researcher, along with Mrs. Solomon was also asked to share in the praying for the girls one by one.

### **c. Bible Verse Memorising and Bible Study.**

One of the projects of the WF is the memorising of Bible verses. The wife of the pastor, Mrs. Geetha Karunakaran who is the president of the WF is in charge of this. She sets the portions for memorising. Normally it is from the book of Psalms. At special seasons of the church calendar, she sets appropriate portions. The women memorise the portions as much as they can and write them on the first Wednesday evening. One retired teacher, Miss Samson, who is about 70, writes the maximum of several psalms at a time.

At the time of Easter the pastor's wife had asked those interested to draw a picture of a Bible theme. She encouraged interested men also to participate in this.

Every Wednesday at 6.30p. m., other than the first Wednesday, the pastor's wife leads a Bible study for women. On the day the researcher participated in this Wednesday Bible study, the theme was 'Faith'.

### **d. Prayer for the Mission agencies**

In the seventies, some men and women used to gather every Thursday at 6.30p. m. in the church premises and pray for mission agencies and missionary work. This prayer for the Missions is still continued; but, the women do not participate in this, since the prayer starts at about 9.00p. m. which is inconvenient for women. However, many women have found alternatives of praying for missionary work in the women's prayer cells in some homes.

**e. 'Sunday Class' for the non-Christians held in the home of Mrs. Kamalanbu<sup>1545</sup>.**

On Thursdays some members of the WF go to Mrs. Kamalanbu's house and conduct a 'Sunday Class' for the neighbourhood non-Christian children and women. After singing some songs, a time of testimonies follows. Then a short message is given. Here too on the day the researcher participated in this meeting, the researcher had been asked to give the message. Here too, the researcher chose the theme of God's creation of women in God's own image and God's offer of redemption for women also shown in the attitude and actions of Jesus Christ. After the meeting the participants came forward for prayer and the members of the WF who had gone (two members of the WF and the researcher; normally three persons go, since they take an autorickshaw to go from the church to Mrs. Kamalanbu's house and an auto can take three persons) prayed for each individual.

**f. Weekly Bible Study.**

Every Friday at 6.30p. m. there is a Bible study open for anyone. The pastor and one of the male members lead it. The women participate in the Bible study, but never lead it.

**g. Cottage Prayer Meeting.**

The cottage prayer meeting is held in houses when anyone requests for it. In general, it is requested when there is a special occasion like a birthday, wedding anniversary, death anniversary, success in an examination, admission gained for some education, procurement of job or healing. It is a time of praise and thanksgiving. The pastor leads the cottage prayer meeting. After the singing of some songs and the reading of a scripture portion, the message is given. A light or high tea or some sort of a supper is given. On the day the researcher joined a cottage prayer meeting, a cup of tea and some supper was given, though the family was not a

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<sup>1545</sup> A similar Sunday Class for the women and children in the neighbourhood of the house of Kala Isaiah, one of the women interviewed has been started on Mondays in 2000.

well-off one. The supper consisted of chicken *biryani* (seasoned rice which is a special Indian delicacy) and *laddu* (an Indian sweetmeat). There were only a few persons. However, the lady of the house packed some *biryani* in two containers for both Mrs. Solomon and the researcher to take home. This helped in building a rapport with that family to which the researcher later had to go to interview the mother and the eldest daughter.

#### **h. Fourth Friday fasting prayer meeting.**

The WF members (at least some of its members) gather during the noon of the fourth Friday, from 11.30a.m. to 2.30p.m. to fast and pray. Some songs are sung, a message is given and then different persons pray for the different points of prayer mentioned.

#### **j. All-night prayer meeting**

The MF conducts a half-night prayer from 9.30p. m. till 12.00 midnight every Friday. Since the timing is inconvenient for female members to join the women of the church do not join in this. However, the opportunity of participating in an all-night prayer is available to the women when once in three months there is a fifth Friday occurring. Then anyone from the congregation may participate in the all-night prayer from 9.30p. m. till 5.00 or 5.30 a. m. the next morning. The day the researcher was able to participate in this all-night prayer, it so happened that it was the last day of the month; so, to give time for the members to participate in the Holy Communion service for the first of the month, the next morning, the all-night prayer was wound up at 2.30a. m. Dr. Bina whose mother late and the researcher's mother, had been friends since their school days, took the researcher to her own home to rest for a while and then after daybreak return home in another part of the metropolis.

To begin with the all-night prayer starts with a time of singing. There were two messages, one before midnight and another after midnight when there is a short break, with tea served. At the close also tea is served. Dr. Bina was lamenting that there used to be about 150 persons attending and three messages.

It is interesting that though the half-night prayer is only for men, one Mrs. Balachandran took up the responsibility of writing the verse for the week at Friday night to free the man who used to write the verse to go for the night prayer. Every week one verse appropriate for that Sunday's lectionary theme is written on a blackboard and displayed near the altar. When a male member used to write this verse after the Friday evening Bible study, he found it difficult to join the night prayer. However, this female member is now writing the week's verse so that the male member would be free to join the night prayer.

#### **k. Support of the Kanchipuram hospital for the polio victims.**

One of the projects of the WF is the support given to the CSI Hospital for the polio victims at Kanchipuram. Some of the older members remembered that it was the researcher's mother who started this. Mrs. Kamalanbu's orphaned niece, Maria was a polio victim who could neither stand up nor walk. The researcher's mother helped them put her in the CSI Hospital for the polio victims at Kanchipuram. Maria was taught to walk with the help of calipers and crutches and take care of her needs. She was also taught some life-skills. However, later when Maria grew up to be a young woman, the hospital wanted her to leave. She became sick and could not cope in another Christian organisation. Now, she is no more. Though this is painful, the link established by the church with the hospital still continues. Apart from giving some money for sponsoring some of the inmates of the hospital, one main feature is the Christmas program. During the Christmas season, the members of the WF go to Kanchipuram, to

conduct a Christmas party for the inmates with goodies to eat and gifts. Some years, the inmates had been brought to the church for a day's outing, program and party.

#### **m. Sales**

The WF is also active in the sales (fair or fete) conducted by the church to raise funds for different causes. There are four regular sales each year - the diocesan one to raise funds for the diocesan missionary and evangelistic work through the department of missions and evangelism; the church's harvest festival sale; the sale for the work of the Indian Missionary Society, the first indigenous cross-cultural mission agency started by the efforts of the late Bishop Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah, the first Indian Anglican bishop; and, the sale for the work of the National Missionary Society, another indigenous missionary agency started by the late Bishop V. S. Azariah after the IMS (these two agencies were started through the efforts of the same person focussing on different fields and drawing support from different areas).

### **3. Ministerial and evangelistic activities of the female members of the church, undertaken on their own.**

Apart from their involvement in the activities of the church, some female members of the church have prayer cells and evangelistic activities undertaken on their own. This is apart from their involvement in the ministry of other Christian para-church organizations and agencies.

#### **i. The women's prayer cells.**

These women's prayer cells gather in the houses of some women for prayer, Bible study and some evangelistic efforts. There are five of these house groups. These have no particular names and so, will be referred to by the name of the leader or the person in whose house it meets.

**a. Mrs. Heera's house group.**

Mrs. Heera, a retired college professor of the English language and her daughter conduct this in their home every Monday noon, from 11.30a. m. till 2.30p.m. Though these two women are not members of the Kodambakkam church, the other participants of the prayer cell are women of the Kodambakkam church. Further, the daughter, also a college professor of the English language, is the daughter-in-law of Mrs. Saguna, a long-standing member and a person who has had the first house group in this parish, which house group has functioned for more than thirty years. Mrs. Heera and her daughter are the members of St. George's Cathedral. Both of them have been active in the WF of their own church also.

To begin with some songs are sung after which the special speaker gives the message. Then there is a time of prayer. The leader, Mrs. Heera prays in 'tongues'. Apart from the women who come there for fellowship and Bible study, some with special needs come there to be prayed for. Once a year during the lenten season there is a one-day retreat with many women specially invited from the Cathedral congregation also. Three years back, the researcher's husband was one of the two speakers for this lenten retreat.

Each of these house prayer cells have their distinctives and also commonalities. Some snacks and tea is served after the meeting.

This was the first program in which the researcher participated when the field research was begun. So, it served the purpose of the researcher meeting some of the persons already known and making a headstart.

#### **b. The House group at Dr. Bina's place**

This is also a prayer cell that has started functioning only in the past decade or so. Slightly different group of women meet every Tuesday noon from 11.30a. m. till 1.30p.m. Mrs. Jeyavathy gives good leadership for this group to such an extent that even when Dr. Bina was out of the country for one year this group had functioned without any difficulty. After the singing of some songs, a short message is shared. Then a prayer session follows. This group has some non-Christian women with particular needs attending. Some of them have begun to follow Jesus Christ after a need met or a problem solved or a prayer answered. There is no enforcement of baptism. In India a person may be willing to follow Jesus Christ worshipping Christ alone as the one and only true God, yet may find it difficult to take baptism for socio-cultural reasons. For many non-Christians in India taking baptism is leaving their community of birth and joining another community. This type of 'kicking the caste' is not welcome because of its socio-cultural repercussions.

In this prayer cell too, on the day the researcher joined them, the researcher was asked to tell them about the topic of the research. The women were much thrilled to know that a research had been undertaken to delineate the position and status of Christian women, their role and relationship - a study of their lives and ministry. During the closing prayer, Mrs. Lita, one of the members, passionately prayed for the researcher and the research.

#### **c. Mrs. Saguna's prayer group:**

This is the first house prayer group functioning in Kodambakkam for more than thirty years. Some twenty to thirty women meet every Tuesday afternoon from 2.30p. m. till 5.00 p. m. At times the number grows to even forty or more.

Some songs are sung in the beginning. Then the women recite the Bible verses they have memorised. Mrs. Saguna takes care to allocate appropriate verses for the different members. A message given by a special speaker or a Bible study taken by Mrs. Saguna or some other person follows. During the prayer session, Mrs. Saguna gives detailed points of prayer for the world, the nation, the worldwide and the Indian churches, missionary work, individual need and a wide variety of topics. The members bring a diary in which they write down the message, the memory verse and the prayer points. They are encouraged to pray for the prayer points during the week.

This prayer cell also has a special one-day retreat at the end of the year. The attendance is to a tune of 100 or more.

The members are encouraged to participate in evangelistic outreach and prayer ministry visiting persons with special needs.

On the first Friday of every month, some members of this prayer cell gather for a fasting prayer from 2.30 p. m. till 5.00 p. m. when the concentration is on prayer. This enables the group to pray for a wide variety of points.

The researcher had been part of this prayer cell and its evangelistic efforts, while the researcher had been on vacation to the researcher's parental home when they had lived in this area. The researcher had had the opportunity of sharing God's word in these meetings.

#### **d. The prayer cell in Mrs. Jeba's house:**

Mrs. Jeba is an active member of the WF and one who participates in the village ministry. She conducts a house group in her house every Wednesday from 12.00 noon till 2.30 p. m. In this



group the emphasis is on prayer and more time is given to prayer. Mrs. Jeba herself is quite active in a prayer ministry praying for those who come to her house with special needs and visiting needy persons in their homes to pray for them.

Most of these house prayer groups function with fasting on the part of the participants. So, after the meeting is over, some refreshments or food is served. After the one-day retreat also, in both Mrs. Saguna's house and the house of Mrs. Heera, a high tea or a mini meal is served.

**e. Mrs. Vijay's prayer group.**

This meets every Thursday between 1.00p. m. and 2.00 p. m. After the death of the husband of Mrs. Vijay, she has been working and finds it difficult to participate in this. But, her sister who lives close by gives leadership to this group. Unusually some children also join this. An independent pastor living in a nearby area conducts the meeting by giving the message and leading in the worship and prayer.

**ii. Evangelistic efforts:**

Some of these women carry on evangelistic efforts either on their own or with the help of some of the participants of the prayer cells (the house groups).

**a. The outreach in Rajapillaithottam on the eastern side of the railtrack:**

Mrs. Saguna used to take other women for outreach ministries of distributing tracts and gospel portions along with evangelistic efforts among women. This used to be done in any area where there has not been sustained Christian witness or continued evangelistic efforts. However recently she has felt that it would be better to concentrate on one area in a continued and sustained manner.

She has chosen a poor-housing locality across the railway line. This area is Rajapillaithottam. She has requested one organization known as COME ministries to help in this outreach ministry.

COME ministries was started some years ago by Mr. Stephen Thangappa who was a worker with the Youth For Christ (YFC). At present he has some 26 workers. They concentrate on slums and poorer-housing localities. Mrs. Joseph supports this work financially and also herself joins in this work in Rajapillaithottam.

In Rajapillaithottam, two young women workers of COME work every Wednesday. From morning till evening they visit the women folk at home and talk to them trying to share the Gospel message and help in their problems with counselling and any possible practical help. In the evening they conduct a small 'Sunday class' for children. Mrs. Saguna joins with them for the Sunday class and has started a separate class for teenage boys who are said to be problem children. The work of COME includes a Christmas programme and also a week-long summer Vacation Bible School. The COME workers bring their packed lunch and eat it in some place in Rajapillaithottam itself. Though Mrs. Saguna has offered the use of her house (which is at walking distance) for their lunch break and facilities, the young women prefer to stay among the people whom they seek to serve.

The researcher was able to talk to a young woman, Kala, who had studied in a Christian school. She had begun to read the Bible and pray; but has stopped these, since they had prayed much for the healing of their mother with cancer whereas the mother had died. Further, after the mother's death there had been several problems in the family that have made Kala stop

reading the Bible and praying. The researcher was able to give a listening ear to Kala and prayed in her house.

**b. The Nallankuppam ministry undertaken by Mrs. Saguna.**

A group of women in a tenement housing area gather every Thursday afternoon for a time of Bible Study and prayer. Mrs. Saguna conducts this. After the singing of some songs, memory verses are recited and then a message is given. Then a time of prayer follows. Prayer is requested for various needs. Some who attend this meeting have seen reconciliation of broken families, drinking husbands changed and taking care of the family and many other answers to prayer.

Here also the researcher was asked to give the message. The message followed the basic theme of the research that God has created both men and women in God's own image and given them equal responsibility of multiplying of the race and stewardship of the rest of creation; God's good creation has been spoilt by the disobedience of the humans; the coming of Jesus Christ is the great reversal; the position and status God gives to women is seen in the attitude and actions of Jesus Christ; women are called to be equal partners in the Kingdom of God. On that particular day a young woman relative of one of the participants happened to visit her aunt to ask for help with a drinking and harassing husband. Special prayer was made for this young woman.

**c. The 'Sunday School' run in the home of Mrs. Jeyavathy.**

Every Saturday a 'Sunday class' is run in the house of Mrs. Jeyavathy. Most of the participants are non-Christian children and women from the neighbourhood. The interesting feature of the Sunday class is that mainly the school-going daughter of Mrs. Jeyavathy and

another young girl who stays with Jeyavathy's family conduct it. Some songs are sung. Then a time of giving testimonies follows. The message is given after which memory verses are recited. At the end of the meeting, those who want to be prayed for come forward. Sweets are distributed. The researcher was requested to tell a story (the message) on the day the researcher visited this Sunday class. Pavitra and Shubah, the daughter of Mrs. Jeyavathy and the stay-in domestic help of the family, are themselves Sunday school children in the church. They conduct this Sunday school using the songs and stories they have learnt in the church Sunday school. This they do along with some other Sunday school children also in Veppedu the village where once a month they go for the village ministry along with the adults.

In all these outreach efforts and house groups of the women of the church a powerful ministry is carried on. There are testimonies of physical healing, casting out of evil spirits, broken homes reconciled, separated families united, conversions of non-Christians, non-Christians leaving the worship of their gods and worshipping Jesus Christ, drinking husbands restored, children born to childless couples, marriages fixed for the young people, success in studies, procurement of employment and many other problems solved and needs met.

#### Primary Sources:

Interview, conversations, talks with key informants, personal knowledge and observations

## **APPENDIX 2**

**To:**

**Pl. return this to: Mrs. Beulah Herbert**

### **Questionnaire: Your understanding of gender equality**

1. Name:

2. Occupation / Career:

3. Family background (socio-economic, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, etc.)

:

4. Parents:

i. What was/is your parents' understanding of gender equality?

ii. What type of gender equality did your parents believe in and practise in their marital relationship?

iii. What was the nature of gender equality practised among the children in your parental home?

iv. Were you given freedom of choice  
in education

in career

in marriage or singleness

v. What was the role socialization that your were exposed to in your parental home

vi. Was there any separation of the private/public spheres in your parental home

5. Marital status

6. Is the state of marriage or singleness of your choice?

7. What is your feeling or reaction to your marital status or singleness?

8. Background:

i. Educational qualifications:

ii. Career or employment:

iii. Involvement in Christian ministry or activities:

iv. Involvement in the society

v. How do you envisage

your career

your ministry involvement

your involvement in society

9. Background of the present family (if you are married)

i. What is your husband's view of gender equality?

ii. What type of gender equality is being practised between the partners in your marriage?

iii. What type of gender equality would you like between marriage partners?

iv. What type of gender equality do you and your partner practise with regard to your children?

v. What type of gender equality would you like to practise with your children?

10. What is your understanding of gender equality?

i. What is your concept of equality?

ii. What is your understanding of difference between men and women?

iii. What is your understanding of sexual differentiation?

iv. What is your understanding of the concept of 'sex' / 'sexuality'?

v. What is your understanding of gender?

- vi. What is your understanding of gender difference or distinction?
- vii. What is your understanding of role difference or distinction or separation or stereotyping?
- viii. What is your understanding of the separation of the domestic and social spheres?
- ix. What is your understanding of complementarity?
- x. What is your understanding of male-female relationship in general?
- xi. What is your understanding of the husband-wife relationship?
- xii. What is your understanding of the male-female relationship in the Church?
- xiii. What is your understanding  
of the male headship?  
  
Of female submission?  
  
Of male authority?  
  
Of male leadership?  
  
Of mutuality?  
  
Of equal partnership?
- xiv. In your understanding how does a person's being a male or female affect the psycho-social behaviour or traits?
- 11. What is the equality that women want - opportunity, privilege, rights, authority, power,.....?
- 12. What are the areas in which equality is being contended? How?

13. Is there anything else which you want to add to your understanding of gender equality?
14. What in your view are the formative factors and shaping influences in your life and background that have led to your present understanding of gender equality?
15. What are the struggles you have gone through to achieve your present position of gender equality?
16. What are the problems you have with your present position of gender equality?
17. What changes would you like to have in your present position of gender equality?
18. Anything else regarding your understanding of gender equality that you want to add....
19. What is your present socio-cultural and economic background (apart from the family in which you grew up)?
20. If you are single, how do you view your status?
21. What is the relationship between your understanding of gender equality and your state of singleness, if there is any ( is there any significant difference in your understanding of gender equality because of your state of singleness)?
22. Please give a bibliography of written material you have produced (both published and unpublished). If possible please give copies of these.



### APPENDIX 3

List for Focus Groups		
Serial no. of the group with the location of meeting	Clue for age, marital status, education and career, urban or semi-urban or rural background	Pseudonym used in the text
1. Met once in Heera's house with three members - all older married women	about 70, married with grandchildren, urban background all her life, Ph. D, had been a University professor	Heera
	above 60, married with grandchildren, in Chennai all her life, retired teacher	Lita
	above 60, married with grandchildren, in urban background all her life, college graduate, chose not to work	Sweety
2. Met once in Saguna's house with three members - all older married women	about 70, married with grandchildren, grew up in a village, lived in urban background after marriage, graduate teacher, worked before marriage and after marriage for some time intermittently	Saguna
	above 60, married with grandchildren, grew up in a semi urban town, after marriage lived in urban background, teacher, worked before marriage and not after marriage	Gem
	above 60, married with grandchildren, grew up in a village, after marriage lived in Chennai, some education, not a career woman both before and after marriage	Ranjithamani

3. Met twice in Bina's house, not all of them were present for both the meetings; on the first day the women shared about their own background, education, career and church involvement; the second day not all who had been there the first day were present and the three Bible studies were discussed. Members were older married women, younger married women and one older unmarried woman	around 50, married, has had one grandchild in 2001, except for a short period in a rural place after her marriage and one year in Saudi had lived all her life in Chennai, medical doctor with a post-graduate degree, has been a practising medical doctor all her life, participated in the focus group both the days	Bina
	above 60, married with one daughter, urban background all her life, became a graduate teacher surmounting father's objection, participated in the focus group both the days	Jeyavathy
	above 60, married, lived all her life in urban situation, educated, not a career woman either before marriage or after; was present only on the first day	Devar
	Age between twenty and forty, married with one child, urban background in all her life, engineer by education and career from home, participated in the focus group both the days	Udhaya
	above 60, widowed, with grandchildren, college education, not a career woman either before marriage or after, participated in the focus groups both the days	Tiny
	nearly 70, chose single-hood, in Chennai all her life, retired teacher, participated in the focus group only the first day	Sampoorna
	between forty and fifty, Muslim convert, married with children, urban background all her life, educated, not a career woman either before marriage or after, participated in the focus group only on the first day	Betty

	between forty and fifty, married with children, urban background all her life, educated, not a career woman either before marriage or after, participated in the focus group only on the first day	Mallimalar
	between twenty and thirty, married with children, urban background all her life, educated, not a career woman either before marriage or after, participated in focus group only on the first day	Flora
	between thirty and forty, married with children, grew up in a village and after marriage living in Chennai, educated to some level, not a career woman before or after marriage, participated in the focus group only on the first day	Kamala
	between thirty and forty, converted after her marriage, married with one son who has died, educated, not a career woman either before marriage or after, participated in the focus group only on the first day	Varam
	between thirty and forty, married with children, urban background all her life, educated, not a career woman before or after her marriage, learnt tailoring and income generation at home, participated in the focus group only on the second day	Ester
	between twenty and forty, married, educated, not a career woman, participated in focus group only on the second day	Arunkumari
4. Met twice in Lila' house; the first time she, her mother Amar and Arunavathy were present; the second day Amar had lots to share;all members were older married women	above sixty, widowed in 2001, children married with their children, in urban background all her life, trained teacher, career woman before and after her marriage, participated in the focus group on the first day and gave an extended interview schedule on the second day	Amar

	between forty and fifty, married with children, urban background all her life, educated, career woman before and after her marriage, participated in the focus group the first day when all the issues were discussed	Lila
	between forty and fifty, married with children, educated, not a career woman, participated in the focus group on the first day	Arunavathy
5. Sunday School teachers; the focus group was conducted in two sessions on two days; not all of them were present on both days; members were older and younger married women and one younger unmarried woman	Between forty and fifty;educated and career woman both before and after marriage; from a town and urban background; has been the superintendent of the Sunday School for a number of years; present on both the days	Jeyam
	between twenty and forty, married with one child, lived in Chennai all her life, computer engineer, worked before and after marriage, participated in focus group on both days	Lovely
	between forty and sixty, married with two daughters, urban background all her life, graduate teacher, worked before and after marriage, participated in focus group on both days	Saral
	yet to be married working young woman between twenty and twenty five, educated, working at present, lived in Chennai all her life, participated in focus group only on the first day when the women shared of their own experiences	Sneha
	between forty and fifty, married with children, lived in Chennai all her life, educated, worked before and after marriage, participated in focus group both the days	Mariam

	between forty and fifty, married with two children, grew up in a village, living in Chennai since her marriage, educated, not working because she does not want to take up a secular employment, participated in focus group on both days	Swarna
6. Youth Group, met once to discuss all the points; all three members are unmarried younger women	young college student of around twenty, lived all her life in Chennai	Melody
	young college student of around twenty, lived all her life in Chennai	Priya
	engineering student between seventeen and twenty, lived all her life in Chennai	Joy

## APPENDIX 4

### Problems and Limitations in Transcribing and Translating the Oral Narratives

The discussions of the focus groups collecting the oral narratives of the women of the sample group were in either English or Tamil or in both the languages mixed. So, quite a few of the terms or phrases or responses have to be translated from Tamil, sometimes in a conversational form to English. This poses some problems or constraints.

Ruth Finnegan a leading anthropologist and professor in the British Open University, in her book, *Oral Traditions and The Verbal Arts*<sup>1546</sup> deals with some of the problems of translation encountered by anthropologists. She highlights four models of translation considering language as denotative factual statement, connotative meanings or thoughts in people's minds, expressions or actions. Whichever model one follows, she goes on to say that there are problems in both the 'literal' and the 'free' translations. The important point is to be 'faithful' to the original considering the purpose of translation. Henige also points out the difficulties of accurate translation using the words 'disinterested', 'uninterested' and 'interested'. He lists problems of connotation, denotation, different uses of the same word in different cultures and the various ways in which the same person may use the same word on various occasions.<sup>1547</sup> Finnegan's citing Yai<sup>1548</sup> that the translator must be immersed in the culture of the source

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<sup>1546</sup> Finnegan, 1992, pp.186-194

<sup>1547</sup> Henige, 1982, pp.69 – 70

<sup>1548</sup> Finnegan, 1992, p.192 citing O. Yai. "Issues in oral poetry: criticism, teaching and translation", in Barber and Farias. ed. *Discourse and its Disguise. The Interpretation of African Oral Texts*. Centre of West African Studies, Birmingham University African Studies Series 1, 1989, p.68

language is fulfilled in the case of this research, since the translator is the researcher who is a Tamil Indian Christian from a socio-cultural background similar to that of the interviewees.

Finnegan includes in her list of what cannot be translated, stylistic qualities, connotations, imagery and culturally specific allusion.<sup>1549</sup> I turn to some examples of these and other problems faced by this researcher in translating.

One difficulty is that the English spoken and written by the researcher and the English-speaking Indian interviewees use 'Indian English'. Quite often the interviewees said 'A woman can do anything' meaning that a woman is capable and able and that it is possible for a woman to do anything. If this is translated as 'A woman may do anything', it puts across a sense of she may or may not do anything with a connotation of choice and probability.

Then there is the problem of a straight translation of the Tamil word in English that does not convey the connotation or the cultural allusion in Tamil. Some women used the word 'companion' for the woman in her relationship to a man in marriage. This may mean that she is a subordinate person. But, the Tamil word used by these women gives the meaning of a companion who is called upon to be a strong support and protector and ally in times of trouble or fear. A sense of 'guard' is contained in the Tamil word used.

Next is the use of idiomatic or stylistic usage in Tamil. Sampoorina while narrating her life experiences related a lot of incidents in which God had taken care of her and helped her supplying grace which incidents became testimonies bringing glory to God's name. In this narration, she said, 'I shall never bow down my head.' The meaning of this statement is not

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<sup>1549</sup> Finnegan, 1992, p.190

putting down her head in shame, but of not being cowed down by adverse circumstances, but being able to hold her head up meeting challenges and coming out victoriously with God's help.

The next area of constraint in translation is the use of the interviewees of colloquial and conversational patterns. Bina said that she had told her daughter that it is far better to be a housewife rather than a workingwoman struggling to take care of the family also. 'I have told my daughter well. Look at Bennet's wife. Why should we struggle?' The word Bina used in this statement for 'telling' in its literal translation would mean 'injecting', but conveys the meaning of 'injecting her ideas into her daughter's mind'. Further, the second sentence 'Look...' has a Tamil word 'eeNTi' (literally 'why my girl') that is quite forceful.

Similar constraints of conveying the import of the narratives and experiences have laid some limitation of translation upon the researcher.

The problems faced in transliterating are lack of clarity, failure of the recording device and writing down the narration accurately. Because of the nature of the narratives being conversational or rather colloquial and bilingual, the narratives do not follow the rules of written language. At times part of a word may be in English and the other in Tamil. Most often the narrative in Tamil would have many English words interspersed. Sometimes a word or a sentence may not be complete. Sometimes the bilinguality broke down the grammar. All these problems and limitations of transcribing and translating were recognised.



## **APPENDIX 5A**

### **BIBLE STUDY ONE: WOMAN IN CREATION AND FALL**

Genesis 1: 26-31a. 2:18-25. 3:1-21.

Identity - who the woman is; Role - what she can and should do; Relationship - what is the relationship between men and women.

Two interpretations:

**I. The egalitarians or equalitarians:**

1. Both man and woman equally created in God's image vs.26-27
2. Both have the charge to be fruitful and multiply vs.28
3. Both receive the mandate to rule over the world God has created. 26 - 31
4. The name adam means the earth creature and is for both man and woman.
5. No sexual polarity or sexual stereotyping.
6. Ontological and social equality.
7. Priority in time does not mean superiority
8. Man having heard the command does not mean that he has special responsibility
9. Woman a vis-à-vis, face-to-face counterpart and help that is strong. Common identity and not identical.
10. Man had no part in creating the woman
11. 'From the rib' means equal partner side by side and not secondary
12. 'For' means a companion and not a servant.
13. The man does not name the woman as he did the animals, but describes the woman
14. Man leaves and cleaves, and both become one flesh.

15. Unity, mutuality and equal partnership.
16. Both accountable. The woman not more gullible. The man was with her when the serpent spoke. Probably she was tempted first since she might not have received the command directly from God; but, this does not minimise her responsibility. The man ate the fruit knowing fully well. Both die, recognise their nakedness and hide.
17. Sin of disobedience and not of role reversal.
18. When questioned, the man shifts the blame while the woman tells the truth.
19. Consequences and not curses. Only two curses - the serpent and the ground.
20. Woman's conception multiplied as a blessing that existed before the Fall; the pain is part of the mortal body of the fallen nature. Her desire as before but the man has changed and assumes a dominant position.
21. Female subordination not God-ordained; it is not a necessary consequence of the sexual distinctiveness.

Sources:

*Bible, The.* (RSV)

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## II. The complementarians or traditionalists:

1. Definition - male female equality - "Man and woman are equal in the sense that they bear God's image equally". (p. 95 of Piper and Grudem)
2. Definition - male headship - "In the partnership of two spiritually equal human beings, man and woman, the man bears the primary responsibility to lead the partnership in a God-glorifying direction". (p.95 of Piper and Grudem).
3. Model of male headship is the Lord Jesus. The opposite of male headship is male domination, the assertion of man's will over the woman's will without considering her spiritual equality, her rights and values.
4. God created man, in God's image and to have dominion. Both male and female equally in God's image and to rule.
5. The human race called, 'man' to show male headship.
6. The image of God in man and woman individually. This does not show that women are also needed in church leadership.
7. Gen. 2 shows that God created man the head and woman the helper.
8. Sexual inequality - in intellect, aesthetic, finance, talent and opportunities God has inequalities. Not unlimited equality.
9. Male headship in vs.18-25. Man's loneliness and a companion. The woman as the man's helper and not the man as the woman's helper. The man to love the woman by taking the

primary responsibility of leadership and the woman by supporting him. Eve Adam's spiritual

10. equal, but not an equal in that she is his helper. Woman created second, for, from the man and the man names her. Eve's identity in relation to Adam defined by the man as an equal and a helper. The man initiates the new household as the head.

11. Eve's sin of role reversal

12. God questioned Adam as the head of the pair.

13. God's decree upon Eve twofold - suffering in childbirth and in marriage. She will desire to have her own way and dominate, but will be ruled over by the man.

14. God's decree upon Adam - pain in work, because he listened to his wife and not because he ate the fruit, to Adam as the head the curse of the ground and the punishment of death and Eve also follows.

15. Personal worth not dependent on the role and position.

Source:

Ortlund, Raymond C. Jr., "Male - Female Equality and Male Headship" in Piper, John and Grudem, Wayne ed. *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood*. Crossway Books, Wheaton, 1991

## **APPENDIX 5B**

### **BIBLE STUDY TWO – HEAD COVERING, SILENCE IN WORSHIP AND NOT TO TEACH**

1 Cor.11: 2 – 16; 1 Cor. 14: 34 – 35; 1 Tim.2: 8 – 15.

Two interpretations:

I. The egalitarians:

A. Headcovering:

1. This is a cultural issue
2. Paul had to ask the women who wanted to uncover their head to cover so that they will not upset the other women who thought that covering showed modesty and other members of the church who thought that uncovering implied seduction.
3. 'Head' as 'honour' or 'source' and not as 'authority'. Even if authority, not for all men over all women at all times. To cover the head not to bring shame upon the husband. Paul argues for 'modesty' and 'propriety' in their culture.
4. Argument from nature – shaven head against nature. Paul argues for the stronger ones to have concern for the weaker ones and not to cause discomfort for others.
5. The woman has authority over her own head and could cover it giving up her rights and using her authority over her own head to do something which will not offend others and not bring dishonour on the family. Play on the words 'glory' and 'image'.
6. Angels present at worship – not possible that the uncovered head of the women would distract these angels. Lusting angels – if so, in every place at all times and Paul would have made a forceful argument. Angels whom they will judge – since they have this authority to judge the angels make responsible choices.

7. Argument from nature – gender distinctions and not ranking of one gender over the other.
8. Appeal to custom in that culture at that time and not for all times.

Source:

Keener, Craig S. *Paul, Women & Wives. Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul*. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, MA, 1992

## II. The Complementarians:

1. Headcovering for women during worship.
2. Why headcovering? Meaning of 'head' – 'authority', since Paul refers to the Trinity, it is not cultural or of the Fall.
3. It would have been shameful for a man to cover his head and a woman not to cover her head. Woman's long hair is a glory.
4. To whom is it shameful? To the head – own head and head that is the authority. The woman who does not cover her head dishonours her own head and the man who is her head. The man who covers his head dishonours his own head and Christ who is his head.
5. The woman is the glory of the man, that is she should honour him. The woman should honour man, because she came from and was made for the man, and so should honour him by covering her head and showing that the man is the head, the authority.
6. Paul wants the women to cover their head to show that they submit to male authority.
7. Women ought to cover their head to maintain the order in worship, because of the good angels present at worship and want to see order preserved.
8. Women ought to cover their head to show the difference between the two sexes in the order of nature.

9. The teaching of the passage – not that women have to cover their head, but different; that, men are to lead and women are to follow; that, even if women prophesy or pray during worship, they ought to do so under male authority. Women ought to show that they are humble and submissive to male authority by which they show their femininity.

Source:

Schreiner, Thomas R. "Head Coverings, Prophecies and the Trinity: 1Corinthians 11:2-16" in Piper, John and Grudem, Wayne, ed. *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood. A Response to Evangelical Feminism*. Crossway Books, Wheaton, 1991, pp.124 – 139

## B. Silence during worship:

### I. The egalitarians:

1. This is about uneducated women who were disrupting the worship with their questions. The immediate solution is to ask them to keep quiet. The long term solution is to educate them.
2. The context is that of order during worship and Paul speaks about women disrupting the order in worship.
3. Paul is not speaking about women misusing spiritual gifts. If so Paul would have given instructions to regulate the use of gifts and not silence the women.
4. Paul is against women learning too loudly in public, only in that context, and not for every woman everywhere at any time.
5. Paul has the general principle of order during worship and particularly asked the Corinthian women not to disrupt Scripture exposition by asking irrelevant questions.
6. The women were less educated and so asked questions. So, they must keep silent and be taught by the more educated husbands at home.

Source: Keener, Craig S. Paul, Women & Wives. Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, 1992

#### I. The Complementarians:

1. Paul does not allow women to judge the prophecies, since this means taking up an authoritative role. In creation, since the man was created first, there is an order in the roles of men and women. Women have to take roles that submit to the authority of men and cannot take roles that have authority over men. So, Paul to enforce the role distinctions of the creation order wants the women not to participate in the judging of the prophecies.

Source:

Carson, D. A. "'Silent in the Churches': On the Role of Women in 1Corinthians 14: 33b-36" in Piper, John and Grudem, Wayne ed. *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood. A Response to Evangelical Feminism*. Crossway Books, Wheaton, pp.140-153

1. Not to teach:

#### I. The Egalitarians:

1. Two points - dress and teaching. Extravagant and expensive clothing and fashions, that distracted and prompted jealousy were prohibited - anything that was done simply to show off.
2. Paul's admonition to learn in silence is to the women who were disrupting orderliness in the church by their foolish talk and attempt to teach without having first learnt properly. It is not an injunction for women to be forever quiet.
3. Paul is warning against the domineering use of authority.



4. Not transcultural (that is for all times everywhere), but applied to the specific situation and context in Ephesus at that time. Paul did not want the church to have a negative image before the outsiders; women spread much of the false teaching in Ephesus and unlearned
5. women seeking to teach would do much harm. So, Paul wants women to learn first so that they can teach after learning well, thoroughly and properly.
6. Paul's reference to the creation of Eve after Adam and Eve having been deceived, is an analogy. Eve's creation after Adam shows that she was not present when God gave the command to Adam and was later deceived in her ignorance or partial knowledge, just as the unlearned women in Ephesus. So, like Eve the women in Ephesus also will be open to deception and should learn before they attempt to teach. However, Paul goes on to qualify his statement by saying that though the women in Ephesus can be deceived like Eve, Eve's fall has been reversed by the Christ child, who came through a woman. Or that women would be saved, that is delivered from the risks of childbirth if they continue in faith etc.

Source:

Keener, Craig S. *Paul, Women & Wives. Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul*. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, 1992

#### I. The Complementarians:

1. Women have to learn in silence in full submission.
2. Women are not permitted to teach or have authority over men.
3. The word 'permit' is for all times.
4. Paul prohibits women from authoritative doctrinal teaching.
5. Teaching of men by women prohibited.
6. Paul does not permit women to have authority over men.
7. Paul prohibits two activities - teaching and having authority.

8. Not merely wives and husbands, but all women not to have authority over any man.
9. The basis of the instruction - the woman having been created second and having been deceived, is to submit to man and not have authority over men nor teach men.
10. Taking up their role of getting married and bearing children saves women.

Source:

Moo, Douglas, "What Does It Mean Not to Teach or Have Authority Over Men?: 1Timothy 2:11-15" in Piper, John and Grudem, Wayne ed. *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood. A Response to Evangelical Feminism*. Crossway Books, Wheaton, 1991, pp.179-193

## APPENDIX 5C

### BIBLE STUDY THREE. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAN AND WOMAN IN THE FAMILY

Eph.5: 21-33; Col.3: 18-19; 1Pet.3: 1-7

#### I. The Egalitarians.

1. The main point of the Ephesian passage is mutual submission, submitting to one another.
2. The meaning of 'head' is not 'boss' or 'ruler'. It is source that shows the unity. In this case the unity of the husband and the wife as one flesh<sup>1550</sup>.
3. The analogy between Christ and the husband as the head is one of life-giving headship and not a ruling headship.
4. The meaning of 'submit' is to align as in the falling in line in the army, in which lining up there is no ranking. Submitting oneself is giving oneself to be a support to the other person or placing oneself at the disposition of the other. Submitting does not mean obeying<sup>1551</sup>.
5. The meaning of 'love' is being responsive to the needs of the other.
6. Both 'submit' and 'love' mean being responsive to the needs of the other and placing oneself at the disposal of the other.
7. Christ and the Church give the model of analogy for the relationship between the husband and the wife. Christ is the head, not to rule, but to love and cherish and to give him for the Church, to make it spotless.

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<sup>1550</sup> This is the meaning given by the evangelical egalitarian writers some of whom are mentioned in the section on sources for this part.

<sup>1551</sup> See f.n. 148

8. The husband and the wife to be one with each other, in the one flesh relationship in which there is no issue of a hierarchy of two.
9. Nowhere in the Old Testament are wives asked to obey or submit to their husbands. Sarah refers to her husband as 'lord' only in her reply to the angel's promise of a son. Only Abraham was once asked to obey Sarah, in the case of the treatment of Hagar.
10. Husbands are asked to honour their wives. The wives are referred to as the 'weaker sex', since women were socially, economically and politically weaker.

Sources:

Bristow, John Temple. *What Paul Really Said About Women. An Apostle's Liberating Views On Equality In Marriage, Leadership, And Love.* Harper, San Francisco, 1991

Groothuis, Rebecca Merrill. *Good News for Women. A Biblical Picture of Gender Equality.* Baker Books, Grand Rapids, 1997

Hull, Gretchen Gaebelein. *The ABC's of Gender Equality.* CER Publications, Cold Spring Harbor, 1990

Keener, Craig S. *Paul, Women & Wives. Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul.* Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, 1992

Mickelsen, Berkeley and Alvera. *Biblical Studies On Biblical Equality. 12 Lesson Outlines For Personal or Group Study.* Christians for Biblical Equality, Minneapolis, n.d.

I. The Complementarians.

1. Key ideas - submission one to another in the fear of the Lord; wife's submission to the husband as the head, as the Church submits to Christ its head; love of the husband as Christ loved the Church; appeal to Genesis; summary emphasising husband's love and wife's submission.
2. The meaning of 'submit' is 'subordinate'

3. Vs.21 states a general principle of submission for which the following sets are examples of who submits to whom in what relationship.
4. Submission is out of reverence for Christ, because it is Christ who asks us to submit and will hold us accountable.
5. Paul delineates the role each one has (submission of wife and headship of husband), the attitude of each (love of husband and respect of wife) and the analogy of marriage to the relationship of Christ and the Church.
6. The nature of the wife's submission - to her husband, as to the Lord, for the husband is the head, as the Church submits to Christ.
7. The nature of the husband's headship - headship means authority; the analogy of the headship of Christ over the Church also points to authority; the headship of man over woman was established by divine appointment since the woman was created after the man and she was created to help the man and not vice versa.
8. The extent of the wife's submission - the wife is to submit in everything to the husband, since God wants them to function as one under one head.
9. The injunction to husbands to love their wives. The husband is to exercise his headship over his wife and love as Christ did. The loving husband leads by giving himself and for the benefit of the wife.
10. The command for the husband to love his wife is linked with the one flesh imagery and the husband is to love the wife as his own flesh.
11. The headship of love.
12. The wife is to submit in everything as to the Lord as the Church does.
13. The wife is to respect the husband's headship - in reverence.
14. Marriage was intended to be a picture of the relationship between Christ and the Church.

15. Submission is not - putting the husband in the place of Christ, not giving up independent thought, not giving up effort to influence the husband, not giving in to every demand of the husband, not based on lesser intelligence, not being fearful, not inconsistent with equality in Christ.
16. Submission is - inner quality of gentleness that affirms the leadership of the husband, obedience like Sarah's, acknowledges an authority that is not totally mutual.
17. Rewards of submission
18. The universal rightness of the wife's submission to the husband - God has inscribed it in the heart of a wife.
19. The beauty of submission.
20. Considerate leadership is not - harsh or domineering use of authority, equal sharing of leadership in the family, lesser importance for the wife, always giving in for the wife's wishes, optional.
21. Considerate leadership is - based on the knowledge that the wife is the weaker one.
22. The reasons for considerate leadership - the wife is weaker and they are joint heirs.
23. Rewards if considerate leadership.

Sources:

Knight, George W. III, "Husbands and Wives as Analogues of Christ and the Church: Ephesians 5:21-33 and Colossians 3: 18-19" and Grudem, Wayne, "Wives Like Sarah, and the Husbands Who Honor Them: 1Peter3:1-7" in Piper, John and Grudem, Wayne. *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood. A Response to Evangelical Feminism.* Crossway Books, Wheaton, 1991, pp.165-178

## **APPENDIX 6**

### **List of questions and issues used in the focus groups**

#### **I. About the person**

1. Parental home
  - i. spousal relationship
    - a. pattern of relationship
    - b. decision-making
    - c. finance handling
    - d. domestic responsibilities
  - e. child rearing – attitude to and treatment of male and female children
2. Opportunities for education
3. Opportunities for career
4. Marital home
  - i. spousal relationship
    - a. pattern of relationship
    - b. decision-making
    - c. finance handling
    - d. domestic responsibilities
  - e. child rearing – attitude to and treatment of male and female children
5. Involvement in church
6. Involvement in society

#### **II. Issues raised:**

1. Woman in the creation narrative in Genesis two
  - i. Did God create the woman subordinate and inferior?

- ii. Does the word 'helpmeet' mean that the woman has only a secondary place and role?
2. Temptress image from the Fall narrative in Genesis three
- i. Are women morally inferior and weak?
  - ii. Are women to be controlled and secluded in order for them not to seduce men?
  - iii. Was the woman weak and that is why Satan tempted the woman first and seduced her?
  - iv. Is the woman weak because she listened to the serpent without asking the man first whether she could eat the fruit?
3. Man – woman relationship after the Fall
- i. Did God punish the woman because she first fell and led the man also into sin?
  - ii. Did God ordain female subordination and male domination?
  - iii. What does 'rule over' mean?
4. 'Head-covering' in 1Cor. 11
- i. What does Paul teach?
  - ii. Is 'head covering' necessary today?
  - iii. What does 'head covering' show? Does it show female subordination or the secondary position of women?
  - iv. If you say women should cover their head during worship, why?
  - v. If you cover your head during worship, why do you do that?
5. Women leaders in the church
- i. Can women be leaders in the church?
  - ii. Can they involve in administration such as participating in the Pastorate Committee and so on?



6. Women preaching and teaching

- i. Can women preach?
- ii. Can women teach?

7. Women's ordination

- i. Can women be ordained?
- ii. If not, why not?

8. Husband – wife relationship in Eph. 5

- i. What does 'head' mean?
- ii. What does 'submit' or 'submission' mean?

9. Dowry, singleness, childlessness, domestic violence, single parenthood, widowhood, divorce, sex – workers, female infanticide and foeticide

- i. Is singleness a stigma?
- ii. Men may take advantage of a single woman, isn't it?
- iii. Don't widows suffer much having to take care of the family single handedly?
- iv. What about female infanticide practised because of economic reasons?
- v. What about the criticism about dowry that it makes women a commercial object?
- vi. Can childlessness be considered degradation?
- vii. When a single parent needs help and a person helps, don't people scandalise?
- viii. Many young girls are deceived and brought into the sex work, isn't it?
- ix. What about always being involved in 'full time Christian work' without taking care of the family? What about those who involve in Christian activities without caring for the family?
- x. Don't men use women as a commodity in sex work?

## APPENDIX 7

Each category of narrative is given a code for example, SR for spousal relationship and then the narrative is given a serial number by which it is referred to in the footnote in the chapters. The pseudonym of the narrator is given at the beginning of the narrative.

### Spousal Relationship (SR):

1. Melody – SR(Spousal Relationship)1, She is a doctor and my father is manager in a company. They've been married for 23 years. O.K. Also the relationship between them is very good. My dad and mom share all the responsibilities. My mom asks my dad for all the important decisions in the house. Dad is not working here right now he is in the US, So my mom mainly does all the work here. When we were young my dad was here. All the responsibilities were shared equally. My mom used to take care of all the housework and all the buying things all that my dad used to take care of. ... Finance handling asks before she does anything. And my dad also has to any he used to any decision concerning finance he also consults my mom.

2. Kamala – SR2, எங்க வீட்டையும் அப்பா அம்மா நல்லதா, கலந்து பாத்து தான் பேசி, அதுக்கப்பறந்தான் செய்வாங்க. தனியா யாரும் செஞ்சது கெடையாது. எதினாலும் ஒற்றுமையா பேசி செய்வாங்கோ.

3. Bina – SR3, ஆணா எங்க வீட்ல வந்து எல்லாரும் equal. நான் என்ன செய்தாலும் அவங்க கேட்டுக்க மாட்டாங்க. அவங்க என்ன செய்தாலும் கேக்க மாட்டோம். அதாவது discuss பண்ணி பண்ணுவோம். ஆணா யாரும் நான் தான் பண்ணுவேன்னு இல்லை. அது ஒரு point.

4. Arunkumari – SR4, அது ஏதாவது, இதுன்னா செய்வாரு. அவ்வளவு எனக்கு helpful -ஆ இருப்பாரு. அதுனால எங்களுக்கு ஒண்ணும் எந்த வேற்றுமையும் இல்லை. ஒற்றுமையா இருப்போம். Husband and wife plan பண்ணியே நடப்போம். எனக்கு ஏதாவது தெரியலன்னா கூட அவரைக் கேட்டுப்பேன். 'எனக்கு இந்த மாதிரி நான் செய்தது தப்பா? correct-ஆ' ஏன்னா, அவர் சொல்லுவாரு, 'எதுவுமே என்கிட்ட மறைக்கக்கூடாதம்மா. அப்ப தான் நம்ம நல்லா வாழ முடியும்'. அதினால, எதுவுமே நாங்க discussion பண்ணிட்டு நடந்துப்போம். அது மாதிரி.

5. Ranjithamani – OMW - SR5, இங்க, எங்க, ஓ, வீடா, இதும், ம் (chuckles) அந்த மகனுக்கு தான் கட்டினேன். இப்பமாது நாங்க இரண்டு பேரும், ஓரளவு கோபப்பட்டிருப்பேன் அவங்களும் ஓரளவு கோபப்பட்டதான் செய்வாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி உண்டு ஆணா ரொம்ப நீடிக்காது. ஒரு இரண்டு நாளு, ஒரு நாளு தான் அப்படி இருக்கும். ... செலவு பன்றதெல்லாம் எனக்கு மொத்தமா நெறையா, எல்லாம் தேவைக்குத்தக்க நெறையா குடுப்பாங்க. (laughs) .... அதெல்லாம் கலந்து தான் செய்வோம். ... தனிப்பட்ட முறையில் எதுவுமே செய்றதில்லை. செய்து, வேற ஒரு மாதிரி காரியன்னா பரவாயில்லை, ஒரு மாதிரி முக்கியமான காரியங்களெல்லாம் இரண்டு பேரும் கலந்து செய்வோம். ... வீட்டு வேலை, மேல் வேலைக்கு ஆள் வச்சு.

6. Swarna – OMW – SR6, அப்புறம் எங்களுக்குக் கல்யாணம் ஆன போது மொதல்ல என்னன்னு சொன்னா, ஒரு first-உ கொஞ்சம் இது வந்து அவங்க என்ன யோசிப்பாங்க. அவங்க சொன்ன மாதிரி தான் எல்லாம் நடந்துக்கணுன்ற மாதிரி தான் ஒரு இது இருந்தது எனக்கு என்ன வேணா வாங்கியெல்லாம் தந்துருவாங்க, அதெல்லாம் தந்திருவாங்க. அப்புறம் வெளிய விடுறது இங்க மாதிரி, ஊர்ல,இங்க Madras வந்திட்டமா, street மாறினாலே எனக்கு வீடு போய் சேரத் தெரியாது. அதினால தனியா விடுறது வந்து, அவங்க வந்து கொஞ்சம் கஷ்டப்பாட்டாங்க. இப்பம் வரைக்கும் அது அப்படிதான் இருக்குது. தனியா வெளில சும்மா போனும், அப்புறம் பிள்ளைகள் வீட்ல வந்திட்டாங்கன்னா, நானும் வீட்ல இருந்திரணுன்னு பாக்கிறாங்க. மற்றபடி, இப்பம் கொஞ்சத்துக்கு கொஞ்சம், அங்க இருந்து இங்க church-க்குப் போறது matters இந்த மாதிரி கொஞ்சம் தெரிஞ்ச எடுத்துக்குன்னா அப்படி தனியா உட்டுருவாங்க ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. ஆணா யாராவது sisters கூட போறேன். அந்த மாதிரி மொதல்ல இங்க இவங்க கூட போறேன் சொல்லிட்டா அதெல்லாம் விட்டிருவாங்க. காசு செலவு பன்றது வந்து நான் வந்து அவங்க, ம், நான் ரொம்ப செலவு பண்ணி எனக்கு இஷ்டத்துக்கு எல்லாம் செலவு பண்ணுன்னு யோசிக்கிறது இல்லை.

பெறகு நம்ம தான் அதுக்கு பதில் (chuckles) சொல்ல வேண்டியது வரும். ஆணா, சம்பளப் பணம் drawer-லே தான் வச்சிட்டுப் போயிருவாங்க. சாவி தந்திருவாங்க. எடையில் ஏதாவது செலவு வருது, ஏதாவது நமக்கு urgent-ஆ வாங்கணும் வைக்கணுன்னா, அந்த இதில இருந்து எடுத்துக்கலாம். அவ்வளவு பணத்தையும் அதாவது change கொஞ்சம், change வச்சிருவாங்க. மீதி ஒரு கவர்ல போட்டு அந்த மாதிரி வச்சிருப்பாங்க. எனக்குத் தெரியும் எங்கெங்க

பணம் என்ன பணம் இருக்குதுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு அதை மறைக்க மாட்டாங்க. ன் மற்றபடி lump-ஆ ஏதாவது செலவுன்னு சொன்னா, நான் அவங்களை கேட்டுதான் அப்படி வாங்கிக்கிடுவேன். ன், மற்றபடி decision ன்னு சொல்லும் போது மொதல்ல கொஞ்சநான் எல்லாம் வந்து அவங்க தான் என்ன decision எடுத்தாலும் அவங்க சொல்றதுதான் இருக்கணுன்ற மாதிரியான ஒரு இது இருந்துது அப்பம் நானும் வந்து சண்டை போட்டுக்கிட்டோன்னா வீட்டுக்குள்ள சமாதானம் இருக்காதில்லையா. அதினால சண்டை போடுறது, அப்படிதான் செய்யணும் இல்லை. நான் சொன்ன தான் சரி அந்த மாதிரின்னு சொல்லிட்டு won't go. என்ன செய்வேன் ஜெபம் பண்ணிக்கிடுவேன். ஆண்டவரே உம்முடைய ஞானத்தை அவங்களுக்குக் குடுத்திரும். என்ன செய்யணுன்னு நீர் விரும்புறீரோ நான் எப்பவுமே ஆண்டவருடைய சித்தந்தான் நடக்கணுன்னு நான் யோசிப்பேன். நான் சொல்றது அந்த மாதிரியாதான் நடக்கணுன்னு யோசிக்க மாட்டேன். so, நீர் என்ன செய்யணுன்னு இந்த situation-லநாங்க என்ன செய்யணுன்னு. நீர் விரும்புறீரோ அந்த ஞானத்தை அவங்களுக்குக் குடுத்திரும். அது நான் நீர் தான் குடுத்தீருன்னு எடுத்துப்பேன். அந்த மாதிரி நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணிருவேன். so அது எல்லாமே ஒரு மாதிரி சரியா வந்திரும். அப்புறம் இப்பம் போகப் போக வந்து ஏதாவது problem எல்லாம் வந்து, இப்பம் ஒரு ten years-க்கு அப்புறம் இப்பம் வந்து நான் ஜெபத்திலேயே தான் இருப்பேன். இப்பம் வந்து share பண்ணுவாங்க. எல்லாத்தையுமே share, என்ன செய்யலாம். இது, பணம் இவ்வளவு வேண்டியதிருக்குது இதெல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரி எல்லாத்தையுமே என்னாலும் வந்து share பண்ணுவாங்க, எல்லாம் பண்ணுவாங்க

7. Mariam – SR7, இப்பம் எனக்கு அமைஞ்ச வாழ்க்கை கூட husband-wife இரண்டு பேரும் friendly-ஆ என்னென்ன செய்யலாம், ன், இரண்டு பேரும் ஒருத்தருக்கொருத்தர் தவறு செய்யும் போது கூட, ஆண்டவருடைய ஓதவியினால, எப்படியெல்லாம் இது பண்ணலாம், அப்படின்றது, ஒருத்தருக்கொருத்தர் நாங்க advice பண்ணிட்டு equal-ஆதான் எல்லாமே இது பன்றது. ... எனக்கு இப்ப இது, நான் வந்து, பணம், எங்க வீட்டுக்காரரையே எல்லாம் இது செய்ய சொல்வேன். நான் வந்து அந்த பொறுப்பா எல்லாம் எடுத்துக்க மாட்டேன். எனக்கு நான் இப்படி வேலை பாத்துக்கிட்ட இருந்ததினால, நான் வந்து எனக்கு அதை விரும்புறது, பிள்ளைங்கெல்லாம் இப்படி பெறந்ததுனால, அதை வந்து எல்லாமே எங்க husband தான் செலவு பண்ணுவாங்க. ... வீட்டு வேலையிலும், ம், ம் நான் வந்து அவங்களும் கொஞ்சம் help பண்ணா நல்லா இருக்குன்னு எதிர்பார்ப்பேன். அவங்களும் செய்வாங்க.

8. Jeyam – OMW – SR8, அப்புற பெறகு கலியாணத்துக்கு வரும் போது அந்த decision-ஐ நான் என்னுடைய சொந்த இதுபடி எடுப்பதே இல்லைன்னு எப்பவும். அது என்னுடைய வீட்டுப் பழக்கங்களோ அப்படிதான். பெரியவங்க என்ன பன்றாங்களோ, அது தான் நாங்க சின்னவங்க செய்வோம். so, அண்ணனை elder brother வந்து அவங்க தான், அப்பாவுக்கு அப்பாவா இருந்து எல்லாமே decide பன்றது. எல்லாமே. அது மாதிரி அவங்க முடிச்சாங்க. கலியாணம் முடிஞ்ச பெறகு எங்க husband வந்து எப்பொழுதுமே கோயிலுக்கு போகாத ஒரு ஆளாம். எப்பமாதா, வந்து, அதான் பட்டிக் கிறிஸ்தவான்ற மாதிரி. ஆனா என்னைக் கலியாணம் பண்ண பெறகு, நான் வந்து இந்த Sunday school-ல ministry-ல இருந்ததினால, நான் every week கட்டாயம் வரணும்பேன். அந்த மாதிரி சூழ்நிலையில இவரை Christian அதுக்கு தெரியாம இருந்தா கூட, அப்புறமா நான் ஒவ்வொரு வாரமும் கூப்பிடும் போது, என்னோட வந்திருவாங்க. அந்த இதில இருந்து அவங்களுமே every week வர்ற மாதிரி ஆரம்பிச்சாங்க. அது மட்டுமில்ல உண்மையாகவே கடவுளுக்குள்ள எந்த decision எடுத்தாலும் கடவுள் கிட்ட கேட்டுதான் நம்ம பெற்றுக் கொள்ளணும். கடவுளுடைய இது இருந்தாதான் நம்ம செயல் படுத்த முடியுமன்னு அவங்களுக்கும் அந்த எண்ணம் இருந்துச்சு எனக்கும் இருந்துச்சு. கலியாணம் ஆன பெறகு எங்களுக்கு ன், ஒம்பது வருஷம் கொழந்தையே இல்லாம இருந்துச்சு, பத்தாவது வருஷந்தான் கொழந்தை பெறந்திச்சு. அதுக்கு எடையில நெறையா abortions ஆயிருந்திது. ஆனாலும் நான் வந்து, நான் வந்து மனசுக்குள்ள கடவுள் கிட்ட கேக்கிறதெல்லாம், 'இவ்வளவு தூரம், நான் இன்னும் என்ன பாவம் செய்றேன்னு, என் என்னை இன்னும் தண்டிக்கிறீரா, ன்னு. எனக்கு இந்த மாதிரி நான் மற்றவங்க முன்னாடி வெக்கப்பட்டுப் போகக் கூடாதினன்னா, நீர் எனக்குக் கட்டாயமா', நான் சண்டை போடுவேன் கடவுள் கிட்ட செல நேரத்திலெல்லாம் அந்த வச்சிட்டு, அந்த ninth year எல்லாம் ரொம்ப சண்டை போட்டிருக்கிறேன். நெறையா நான் nights எல்லாம் தூக்கம் இல்லாம அழுதிருக்கிறேன். ஜெபித்து அழுதிருக்கிறேன். அந்த மாதிரி, ன், 'என்னை வந்து மற்றவங்க முன்னாடி நீர் அவமானப்படுத்தாமா இருக்கிறதினன்னா எனக்குக் கட்டாயம் ஒரு கொழந்தையைத் தானும். நானே கொழந்தைங்க மத்தில ஒரு ஊழியத்தை செஞ்சிக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறேன். எனக்கு இந்த இது கட்டாயம் வேணுன்னு நான் ஒரு மாதிரி உரிமையோட சண்டை போட்ட நாட்களெல்லாம் இப்பமும் நெனைவில இருக்கு. அந்த மாதிரி இருக்க, கடைசில கடவுள் ஆசீர்வாதமா எனக்கு ஒரு பையனையும் குடுத்தாரு. பத்தாவது வருஷம் சாட்சியின் பிள்ளையாக நிச்சயமா அது சாட்சியா எங்கயும் சொல்ல முடியும். சாட்சியின் மகனா ஒரு பையன் எனக்குக் குடுத்தாரு. எங்க life குடுத்தாரு. இது எங்க husband-க்குமே கடவுளடைய ஆசீர்வாதத்தால தான் கடவுளுடைய துணை இல்லாம இந்தப் பிள்ளையைப் பெத்திருக்கவே முடியாது. அப்படின்ற ஒரு நிச்சயமான ஒரு இது எங்க husband-க்கும் உண்டு. ன், எங்க வீட்ல இப்பைக்கு finance விஷயத்தில எல்லாம் என் பொறுப்பில விட்டிருவாரு அவரு. அவரு salary எடுத்திட்டு வந்தாலும் என் கையில் கொண்டு வந்து ஒப்படைத்திருவாரு. நான் என்ன விருப்பமோ, எது வேணாலும் நான் செய்யலாம், அந்த மாதிரி ஆனா அவருக்குத் தெரியும் நான் வந்து அநாவசியமா எந்த விதமான இதையும் நான் செய்யமாட்டேன். அப்படின்னு ஒரு நம்பிக்கை அவருக்கு இருக்கிறதினால, அவர் இதில எந்தப் பிரச்சினையும் பண்ண மாட்டாரு, எதுவும் பண்ண மாட்டாரு. அதையும் மீறி எனக்கு ஏதாவது தேவை, இது வாங்கணும், அது வாங்கணும், இந்த மாதிரி இருக்கு finance situation-ன்னு சொன்னா கூட அவர் கலந்தாலோசித்து அதெல்லாம்

செய்வாரு. வீட்டை எல்லா விஷயத்திலையும் இரண்டு பேருக்குள்ள ஒரு, ம், இது, சின்ன, சின்ன, இது எதாவது எப்பமாது சின்ன பிரச்சினைகள் இல்லை. அந்த மாதிரி வருமே ஒழிய மற்றபடி பெரிசா எந்தப் பிரச்சினையும் எங்க இரண்டு பேருக்குள்ள வராது. ன், இரண்டு பேரும் எல்லாக்காரியத்தையும் கலந்தாலோசித்து தான் செய்வோம். ன், பையன் education விஷயத்திலையும் இரண்டு பேரும், ம், first காரணத்தினால் அவங்க தூரத்து எடத்தில் அனுப்ப முடியாதுன்னு அப்படி சொன்னா கூட, ன், ன், ன், எவ்வளவு நான் அந்த decision எடுக்கிறேன்னு இது பண்ணி இரண்டு பேரும் ஒண்ணா ஆலோசனை பண்ணி தான் ஒரு செய்வோம். இப்பமும் ரெண்டு பேருக்கும் எடையில் அப்படி பெரிய மனஸ்தாபங்கள் எதுவும் வர்றது கெடையாது. ன், மற்றபடி எல்லா காரியமும் இரண்டு பேரும், அவரும் எதையும் என்கிட்ட மறைக்க மாட்டாரு, எல்லாம் சொல்லிருவா. நானும் எதையும் அவர்கிட்ட மறைச்சுச் செய்றது கெடையாது. ஆனா இரண்டு பேரும் சந்தோஷமான வாழ்க்கை நடத்திக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறோம். வீட்டு வேலை எல்லாம் நான் தான் பாக்கிறேன். வேற, இவர் வந்து sometimes எனக்கு help பண்ணுவாரு சில விஷயங்கள், but எல்லாக்கitchen work-உம் அவரால் பண்ண முடியாது. அப்படி servant வச்சிருக்கிறோம். அப்பம் இல்லைன்னா செல நேரங்கள்ல எனக்கு help பண்றது உண்டு. அவரால் முடியாதுன்னாதான் பண்ணமாட்டாரே ஒழிய, பண்ற, ஆ, இது உண்டு, ன், வீட்ல,

9. Udhaya – SR9, எங்க வீட்ல எங்க அப்பா அம்மா இரண்டு பேருமே discuss பண்ணித்தான் செய்வாங்க. ... Moreover அம்மா அப்பா நூடிண்ணஞ்ஞிலுமும் அவங்க இரண்டு பேரும்.. தான் பண்றது. எதுனாலும் இரண்டு பேரும் discuss பண்ணித்தான் பண்ணுவாங்க. எல்லாமே correct -ஆ தான் இருக்கும். எந்த ஒரு problems அல்லது அப்பா அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் ஒரு feeling, thought எங்களுக்கு கெடையாது. ... And decision-making-உம் அப்படித்தான். அப்பறம் இப்பம் married life-லும் நாங்க அப்படி ஏதாவது, இரண்டு பேருமே discuss பண்ணி பண்றது. equal rights உண்டு.

10. Saguna – SR10, எங்க வீட்ல நாங்க அது மாதிரி Unlce money matter- லையும் இரண்டு பேரும் combined-ஆ இது பண்ணுவோம். என்னென்ன செலவுன்னு யோசித்திட்டு, அவங்க கொஞ்சம், என்னையை விட கொஞ்சம் எல்லாத்திலேயுமே wise, செய்றதினால், நானும் அது எனக்குக் குடுக்கிறதை இது பண்ணிட்டு, நான் பாட்டுக்கு

11. Jeyavathy – SR11, என்னுடைய குடும்பத்தில் நாங்க equal ஆவே financeஆனாலும் சரி அவ்விதமான equal-ஆ தான் finance-ல மற்ற எல்லா விஷயத்தில், ஒண்ணு அவரு என்னைக் கேக்காம செய்ய மாட்டாரு, நானும் அவ்விதமாக அவரைக் கேக்காம எதுவும் செய்யமாட்டேன். அப்படி எங்களுக்குள்ள நல்ல ஒரு ஒற்றுமை, ஒற்றுமை.

12. Varam – SR12, இப்ப நாங்க ரெண்டு பேரும், இப்பத்தான் கர்த்தருக்குள்ள வந்திருக்கிறோம். இவங்க மொத வந்து கேலி பண்ணவங்க. .... இந்த மாதிரி அவரை மாத்திட்டாரு. அதனால் இப்ப ரெண்டு பேரும் என்ன செய்றோம். எங்க finance எப்படின்னா, ஒரு சம்பளம் வாங்கிட்டேன்னா, ஜெபத்தோட ரெண்டு பேரும் கையை வச்ச அந்த சம்பளத்தை ஜெபம் பண்ணி வச்சிடுவோம். வச்சிட்டுப் பட்ஜெட் போடுவோம். மொத. இததுக்கு இது சாமிக்குன்னு, கடவுளுக்கு எடுத்து .... நல்லா ஜெபம் பண்ணி செய்யும் போது, ஆண்டவர் எப்படியோ நல்லா வழி நடத்துறாரு. இப்ப ரொம்ப சந்தோஷமா இருக்கு. எந்த வேலை, ஓடம்பு சரியில்லைன்னா ரொம்ப பாப்பாங்க. அதை மாதிரி அவங்க ஓடம்பு சரியில்லைன்னா நான் பாப்பேன். வேலையும் செய்வாங்க. எந்த வேலைன்னாலும் செய்வாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி ரொம்ப ஒற்றுமையா இருக்கோம்.

13. Amar – OMW – SR13, என்னுடைய அவங்க கலியாண விஷயத்தில் என்ன ஆச்சுதுன்னா, எங்க வீட்டுக்காரர் military -ஆ இருந்ததுனால் அந்த military-ல அவங்களுக்கு family யோட இருக்கிறதாக்கு எல்லா சமயத்திலையும் சந்தர்ப்பப்படலை. அப்பம் நான் மாத்திரம் என்னுடைய மூணு பிள்ளைகளையும் வச்சிக்கிட்டு தனியா வாழ வேண்டி இருந்தது. அவங்க லீவில் வருஷத்துக்கு இரண்டு மாசத்துக்கு தான் வருவாங்க. அந்த இரண்டு மாசம் வீட்ல இருந்துட்டு போய்டுவாங்க. வீட்டுப் பொறுப்பெல்லாம் வருஷம் முழுதும் என் மேல தான் இருந்தது, மாசத்துக்கு தவறாம அவங்க அனுப்பினாலும் பிள்ளைகளுடைய ம், செளக்கியத்துக்கும் அவங்களுக்கு doctor-ங்களுக்குக் கொண்டு போறதுக்கும் அவங்களுக்கு இப்ப school-க்கு அவங்க போறதுக்கும், அவங்களை வீட்ல அவங்களை கவனிக்கிறதாக்கும் எல்லாமே என் மேல பொறுப்பா இருந்தது. அதினால் நானே பணத்தை ஆண்டுக்கிட்டு இருந்தனே ஒழிய, அவங்களுக்கு அதில ஒரு விதமான சம்பந்தமும் இல்லாம இருந்தது. ஆனா என்ன ஆச்சு, கடைசில retire ஆயிட்டு வரும்பொழுது நானு எல்லா பணத்தையும் அவங்க கையில் ஒப்படைச்சிட்டு 'இனி எனக்கு இந்த மாசக்கணக்கு, செலவெல்லாம் எனக்கு வேண்டாம், நீங்களே பொறுப்பு எடுத்துக்குங்க. போதும் எனக்கு இந்த இது'ன்னு complete -ஆ அவங்க கையில் குடுத்துட்டேன். நான் வேலை செய்துகிட்டு இருந்தாலும் என்னுடைய சம்பளமெல்லாம் அவங்க கையில் தான் குடுத்துருவேன். அவங்க தான் என்னபண்ணுவாங்க, எது தேவைனாலும் எல்லா செலவையும் கவனிச்சுக்குவாங்க. எனக்கு வேண்டியது மாத்திரம் நான் கேட்டு, கேக்க குடுத்திட்டு இருப்பாங்க. ... அவங்களுட பெற்றந்த நாளுங்க வரும். இதுக்கெல்லாம் நாங்க இரண்டு பேரும் கலந்து, 'கடையில் இதை வாங்கலாமா, அதை வாங்கலாமா'ண்டு இரண்டு பேரும் consult பண்ணி, சொன்னது, அவங்க ஒத்துக்கிட்டது இரண்டும், ம், எங்களுடைய திருப்திக்குன்ற மாதிரி தான் கொண்டு வருவோம்.

14. Joy – SR14, when I go to my second house, I expect my husband to be, first of all he should communicate both, whatever he thinks, he should ... and he should be able to share all my thoughts and my feelings. And finance wise, I don't find anything wrong what, whether he does the work or me. I don't mind doing myself. If he likes to do, he can do. I don't force him to do that. ... Na, if I can't, if I'm working, say, if I'm doing a job, I think he has to share. I think he has to share. And like taking care of the children also, I think, mostly, most of the parents they do that because, if they are working, naturally they, we can understand that they have the feeling to take care of the children.

15. Melody – SR15, In my future home when I get married, I think, both me and my husband, we should both handle responsibilities equally. I will definitely be in a job. So, he's also should take care of the household work also. And financially both, both of us can spend money, but, any important decision has to be made, both of us should consult before we take that decision.

16. Priya – SR16, Basically I don't think. I'm wanting to get married or something like that. I don't know why. But basically I think I don't have to lead my life only because I have to stay married to a man. I think I would just be independent some sort of time and see how I can stand on my own feet, and then probably if I am ready for it, can, if I'm surely ready for it, probably I would get married. And to me probably something like marriage will be ... both of us, both of us have to be equal in decision-making and in all the other things as well. Financially if he wants to be can take charge. But he would have to consult me also. And otherwise things like, if I want to work also I should be allowed to work. It's not simply for the point of money, but it's for job satisfaction. I wouldn't want a person telling me, 'Just because you're married, you shouldn't work'. I don't want that, And in.... Domestic responsibility if both of us are working, then I want equal participation. Then if one person isn't then, I don't mind putting in a little extra in it.

17. Sneha – YUW – SR17, so, அப்படி எனக்குன்னு restrictions எதுவும் எங்க parents குடுத்தது கெடையாது. அப்போ, நான் இவ்வளவு liberal-ஆ எனக்கு liberty குடுத்து வளத்தினால, may be I like, think some எனக்கு future life-ல இப்படி இருக்கணுன்னு expect பண்ணலாம். But, ஆணா அது பயமா இருக்கு. Expect பண்ணிட்டு அப்படி கெடைக்கலன்னா கஷ்டமா இருக்கும் அதினால நான் expect-ஏ பண்ணதே கெடையாது. இதெல்லாம் பண்ணியாகணுன்னு தலையெழுத்துன்னா பண்ணிதான் ஆகணும். ... . So, அதான். Future-ல Household management-எறது பற்ற இப்ப வரைக்கும் I am zero. எனக்கு ஒண்ணும் துணிமணி எல்லாம் electrical எல்லாம் அம்மா அப்பா தான் பாத்துக்கிறாங்க. அதுபாட்டுக்கு சும்மா வீட்டுக்குப் போறன்னா, என்னுடைய வேலைப் பாத்துக்கிட்டு, அது தான், அப்புறம், சில times என் வேலையைக் கூட சேந்து அம்மாவே செய்திருவாங்க. so, அது பற்றி, I don't have an idea. May be அது வந்து, may be if my future partner வந்து, if he wills, ok, சரி இந்த மாதிரி சேந்து பண்ணட்டும். But ஆணா even if he is not going to do, if he is very busy or something I will not mind. பண்ணணுன்னா, பண்ணிதான். ஆகணும்.

18. Sneha – SR18, நம்மெல்லாம் future-ல எப்படி இருக்கப் போறமோ, நமக்கு மொதல்ல வீட்டையே ஒழுங்கா பாக்க மாட்டேன்றம்ன்னு. But, ஆணா, once வந்து அந்த married life போய்ட்ட பெறகு, you are forced to do it. அது பண்ணமாட்டேன், நான் இப்படி பண்ணது கெடையாது. அம்மா வீட்ல அப்படிதான் இருந்தேன். அப்படியெல்லாம் சொல்றது. சொல்லக்கூடாது. so, ...ஆண், பண்ணணும், ofcourse, But ஆணா, ன், I don't have any idea .... இல்லையே, நான் அப்படி தான் இருக்கிறேன். இவ்வளவு நான் நான் அப்படிதான் இருக்கேன் (laughs) எங்க அம்மாகிட்ட நான் அப்படிதான் இருந்திருக்கேன். so, எங்க, எங்க அப்பாவும் ofcourse எங்க அப்பால்லாம் வந்து he is a good cook. எங்க அப்பாவும் sometimes பிரியாணி, அதெல்லாம் நல்லா செய்வாங்க, so, நான் அதெல்லாம் சொல்லிப் பாப்பேன். எங்க அப்பா இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் செய்வாங்கன்னு, அப்பம் (laughs) (Several voices) அப்பம் வரலையே, இந்த மாதிரி ரொம்ப முடியலையன்னா, ofcourse அதில I'll say எனக்கு ரொம்ப முடியலை, வேற வழில you have to do it-ன்னு. அப்படி இல்லைன்னாலும் I will not mind I think. நானே எல்லாம் பண்ணிருவேன் .... Yes, ofcourse .... Yes, ofcourse, ஆமாமா ....

I'll give financial independence, இது, இந்த இதெல்லாம் வந்து என்கிட்ட இருக்கணும். ofcourse வேணுமா, வீட்டு வேலையும் பாத்துக்கிறேன். இதுவும் பாத்துக்கிறேன். ஆணா, என் என் வழிக்கு வந்து என்னை விட்டுடணும். போகக் கூடாது. இப்படி, சும்மா நச்சுநச்சுன்னு புடுங்கிட்டு இருக்கக் கூடாது (laughs) That's it. அதுக்குன்னு நானும் ரொம்ப liberty எடுத்துக்கிட்டு சும்மா இப்படி, இப்படி பண்றதெல்லாம், பண்ணமாட்டேன். House work-ல housewife-ஆவும் இருக்க, I'll see that I'm a caring mother. A good house wife and a career woman, எல்லாமே balanced-ஆ I'll see that, ரொம்பவும் அதுக்குன்னு ஒருத்தரை ஒருத்தர் வந்து mutual understanding-ல இருக்கு understanding, cooperation.

19. Lita – SR19, என்னா ஆண்டவர் எப்படி நம்மளையும் இது பண்ணி வச்சிருக்கிறாரு. நமக்கு equalஆதான் நம்மளை வச்சிருக்கிறாருன்னு. அது வந்து இப்ப இரண்டு பேர் பிள்ளை பெக்க முடியாது (chuckles). அதினால ஒரு typical arrangement with the lady that she should bring the doubt. அதினால தானே ஒழிய வேற ஒண்ணும் அதில



இல்லை. Equal responsibility. இது and equal தான். அந்த even கொழந்தை உண்டாகிறதுக்குக் கூட இரண்டு part-உம் அதில equal தான். அது பொம்பளை இது அதிகம். ஆம்பிளை இது கொறைவு. அதெல்லாம் கூட சொல்ல முடியாது. அந்த physical இது வந்து ஒருத்தருக்குத் தான் குடுக்க. அதினால் male-க்கு இல்லை. கொஞ்சமா குடுத்திட்டு, இது வேணா கொஞ்சன்னு கொஞ்சம் சொல்லிக்கலாம். அந்த ஒரு stage வரைக்கும் பிள்ளைங்களை மற்றபடி ஆண்டவர் இரண்டு பேரும் equal-ஆ இது பண்ணியிருக்காரு. அது பெண்கள் நம்ம வந்து எடுத்துக்கணும். அதை வந்து உபயோகிக்கிற விதத்தில தான் இருக்குது, எல்லாமே.

20. Joy – SR20, Household work is like my mom takes everything. And if my father has to buy something also, he goes and buys and.

21. Jeyam – SR21, அப்புறமா இது finance இது பாக்கும் போது, அப்பா வந்து எல்லாமே அம்மாகிட்ட ஒப்படைச்சிருவாங்க. அம்மா தான் full-ஆ வாங்க, domination-ன்னு சொல்ல முடியாது, but at the same time அந்த responsibility-ஐ எடுத்துக் செய்வாங்க அம்மா. அப்பாவும் அதை அம்மா கையில் விட்டிருவாங்க, நீங்க செயங்கம்மான்னு, அப்படி சொல்லிட்டு, ஏதாவது ஒரு பிரச்சனைகள் வந்திச்சின்னா, ஓடனே அப்பா கூட சேந்து, பேசி, 'இந்த மாதிரி இருக்குது என்ன பண்ணுது. இதுக்கு என்ன பண்ணுது ன்னு அந்த மாதிரி எடுப்பாங்க. ... அங்க இருக்கும் போது, எங்க அம்மா அப்பா காலத்தில் வந்து அம்மா தான் செய்வாங்க. அம்மாக்கு helpers-ஆ நாங்க இரண்டு girls இருந்ததினால நாங்க இது பண்ணுவோம். sons, இரண்டு பெரிய sons இருக்கும் போது, தண்ணி எடுக்கிறது. அதெல்லாம் use பண்ணுவாங்க. அதினால் பிள்ளைங்களெல்லாம் அது share பண்ணதினால அப்பா அந்த responsibility தேவை இல்லாம போச்சி அப்பாக்கு.

22. Sweety – OMW – SR22, கல்யாணம் பண்ணிப்போனாப் பெறகு அவங்க குடும்பத்தில் ஆவிக்குரிய வாழ்க்கையில் எங்களை விட அவங்க வந்து ரொம்ப இதை நாங்க கோயில் காரியங்கள்ல எல்லாம் ரொம்ப இதை part எடுப்பாங்க. அதினால் எனக்கும் அது அப்படியே ஒரு interest வந்திருச்சு. .... ஆனா எல்லா வீட்டுக் காரியங்கள் வாங்கவோ எல்லாம் நான் தான் பண்ணுவேன். அவங்க காசைக் குடுத்திடுவாங்க. அவங்க கவனிக்கவே மாட்டாங்க. ஏன்னா அவங்க வந்து வேலைக்குப் போவாங்க, கோயில் காரியங்கள்ல ரொம்ப மும்முரமா இருந்த-அதிலால் .... இரட்சிக்கப்பட்ட நானும் கோயில் காரியங்கள்ல அதுக்கப்புறம் தான் நான் கொஞ்சம் ஈடு கொண்டேன்.

23. Joy – SR23, And, my father and mother, I don't think they had a good communication between them. Only my father, like, bossing over my mother. And, right now, when we are grown and my father may be he realised, don't know, what made him change. And both of them share together. And financially like my mom takes care of the home. And my father like, he pays all the fees and those sorts he takes responsibility. And running the family, like, he provides all the money; he takes care of it, now.

24. Bina – SR24, அதுக்கப்புறம் சபையில் வந்து, இது பாக்கும் போது சபையில் எல்லாக்காரியங்களையும் பெண்கள் வந்து action-ஆ, infact ஆண்களை விட பெண்கள் தான் இன்னுங்கொஞ்சம் ரொம்பவே religious matter-ல முக்காவாசி வீடுகளில் involve ஆகிறாங்க. எங்க வீட்ல இப்ப நான் சொல்றேன். எங்க அப்பாவுக்கும் சரி அது ரொம்ப கெடையாது. எங்க அம்மாதான் எங்களை வந்து மற்றபடி நல்லபடி இது பண்ணி வளர்த்தது, இப்ப வந்து எல்லாம் கர்த்தருக்குள்ள கொண்டு வந்தது எல்லாமே எங்க அம்மா தான். எங்க வீடலயும் அதையும் நான் தான் செய்திட்டு இருக்கிறேன். இவர் வந்து ஒரு மாதிரி. இது ரொம்ப fatih எல்லாம் நல்லா இது இருக்கும். ... But என்னை criticise பண்ணிட்டு இருப்பார். ரொம்ப ஊழியம் அது இதுன்ன, இதெல்லாம் சில ஊழியக்காரர் பணர ஏதாவதெல்லாம் சொல்லி அது மாதிரி, நான் 'அதெல்லாம் ஏன் பாக்கிறீங்க', நம்ம செய்ய வேண்டியது நம்ம கடமை. ... "வாழ்க்கையில் இருந்தா போதும்" அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு practical-ஆ இருக்கணும். Christian-ஆ ஏதாவது சமயத்தில் நான் கொஞ்சம் இது பண்ணிட்டேனா, 'பக்தியா, இதை இருக்கிறது முக்கியமா, theory-ல தான் ஒனக்கு Christiantiy இருக்கு practical-ஆ வர்ல'ன்னலாம் என்னை சில சமயம் கேலி பண்ணி சுட்டிக்காட்டுவாங்க. ஏன்னா, நானும் ஒத்துக்கிறேன். கோவம்லாம் வந்தா சில சமயம் கண்ணுமண்ணு தெரியாம கோபம் வரும் வீட்ல, கத்திடுவேன் .... எனக்கு கோவம் வந்தா சீக்கிரம் எறங்கவும் எறங்காது. அவங்க கிட்ட கூட சண்டை போட்டுக்கிட்டேனா, கோவிச்சிக் கிட்டேனா, நான் அப்படியே கோவமாதான் இருப்பேன். ... பெறகு ஆனா கொஞ்சம் இது பண்ணி வந்து என்னை pacify பணரது அவங்களாத் தான் இருக்கும். அதான் சொல்லுவாங்க 'எப்பவாது நீ வந்து திடீர்னு வர்றயா, முன்னால் 'அது இருக்கு ஒங்கிட்ட ன்னு சொல்லி அந்த மாதிரி பல unchristian principle என்கிட்ட இருக்கிறதை அவங்க சொல்லுவாங்க. நான் சொல்லுவேன் நான் நல்லா இருக்கிற நேரத்தில் சொல்லுவேன். 'அந்த நேரத்தில் எனக்கு அப்படி வருது. நான் என்ன பண்ணுவேன். அதெல்லாம் மேற்கொள்ளுந்தான் நான் ரொம்ப try பண்ணேன்னு சொல்லிட்டு. அந்த விதமா காரியம் வச்சிருப்போம்.

25. Betty – SR25, எங்க வீட்ல, பொதுவா எங்க அப்பா தான் எல்லாத்தையும் பாப்பார். அப்பாக்கு கொஞ்சம் twenty five இருக்கும் போது, எங்க அம்மாவுக்கு பதிமூணு வயசில கலியாணம் ஆனதினால, எங்க அப்பா தான் எல்லா management-உம் பாக்க கொள்ள. ... எங்க அப்பா ரொம்ப maintenance அதில நான் இங்க வந்த பெறகு கொஞ்சம் நான் நான் தான் வீட்டெல்லாம் பாக்க கொள்ள இருந்தேன்னா, அப்பப்போ, எனக்கெல்லாம் கணக்கெல்லாம் கேட்டா

பிடிக்கவே பிடிக்காது. அதினால நான் பாத்திக்க மாட்டேன்னு, விட்டுட்டேன். அவர் பொறுப்பில். ஆணா இப்பெல்லாம் அவங்க தான் பார்க்கிறாங்க, செய்றாங்க. என்னன்னும் போது எதினா ஒருன்னும் போது அவர்க்கு கையை கொஞ்சம் எதிர்பார்க்கணும். ரொம்ப கஷ்டமா இருக்கும். எனக்கு அது பிடிக்காது.... எது இருந்தாலும் எங்க அப்பா கிட்ட கையெழுத்து போடுற மாதிரி திருட்டு கையெழுத்தெல்லாம் போட்டு (laughs).... அதுனால எனக்கு மட்டுந்தான் எங்க அப்பா கையெழுத்து போட வரும். அது மாதிரி எது இருந்தாலும் நானே கையெழுத்து போட்டு எல்லாத்தையும் வாங்குவேன். எல்லாத்தையும் பண்ணுவேன். இங்க வந்த பெறகு எனக்கு இவரு ஒவ்வொரு பைசாவும் கணக்கு கேக்கும் போது, எனக்கு ரொம்பவும் கோபமா வந்து அவர் கிட்டயே ஒப்படைச்சிட்டேன். அவர் தான் பாக்கிறாரு, செய்றாரு. அவர் கையில் போய் எதினாது கேக்கும் போது என்ன எதுக்குன்னும் போது ரொம்ப கஷ்டமா இருக்கும் .... ஆணா கடவுளுடைய கிருபை இருந்ததுனால எனக்கு அந்த கஷ்டம் தெரியல. எல்லார் மத்தியிலும் சந்தோஷமாத் தான் இருப்பேன். வீட்டுக்குள்ள நொழையும் போது அந்த பயங்கர சத்தி கஷ்டங்கள் இருக்க செய்யும். ஆவியானவர் தான் எனக்கு வழி நடத்தி இந்த அளவுக்கு வந்தார். ஏன்னா நான் முஸ்லீம்ல இருந்து இங்க வந்த பெறகு கார்த்தர் கிருபை எனக்குக் கூட இருந்ததுனால, எல்லாவற்றிலயும் எனக்கு கஷ்டம் தெரியல.

26. Heera – SR26, College-ல அங்க வந்து நான் வந்து girls கிட்டெல்லாம் more feminine தான். இதைப்பற்றி சொல்ற, masculine இதை மட்டமாவே ரொம்ப பேசுவேன். இதைப்பற்றி ஏனா அவங்களை I considered them weak. not in my எங்க family-ல வச்சுன்னு இது இல்லை. General நான் பார்த்தா, morally I found them very weak. பெறகு மற்றப்படி பொம்பளைகளை அடிக்கிறது, இந்த வேலைக் காரங்களெல்லாம் சொல்றாங்களல், அதெல்லாம் பாத்து எனக்கு ரொம்ப வருத்தமாயிருக்கும். பொம்பளைங்க சொல்ல teachers எல்லாம், எல்லா வீட்டு வேலையும் செய்திட்டு இங்க வந்தும், college-ல வந்தும் வேலை செய்வாங்க. help வீட்ல கெடைக்கவே கெடைக்காதான் ஒண்ணும். No man will help them. அவங்க late-ஆ வந்திட்டா அவங்களுக்கு விஷயத்தைப் பாத்திட்டு இருந்திருவாங்க. அப்பம் shopping மொதற்கொண்டு இது பண்ணுவா. So I used to feel very angry for the sake of women மாதிரி ஏன்னா என் நெலமை அப்படி இல்லை. எனக்கு எல்லாம் convenience-உம் அதெல்லாம் இருந்துச்சு.

27. Tiny – SR27, எங்க வீட்ல எங்க அப்பா தான் எல்லாத்தையும், அவங்க போலீஸ் officer-ஆ இருந்ததுனால அவங்க department rule-தான் வீட்லயும் நடக்கும் (laughs) எங்க அம்மா ரொம்ப soft. அதுனால ஒரு விதமான clash-ஏ வராது அவங்களுக்குள்ள. எங்கனையும் அப்பாவுக்கு, நாங்க கொஞ்சம் மொணகுலோம். ன்... துணிமணி எடுத்துக் குடுத்தாலும் ஒரு விதமா எடுத்துட்டு வருவாங்க. boys-க்கு ஒண்ணு போல எடுத்திருவாங்க. (chuckles) girls-க்கு எல்லாம் ஒண்ணுபோல எடுத்திருவாங்க (laughs) நாங்க அதுக்கு சண்டை போடுவோம். அதுக்கு எங்க அம்மா எங்களை எல்லாம், அப்படி எல்லாம் பேசுக்கூடாது. அப்பாவுக்கு எதுத்து அப்படின்னு எங்களை subdue பண்ணவிட்டிருவாங்க (chuckles). அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு struggle இருந்தாலும், எங்க அப்பாவுக்கும் அம்மாவுக்கும் ஒரு விதமான சண்டைகள் ரொம்ப வார்தில்லை. ... எங்க வீட்ல இவங்க வந்து ஒரு மாதிரி soft ஆ இருப்பாங்க. discuss பண்ணுவாங்க. family இதெல்லாம். ஆணா, வந்து final decision அவங்க தான் எடுப்பாங்க. (laughs) சில சமயம் என்னுடைய decision accepted-ஆ இருக்கும். சில சமயம் அது reject பண்ணிடுவாங்க. ... But செல சமயங்களல், சச்சரவு வரத்தான் செய்யும். arguments வரத்தான் செய்யும். சில மனஸ்தாபங்களும் இருந்திருக்கு. மற்றப்படி ஒரு மாதிரி smooth-தா தான் போகும். ஒரு அளவு argue பண்ணிட்டு, பெறகு விட்டுக் குடுத்திருவேன்.

28. Heera – SR28, அப்புறம் வீட்ல சண்டை நடந்தாலும் அம்மா was the cause தான். அம்மா ஏதாவது இது பண்ணுவாங்க. ஏன்னா அப்பா ரொம்ப generous nature. ரொம்ப தாராளமா செலவழிப்பாங்க. இது, அப்பம் அம்மா சொல்லுவாங்க, 'பிள்ளைங்களுக்காக காசு சேத்து வைக்கணும், இது பண்ணணும்' ன்னுவாங்க. அப்பாவுக்கு அந்த idea யாவே இருக்காது. He will live for that day. ...

29. Heera – SR29, அப்புறம் they may, you may say that my mother dominant character. She was But, my father.... so she listened to him. அந்தக் கதையான விஷயங்களெல்லாம் She'll listen to him. அப்படியாப் போச்சு. ...

30. Heera – SR30, அப்புறம் எங்க விஷயத்தில வந்து என் husband-உம் எல்லாம் all the money he gave to me only குடுத்துருவாங்க. I'm not a manager of money, that much I'm telling you. I, he had been in charge, he would have saved more. கொஞ்சம் careless-ஆ இருப்பேன். தாராளமா கொஞ்சம் எடுத்து செலவழிக்கிறேன், எங்க அப்பா மாதிரின்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். அதினால அது lack தான். ...

31. Heera - SR31, இங்க வந்து அவ்வளவு my husband is a very dominant fellow. ஆணா கூட, அவ்வளவு என்கிட்ட காமிச்சிகிட மாட்டாங்க. என்கிட்ட அவ்வளவு தூரம் இருக்காது. நாங்க we won't fight certain things. பணம் விஷயந்தான் சண்டை போடுவாங்க. அதில்லைன்னா, I'll have to give in to him அப்படி பண்ணிச்சு.

32. Amar - SR32, Girls-ஐ நான் அதிகமா கடைக்கு அனுப்பிச்சதில்லை. நானும் போனதில்லை. எது இருந்தாலும், எது சின்ன article மகன் தான் வாங்கிட்டு வருவான். இப்ப இதில கூட girls -ங்க அதிகமா போய், கலியாணம் ஆணா கூட husbands takeover பண்ணிக்கிட்டாங்களே ஒழிய, ஒரு அளவுக்கு பிள்ளைகளுக்கு கடைக்குப் போணும், வாங்கிட்டுப் வரண்ணுற responsibility இல்லை. Menfolk தான் கடைக்குப் போறதெல்லாம் பாத்துக்குவாங்க. ன், இப்பம் அவங்க போறாங்க, இது வேணும் அது வேணுண்டு அவசரத்துக்கு வாங்கிக்கிறாங்களே ஒழிய சின்னதில

இருந்து அவங்க கடைக்குப் போய் வாங்கிட்டு வரணும் கொள்ளணுன்னு படுத்தல நான்.

33. Bina – SR33, பிள்ளைகள் அதுவா வளர்ந்தது (laughs) தாத்தா பாட்டி தான். அதுக்கப்பறம் இப்பம் பெரியவங்களாயிட்டாங்க. அதாவது நான் என்ன சொல்றேன்னா, வேலைக்கு விட்டுட்டுப் போயிட்டு, முழுசா ஒண்ணும் நான் கவனிக்கல.

34. Saral - OMW – SR34, அப்புறம் எல்லாம் School-ல சொன்னாங்க, 'என்ன ஒனக்கு கலியாணம் ஆகலையா, ஆகலையா எனக்கு அப்பம் 28, 29 வயது ஆயிரிச்சு. அப்பம் வந்து நான் சொன்னேன். 'எனக்கு வந்து என்ன பண்றது, நான் யார்கிட்ட போய் கேக்கிறது. எங்க அப்பா அம்மா தான் செய்யணும். அவங்க பேசாம இருக்கிறாங்க'ன்னு அப்பம் ஒரு நாள் அப்பா சொன்னாங்க, திடீர்ன்னு சொன்னாங்க, 'ஒன்னை பொண்ணு பாக்க வர்றாங்கன்னு. 'என்னப்பா திடீர்ன்னு சொல்றீங்க. நீங்க யாரு என்னன்னு சொல்ல வேண்டாமா'. எங்க அம்மா, 'யாரு மொதல்ல வர்றானோ, எல்லாரையும் நான் வீட்டுக்கு சேக்க மாட்டேன். யார் வர்றாங்களோ, நீ என்ன நீ பேசுறது, நீ நடுவில், யாருக்கு நீ, fist வர்றவங்கதான்'. first இவங்கதான் வந்தாங்க. நான் என்ன பண்ணேன், எனக்குப் பிடிக்கவே இல்லை. அப்படின்னா, இவங்க வந்து, இவங்க சொல்றவங்களைதான், நான் கலியாணம் பண்ணிக்கணும். ஒரு saying இல்லை. எனக்கு ஒண்ணும் சொல்லக்கூடாது'. அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, சொன்னேன், 'எனக்கு...' அப்பம் அப்பா, அப்பம் அப்பா வந்து என்கிட்ட பயப்படுவாங்க போறதுக்கே. அப்பம் school-க்கு வந்து சொன்னாங்க நீ வந்து மாட்டேன், கிட்டேன், அப்படியெல்லாம் சொல்லிட்டு இங்கெல்லாம் நீ இருக்க முடியாது. நீ வந்து, ஏதாவது yes-ன்னு சொல்லினும். நீ எங்காயது hostel-ல தான் போய் இருக்கணும்; அப்படின்னு வந்து கொஞ்சம் என்னை ஒரு மாதிரி கொஞ்சம் harsh-ஆ பேசினாங்க. school teacher எல்லாம் சொன்னாங்க 'நீ இங்க இருந்து கஷ்டப்பட்டதுக்கு யாரா இருந்தா என்ன, ஒனக்குப் பிடிக்குதோ, இல்லையோ, அங்குப் போயிட்டுக் கஷ்டப்பட்டாக்கூட நீ வந்து சந்தோஷமா இருக்கலாலையா. நீ வந்து பேசாம 'yes'-ன்னு சொல்லிடுன்னு அப்படின்னாங்க. சரி வேற வழியில்லாம 'yes'ன்னு சொன்னேன். அப்புறம் இவங்களோட கல்யாணம் ஆச்சு. எப்படி, என் எனக்குப் பிடிக்கலன்னா, இவங்க வந்து, என்னை, நான் வேலை பார்த்த அளவு கூட அவங்க சம்பளம் சரியா இல்லை. சும்மா சாதாரண ஆளு. இவங்க ஒரு மாதிரி, என்னை force பண்ணி கல்யாணம் பண்ணி வச்சிட்டாங்க. அதில இருந்து எனக்கு வந்து அவங்களைக் கண்டாலே பிடிக்காம கொஞ்ச நாள் ரொம்ப கஷ்டப்பட்டிருந்தேன். எங்களுக்கு பயங்கர தகராறு. நான். அவங்ககிட்ட பேசமாட்டேன். என்னா, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு force பண்ணி கலியாணம் பண்ணினால. இவங்க வந்து ஒரு மாதிரி பொறுமையா இருந்து, இருந்து, அதுக்கப்பறந்தான். ஒரு மூணுவருஷத்துக்குப்புறந்தான். நான் realise பண்ணேன். 'சரி', நம்ம அதை இவங்க மேலகாட்டி இருக்கிற வெறுப்பெல்லாம் இவங்க மேலகாட்டி பிரயோஜனமில்ல. அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு கொஞ்சம், கொஞ்சங்கொஞ்சமா, இருக்கிற, என்னா, எனக்கு அப்பா army-ல இருந்ததுணல நல்ல luxurious life. எங்களைப் party-க்கு போவாங்க. நல்லா பெரிய quarters இருக்கும் எங்க போனாலும். ஒரு மாதிரி அந்த மாதிரி வாழ்க்கை வாழ்ந்திட்டு, இங்க வந்து எங்களுக்கு ஒரே ஒரு room-ல first first வாடகைக்கு இருந்தாங்க, Kodambakkam High Road-ல, common latrine நெறையா குடுத்ததத்துக்கு மத்தில ஒரு வீடு அப்படியெல்லாம் இருந்த ஓடனே தான் எனக்கு வாழ்க்கையே வெறுத்துப்போய் ரொம்ப அப்படி, அவங்க சொல்லுவாங்க. 'நீ சிரிக்கவே மாட்டாய் எப்போதும்', அப்படி, இப்படியெல்லாம். நான் சிரிக்கமாட்டேன், பேசமாட்டேன். ரொம்ப கஷ்டப்பட்டிருந்தேன். அப்புறம் என்னை பண்ணாங்க, இவங்க தான் என்னைக் கொஞ்சங்கொஞ்சமா மாற்றி, இவங்களுக்குத் தெரியும் என்னுடைய background எல்லாம். அந்த மாதிரி கொஞ்சங் கொஞ்சமா மாத்தி, மாத்தி, மாத்தி அதுக்கப்பறந்தான் கண்டுபிடிச்சேன். 'சரி, இவங்க வந்து, அவங்களை விட, நம்ம அந்த நாகத்தில் இருந்தோம். சரி, இது better- லலையா, இவங்களோட வந்துன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அவங்க அம்மா அப்பாவும், இரண்டே இரண்டு பையன்க, பொண்ணே இல்லாததினால, என் மேல ரொம்ப அன்பா இருந்தாங்க. ஆணா இது மாதிரி நான் யோசிப்பேன். ஏன் மேலை ரொம்ப நல்லா இருக்கிறவங்களை தான் கடவுள் தான், இரண்டு வருஷத்தில் அவங்க அம்மா எறந்திட்டாங்க. என் மேல,இவ்வளவு பொண்ணு மாதிரி ஒவ்வொரு தடவையும் எனக்கு Christmas-க்கு அதுக்கு இதுக்குன்னு, அவங்க தான் பொடவை எடுத்துத் தருவாங்க. எங்க அம்மா வந்து, கொழந்தை பெறந்தப் கூட வரவே இல்லை, அப்பாவும் வரலை, அம்மாவும் வரலை, வந்து பாக்கிறதற்கு அப்பம் இவங்க அம்மா தான் என் கூடவே இருந்து எல்லாம் பார்த்தாங்க. ஆணா ஒரு 'ஒங்க அப்பா இப்படி, அப்படி'ன்னு ஒரு நாள் கூட சொன்னதே இல்லை,அப்புறந்தான் கொஞ்சங் கொஞ்சமாக நான் change ஆகி change ஆகி, அதுக்கப்பறம் இப்பம் ரொம்ப நல்லா இருக்கிறாங்க. நான் கூட நல்லா, நெலமையில், அவங்க கூட அப்படி promotion-ல்லாம் வரும் லலையா, அதே மாதிரி, government-தான் அவங்களும். இப்பம் நல்ல வீடெல்லாம் வாங்கி, இப்பம் நல்லா ரெண்டு பிள்ளைங்க, பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்க இருக்கிறாங்க. நல்லா படிக்கிறாங்க. அப்புறம் அவங்க, ஆணா பொறுப்பு full-ஆ அவங்கதான். நானே பார்த்தேன். எங்க அம்மா கையில் அதிகாரம் எடுத்திட்டு ரொம்ப பண்ணாங்க. அதைப் பார்த்திட்டு, நானே வந்து, சரி இது வேண்டவே வேண்டாம். இவங்க கிட்டயே குடுத்தினாலன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அவங்களும் எல்லாம் efficient-ஆ தான் பண்ணிட்டு வர்றாங்க. எல்லாம் Lovely சொன்ன மாதிரி, ஒவ்வொரு சின்ன விஷயம் அவங்க எல்லாம் பண்ணிருவாங்க. எனக்கே தெரியாது. ஒ இதைல்லாம் இப்படியெல்லாம் இருக்காணு, அவங்களோ எல்லாம் பண்ணிருவாங்க. நான் வந்து just like one of the oldest daughter மாதிரி தான். சமைக்கணும்.



பிள்ளைங்களுக்குக் குடுக்கணும், அந்த வேலை மட்டுந்தான். பிள்ளைங்க sick-ஆ ஆனா கூட இது hospital கூட்டிட்டுப் போறது எல்லாம் அவங்கதான் பாத்துக்குவாங்க. .. பயங்கர domination, இப்பவும் அப்படிதான், அப்பா இருக்காங்க. அப்பாவுக்கு இப்பம் 82 years-உ. .... நசுக்கவே இல்லை. அப்படி, நான் எதாவது கேட்டான்னா, அவங்க வந்து இது பண்ணுவாங்க. இரண்டு பேரும் equal மாதிரி தான். But, ரொம்ப சந்தோஷமா இருக்கிறேன்னா, எந்த responsibility ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை. இப்பதான் இவ்வளவு பணம் கட்டணும், என்னுடைய second daughter நாப்பத்தி அஞ்சாயிரம் கட்டணும். நான் ஒண்ணுமே கவலைப்படமாட்டேன். அவங்க அதை எப்படியாது பாத்துக்கிட்டு, அதைக் கட்ட கேப்பேன். ஆனா, 'என்ன பண்ணப் போறீங்க அது இதுன்னு'. அவங்க 'அப்படிப் பாத்திருக்கிறேன், அப்படிக் கேட்டிருக்கிறேன். அங்க loan போட்டிருக்கிறேனெல்லாம் சொல்லுவாங்க. நான் என்னுடைய check-தான் எனக்கு வரும். அப்படியே கொண்டு போய் அவங்க கையில் குடுத்திருவேன். எனக்கும் எல்லாம், நான் என்ன கேக்கிறனோ, குடுத்திருவாங்க, இப்பக் நான் late-ஆ அங்க போனேன், சந்தேகப்பட்டது, 'ஏன் late' எது ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை. காலையில் பாட்டுக்கு நான் சமைச்சி வச்சிட்டு, நான் காலையில், இன்னனைக்கு late ஆகுன்னு' எதுக்கு, என்னு கேக்கவே இல்லை. அவங்க பாட்டுக்கு 'சரி' ஆனா, ஒண்ணே ஒண்ணு கோயிலுக்கு வர மாட்டேன்னாங்க. எனக்கு அது ஒண்ணுதான், எனக்கு ரொம்ப வருத்தம். கோயிலுக்கே வர்றது கெடையாது. கேட்டா 'என்னன் வந்து கோயிலுக்கு போர்றவங்க எத்தனை பேர் நல்லவங்களா இருக்காங்க. கோயிலுக்கா. நான் கோயிலுக்குப் போகாமலே வந்து நல்லவன் தான். எனக்கு நான் கடவுளுக்கு against-ஆ எதுவும் பண்ணலை. நான் எல்லாம் உண்மையா தான் இருக்கிறேன். நான் என்னுடைய இதில் எனக்கு ஆனா ஒண்ணும் அந்த மாதிரி கெட்டகுணங்கள் ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை. ஒரு promotion ஆச்சு, அதில் எதோ லஞ்சம் பயங்கரமா குடுப்பாங்களாம். அதினால அவங்க 'எனக்கு அந்த post-ஏ வேண்டான்ட்டாங்க.' எனக்கு அந்த லஞ்சம் வாங்கிற post-ஏ வேண்டான்னு எழுதிக்குடுத்திட்டாங்க எழுதிக் குடுத்திட்டு திருப்பி ordinary post-க்கே வந்துட்டாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி ரொம்ப sincere. But கோயிலுக்கு வர்றதில் மட்டும் இவங்களல்லாம் கூட பாத்திருப்பாங்களான்னன்னு கூட தெரியலை அவங்களை. ... தெரியும், ம், அவங்களுக்கு தெரியுமாயிருக்கும்

... ஒண்ணுமே யில்லை, ஆஹான், ஒண்ணுமே அதெல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே சொல்லமாட்டாங்க. தெரியும் நான் sunday class எடுக்கிறேன். பிள்ளைங்க, அதினால என்ன பண்ணேன் நான் வந்து பிள்ளைங்களெல்லாம் நான் வந்த ஒழுங்கா church-க்குக் கூட்டி வந்து இந்த இவாதான் என் daughter அவா எடுக்கிறா, sunday class எடுக்கிறா. அதினால ரொம்ப involve பண்ணிக்கிட்டேன். நானே. என்னா அவங்களுக்கு compensate பணம் மாதிரி, அவங்க ஒண்ணும் பண்ண மாட்டேன். நாங்களே, அப்படின்னு, நானே வந்து இப்படி கொஞ்சம் activities-ல இந்த இப்படி இவங்க பிள்ளைங்க கொஞ்சம் பரவாலை, வருவாங்க, ஆனா, 'என் போற' அப்படியெல்லாம் கெடையாது. கோயிலுக்குப் போறதைப் பற்றி எந்த நேரம் வேணாலும், எப்பம் வேணாலும் போலாம். ஆனா அவங்க மட்டும் கோயிலுக்கு sunday வந்தா. முந்தி எங்களை கோயில்ல வந்து ஏறக்கி விட்டுட்டுப் போவாங்க. கூட்டிட்டு வந்து விட்டுட்டு போவாங்க. இப்பம் அது கூட இல்லை. நாங்களாதான் வர்றோம். கோயிலுக்குப் போற இது மட்டும் இன்னும் வரலை. மற்றபடி as a person வந்து,

35. Lovely – SR35, கலியாணம் ஆனபிறகு வந்து, ம் என்னுடைய husband's side வந்து they, the way they have been brought up and அப்புறம் செலவழிக்கிறதெல்லாம் totally different from the way I was brought up என்ற தான். அவங்க கொஞ்சம் பாத்து செலவழிக்கிற type தான். But எனக்கு வந்து நான் வந்து financial wise I never helped him. I mean, like, இப்படி செலவழிக்கணும் இப்படி செலவழிக்கணும் அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை. Because I was more into bookish தான் எப்பவுமே. படிச்சிக்கிட்டே இருப்பேன். அது it was my, அ, அதுதான் என்னுடைய அது தான் என்னுடைய, it was my end thing you know. படிக்கணும் ஒழுங்காப் படிக்கணும் atleast படிக்க வைக்கிறாங்க, அந்த இது தான் என்கிட்ட இருந்துது. அப்படி infact kitchen-ல கூட help பண்ண மாட்டேன். at home sometimes, சும்மா அந்த வெட்டிக் குடுக்கிறது மட்டுந்தான் பண்ணுவேன். மீதி mummy தான் பாப்பாங்க. so அதினால finance wise-ன்னும் போது after marriage வந்து I never had the interest. சரி என் husband-ஏ பாக்கட்டுமே. அது அந்த இதில்தான் இருந்துது. So initially I never had the intention also. So financial இது அவங்க தான் பாத்திட்டு இருந்தாங்க. இப்பம் bank-க்கு போணான்னாலும் எனக்குப் பிடிக்காது. நான் never, why I had that-ன்னா எனக்கு office timings-உம் அந்த மாதிரி seven to evening four and பிழிஞ்சி எடுத்திருவாங்க. So, I used to self pity. 'இவளோ கஷ்டப்பட்டு வேலை செய்றேன். அதினால வேற எந்த வேலையும் பாக்கக் கூடாது. அந்த ஒரு இதுவும் இருந்துது. so அதினால எனக்கு மீதி activities எல்லாம் let my husband take care (laughs) financial part I never, then, ன்டு, நானும் அப்படி ரொம்ப இதை, அவர் கேட்டா செலவழிக்கிற type-உம் கெடையாது. so எனக்கு காகவேணும். நீங்க குடுங்க. அதினால நான் செலவழிக்கப் போறேன்ற அந்த situation-உம் வரலை. But any, any, ஏன் husband வந்து ரொம்ப calculative and he knows how to do investments, share. இப்பம் income tax-ன்னு பாத்தீங்கன்னா, இருக்காது. எனக்கு income-tax calculations பிடிக்கவே பிடிக்காது. But, it is one important thing in our life actually அப்படி பாத்தோன்னா. Practical-ஆ to be more என்ன பண்ணணும் அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம். அவங்க income-tax calculation போடுவாங்க. எதில் best போட்டா investment, அப்பம் நான் சொல்லுவேன். இதெல்லாம் ரொம்ப, ரொம்ப money oriented mind person, அப்படின்னு I used to think. But, இப்பம் இந்த past three years, seeing how much is required, அந்த மாதிரி நம்ம spiritual-ஆ growth, ம், அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் நம்ம யோசிக்கிறோம். அப்படி நம்ம வளந்திருக்கிறதினால. அதுக்கெல்லாந்தான். first importance குடுக்கிறோம். definitely that is there. But இந்த side we also have to look into ன்றது I learnt it from him. Because if I am இப்பம் பாக்கிறேன். ஏன்னா இவங்க, he is in Saudi எல்லாம் நான்

தான். பாக் கேன். so, of the little import of what I had from him and 'கொஞ்சங் கொஞ்சம் நீ வந்து பாரு' அப்படி உக்கார வச்ச எனக்குச் சொல்லுவாங்க. 'இதில் போட்டிறதான் best' ன் அவங்களை பாக்கும் போது இப்பம் எனக்கு இல்லாத நிலை தான் எனக்கு ஓரளவுக்கு வந்து இப்பம் manage பண்ண முடியுது. so that is one very good, that much I learnt from him and helping வந்து நான் கேக்காமலே எல்லாம் பண்ணுவாங்க (laughs) Right from everything காய் வாங்கிறதில் இருந்து வெட்டி எல்லாமே he will do. Because எனக்கு அந்த மாதிரி வேலையும், definite-ஆ ரொம்ப tough-தான் எனக்கு, அதுவும் faculty-யா இருக்கும் போதெல்லாம் எனக்கெல்லாம் six hours கூட class continuous-ஆ morning seven, seven to nine, nine to eleven, அப்புறமெல்லாம் one to three lunch இருக்கும். so, நான் ரொம்ப, physically I used to be totally exhausted. But அவங்க வந்து அதை he knew that. அதினால எல்லாமே பண்ணுவாங்க. so அந்த விதத்தில் I think, I am totally gifted. இப்பையும், இப்பம் இந்த one month leave வந்திருக்கும் போது கூட அவங்களோ எல்லாம், best example is இந்த ration shop. In fact அது வந்து இன்னும், ன், அந்த side ரங்கராஜபுரத்தில் இருந்தோம். so, ration shop அங்க தான் இருக்கு எனக்கு. I never told him anything you know. One day he shifted it to a nearest place, இப்பம் இருக்கிற எடம், நான் I was really shocked. ஏன்னா அந்த அளவுக்கு அவங்க வந்து எல்லாம் duties-உம் he will take care. So now realising நானே, அது மட்டும் நான் செஞ்சிட்டு வர்றேன். அது மட்டும் நான் செய்ற அதாவது because இவ்வளவு நான் நான் அதெல்லாம் importance குடுத்தேன் இல்லை. And I used, still, I have a self-pirity for me. 'ஐயோ நான் இவ்வளவு கஷ்டப்பட்டு வேலை செய்றனே, இவ்வளவு, இவ்வளவு நேரம் வேலை செய்றேன். இவ்வளவு exhaust-ஆ ஆறனே' அந்த feeling தான் it is over riding me, so அதினால my bit of contribution of other things of the family I was neglecting. But இனி மேலும் நான் அப்படி continue பண்ண முடியாதுன்றது ஒரு situation இருக்கு. என்னா இப்பம்... for brining up I need energy for that. Whatever energy I am wasting in the office, I, I have to find for family life. I அதினால இப்பம் என்னுடைய ஜெப் வாழ்க்கையும் அதினால நான் இப்பம் யோசிக்கிறேன். Physical-ஆ since I'm getting exhausted எனக்கு Physical இது வேணும், energy வேணுன்னா நான் ஒண்ணும் சாப்பிட்டு ஒண்ணும் பண்ண முடியலை. அதுவும் so, it's only through prayers. நான் ஒரு சோம்பேறி, நான் காலையில ரொம்ப ஒண்ணும் விழிக்கிறது கெடையாது. so I am thinking on that. அப்பம் நான் வந்து முழிச்சி கொஞ்சம், ம், to spend time. So அந்த மாதிரி பாத்திட்டு வர்றேன். Financial-ஆ as I said இப்பம் I am taking a little, not I won't say interest. கொஞ்சம் சரி, நம்மளும் அந்தக் காரியங்களெல்லாம் தெரிஞ்சி வச்சிக்கணும் life-ல். செலவழிக்கிற விஷயந் எல்லாம் first மொதல்ல again I leave it totally in the hands of my husband. Like அவங்க என்னாலும் பாத்துக்குவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி, But it's now Contradictions எல்லாம் வந்ததில்லை, ஏன்னா அவங்க கொஞ்சம் பாத்து செலவழிக்கிற type. So first இதில் ஏன் அவங்க இவ்வளவு கஞ்சமா இருக்கிறாங்கன்னு அந்த feeling இருந்தது. O.K. But அந்த இதை it changed over time. My first year might be I had the feeling. Even after the second year I had the feeling in the changed level. செல விஷயங்கள்ல எல்லாம் we can relax- ன்றது. I made a most. . . இப்பம், second year in fact I didn't have any sort of misunderstanding-ன்னும் சொல்ல முடியாது. But அந்த initial விஷயம் வந்து அவங்க வந்து கொஞ்சம் correct-ஆ பாத்து செலவழிக்கிற type which I was feeling a little, ன், ஏன் நம்ம இப்படி யோசிக்கிறோம். Because நான் இப்படி பாத்து செலவழிக்கிற, (laugh) அப்படி வளக்கவுமில்லை. கொஞ்சம் கஷ்டமா இருந்தது. But, then he also changed. In fact monthly once hotel- க்குப் போனூன்னு எனக்கு ஆசை. ஏன்னா நான் சமைக்கிற சாப்பாடு எனக்கு இஷ்டங் கெடையாது. (laughs) இதினால monthly once hotel போனூன்னு எனக்கு ரொம்ப ஆசையா இருக்கும். So அதினால first அது, அதெல்லாம் இப்பம் he is totally we want once he came this time, month வரும் போது, கூட்டிக்கிட்டு போனாங்க. நான் கூட கேக்கக்கூட இல்லை. But he understands, 'சரி அவளும் wants a change' அப்படியெல்லாம் யோசிச்சி

36. Gem – SR36 - எல்லாம் கலந்து பேசி இல்லை, எல்லாமே அவங்க இஷ்டத்துக்கு தான் செய்வாங்க. அவங்க என்ன இதில்ல செய்யனூன்னு விரும்புறாங்களோ. அப்படி தான் செய்வாங்க. நான் எப்பவாது கேட்டா, சிலதெல்லாம் object பண்ணேனா ஒத்து தான் போனும். ஏன்னா ஒருத்தர் தான் சம்பளம், அதுக்கு நான் கலியாணம் பண்ண பெறகு வேலை பாக்கல. அதினால வடக்கே இருந்ததினால இவங்களுக்கு இஷ்டம் இல்லை. அதினால அவங்களுக்கு இங்கயும் வந்து அவங்க பெரிய குடும்பம். அதினால் அவங்க will and wish தான். அப்படியே, அப்படிதான்.

37. Lovely – SR37, என்னுடைய வீட்ல வந்து all money matters, I think my mummy only was dealing with, எல்லாமே, household எல்லாமே Mummy தான் பாத்திட்டு இருந்தாங்க. And it could be because most of the time Daddy வந்து வெளியூரில் இருந்திருக்காங்க. So எல்லாமே Mummy இப்பம் படிக்கிற காரியங்கள் எல்லாமே Mummy தான் எல்லாம் பாத்திட்டிருந்தா. ன் I never seen any major contentions or I mean difference of opinion, அப்படியெல்லாம் எதுவும் இரண்டு பேருக்கிடைய நாங்க பிள்ளைங்களா நாங்க பாத்ததில்லை. So, I think finance Mummy was quite smart enough to அந்த இதில்ல, எந்த situation ஆனாலும், ஒரு வேளை ஒருத்தர் இல்லாத situation-ன்றதினால ஒருவேளை she was able to manage and where she had enough also she, I mean, அதை செலவழிக்கிறதுக்கும் she was able to do it. ஆன் helping வந்து வீட்டுக்கு வந்து help பண்ணதினா Daddy never took part in the kitchen activities. so இங்க இருந்து ஒரு டம்ளனை எடுத்து அந்த side வைக்கனூன்னாலும் அந்தப் பழக்கம் கெடையாது. so அதில I would say. my mum was very, ஏன்னா cooking ரொம்ப நல்லா பண்ணுவாங்க. அது மாதிரி அதெல்லாமே, ன், ஆனா வீட்டோட எப்பவும் we used to have one servant. So அந்தப் பழக்கம் இருந்தது



mummy-க்கு but இந்தக் காரியங்களும் mummy தான் எல்லாம் பாத்திட்டு இருந்தாங்க. இப்பம் mummy தான் பாக்கிறாங்க.

38. Lita - SR38, ஆனா, அதே மாதிரி வீட்டையும் எங்க மாமியார், 'இது பாரு, இதைக் கட்டினதே பெரிய தப்பா போச்சு'. (chuckles) அப்படின்னுட்டு, கோயிலுக்கு, school-ல Drama பண்ணுது. இங்க இது பண்ணுது. Christmas time-ல எல்லாம் என்னையைப் பிடிக்கவே பிடிக்காது. Church-லயும் Sunday class பாக்கணும். School-லயும் அந்த மாதிரி இது பாக்கணும். இந்த மாதிரி meetings அது இதுன்னு Women's Fellowship அப்படி இப்படின்னு போறதே அவங்களுக்கெல்லாம் ரொம்ப இஷ்டமில்லாம இருக்கும். எங்க நாத்தனார் கூட இது இதான் சொல்லிப் பாத்தாங்க. அவங்களுக்குப் புரிஞ்சிருச்சு. சரி, என்ன சொன்னாலும் இது நிக்காது. ஏன்னா, வீட்ல நான் செய்ய வேண்டியதை செய்திட்டுப் போவேன். செய்யாம, அது ஒண்ணு, எப்பவும் எல்லாம் women-க்கும் நான் சொல்றது. 'வீட்ல கடமைகளைச் செய்திட்டு தான், நீங்க அந்த மாதிரி', என்னா அதிலையும் அவங்களை involve பண்ண வைக்கிறது நம்ம தெறமை தான். அவங்க involve பண்ண வைக்கிறது, 'ஐயோ செஞ்சிருங்க'ன்னு total-ஆ விட்டுட்டுப்போனா அவங்க ஒரு நாளும் செய்ய மாட்டாங்க. அவங்களை nice-ஆ அவங்களை involve பண்ண வச்சு, அவங்களைப் புரிய வச்சு, நம்மளும் அவங்களைப் பாதி வேலை, in rearing children, cooking-உ அப்புறம் administration எல்லாத்திலையுமே decision-making எல்லாத்திலையுமே அவங்களைக் கொஞ்சம் புரிய வச்சு, நம்ம கொண்டு வந்துட்டோன்னா, அப்புறம் full-ஆ அவங்களுக்கும் தெரிஞ்சிருது.

39. Priya - SR39, Domestic chores I don't think my father would do that much. I think, my mother, the servant would take much care of it. [Priya narrates that her mother had the responsibility for domestic chores which she was able to do with the help of a servant who would do much of it.] Of course if it is something to buy outside my father would do it. But, I don't think he'd actually help around in the chores as such.

40. Varam - SR40, அப்பவே எனக்கு இந்த பேரே பிடிக்காது. அது என்னவோ தெரியாது. என்னென்னவோ பேர் வச்சிருக்கிறாங்க, இந்த பேர் வச்சிருக்கிறாங்களேன்னு நெனைப்பேன். ... எங்க அப்பா மொதல்ல வந்து நல்ல வசதியா இருந்து அப்புறம் நொடிச்சிப் போயி அப்புறம் எங்க அப்பா போயி, ... அதுனால அப்பா எங்காயாவது போயி சம்பாதிச்சு அனுப்பும். எங்க அம்மா அதுல வந்து குடும்பத்தை நடத்தினாங்க. சிவகாசில கொஞ்ச நாள் இருந்தாங்க. அப்ப வந்து கட்டை அடுக்கிறது, இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் எங்க அம்மா கஷ்டப்பட்டு வளத்தாங்க அதுக்குப் பெறவு எங்க அப்பா நெரந்தரமா மெட்ராஸுக்கு வந்துட்டாங்க. வரையும் நாங்க எல்லாம் மெட்ராஸுக்கு வந்தோம். வந்த பெறவு, ... அப்ப எங்க அம்மா தான் இருக்கிறதை வச்ச ரொம்ப அழகா குடும்பத்தை maintain பண்ணுவாங்க. ... இல்லைன்னு ஒண்ணு இருக்காது. அதாவது ஒரு புதுசு எடுக்கணுன்னா, இந்த தீபாவளி, பொங்கலுக்கு நாங்க புதிசு எதிர்பார்ப்போம். ஆனா எங்களுக்கு uniform எடுத்துத் தருவாங்க (chuckles) அது தான் புதுசு. ஏனா அந்த மாதிரி நெலைமையில் இருந்தோம். கலர் டிரஸ் வேணும்னு ஆசையா இருக்கும். ஆனா எனக்கு வந்து uniform தான் எடுத்துத் தருவாங்க. அப்புறம் என்ன செய்ய, அதைப்போடு, சிரிப்பாங்க பசங்க கூட, 'என்ன புது டிரஸ், இது போட்டிருக்க', எங்களுக்கு அது தான் புதுசு. என்னா சில சமயத்தில் அப்படி எடுத்துக் குடுக்க அப்படி அம்மா வளர்த்தாங்க.

41. Swarna - SR41, அப்பம் நாங்க எனக்குக் கொஞ்சம் நெனைவு தெரிஞ்சு அந்த இதில இருந்த நாங்க இங்க தனியா நாங்க அம்மா, அம்மாவும், அண்ணனும் தங்கச்சியும் நானுமாதான் இருந்தோம். so monthly அப்பா வந்து பணத்தை வந்து அனுப்புவாங்க. செலவுக்குள்ள பணத்தை, மீதி உள்ளது எல்லாமே அம்மா தான் பாத்துக்கணும் Land இது பாக்கிறது. வேலைக்கு ஆள் வச்சி, இதெல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரி பாத்துக்குவாங்க, இங்க உள்ள செலவு எல்லாமே, இது மாதிரி அம்மா தான் பாத்துக்கிட்டாங்க. ... அப்புறம் எங்களுக்குக் கலியாணம் இதெல்லாம் வந்த போது அப்பா அம்மாவும் இப்ப, இப்ப வாரதுக்கு இரண்டு பேரும் சேந்து, அப்பாதான் அதை இது பண்ணி, இதெல்லாம் பாத்திட்டு வந்து family-ல மற்றவங்களும் சேந்துதான் அப்பா, சித்தப்பா அந்த மாதிரி அதெல்லாம் இது பண்ணிக்கிட்டாங்க. மற்றபடி செலவுகளெல்லாம், ன், இப்பம் உள்ள சூழ்நிலையில் அப்பா வந்திட்டா, ஏன்னா, அப்பா கையிலதான் பணம் இருக்கும். அம்மா கையில் அவங்க செலவுக்கு குடுத்திருவாங்க. ஏன்னா அம்மா ரொம்ப செலவாளி. அதாவது யார் என்ன கேட்டாலும், இப்பம் நூறு ரூபா நோட்டா இருந்தா அதை மாத்திக் குடுக்கணும் அந்த மாதிரி யோசிக்க மாட்டாங்க. வேற இல்லையா நூறு ரூபா குடுத்திற்ற மாதிரி அந்த type அதனால அந்த மாதிரி அப்பா கையில் பணத்தை வச்சிட்டு செலவுக்கு பண்ணுவாங்க. அம்மா என்ன வாங்கணுன்னு என்ன சொன்னாலும் வாங்கிக் குடுத்திற்று அந்த மாதிரி உண்டு. மற்றபடி இப்பம் வீட்டு வேலை வேலைக்கு ஆளெல்லாம் வச்சிக்கலாம் ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. அம்மாக்குதான் ரொம்ப பிடிக்காது வேலைக்கு ஆளுவச்சா வெளிவேலைக்கெல்லாம் வச்சிப்பாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி. மற்றபடி ரொம்ப அந்த ஒடுக்கினாங்களன்னில்ல, அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை. ஆனா செலவு decisions making இல்லை, இல்லை இப்படிதான் இருக்கணும். அப்படிதான் இருக்கணுன்னு சொல்லிகிட்டு அந்த மாதிரி, ரொம்ப நான் பாத்ததில்ல அவங்களுக்குள்ள பெரிய இதுவாட்டு சண்டை, அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் பாத்ததில்லை.

42. Mariam - SR42, எங்க வீட்ல வந்து அப்பா அம்மா இரண்டு பேருமே equal-ஆ எல்லாத்திலையுமே spiritual-ஆ தான். அது எங்க education எல்லாமே எங்களுக்கு equal importance அப்பா, அம்மா கிட்ட, ன், எனக்கு கெடைச்சிருக்கு, ன்....

ன், அப்படி கெடையாது, எல்லாம் கெடையாது. இது, ... ஆண்டவருடைய கிருபையினால எனக்கு வந்து, அப்பா

எல்லா வகையிலுமே எனக்கு, எல்லா இரண்டு பேருமே equal-ஆ, actual-ஆ பத்தா அம்மா வந்து church P.C.-ல அம்மா இருக்கிறதினால அம்மா என்னை அனுப்பி விட்டிருவாங்க. ன், எங்க அப்பா வந்து அப்பம் வந்து ரொம்ப church பற்றி அவங்க இருக்க மாட்டாங்கன்னா கூட, எங்க அம்மா வந்து எல்லா fellowship எல்லாந்லாம் கலந்துக்கிறுதினால, என்னை வந்து அம்மா encourage பண்ணுவாங்க. நீ, னும், Bible எல்லாம் வாசிக்கணும். அப்படியெல்லாம், அதெல்லாம் எனக்கு வந்து அந்த இது continuous-ஆ இன்னும் வந்துட்டு இருக்குது, ஆனா எனக்கு வந்து எங்க அம்மாவைப் போல பிள்ளைகளையும் அந்த line-ல கொண்டு வந்திரணும் அப்படினா அம்மா வந்து church இதிலெல்லாம் வந்து, ம், அது ஆராதனை அதில எல்லாம் ரொம்ப இது பண்ணிக்கிடுவாங்க. அம்மா வந்து எல்லாத்திலையுமே participate பண்ணுவாங்க. ன், அதினால எனக்கு வந்து, ம், அம்மா, அப்பா equal-ஆ எனக்கு எல்லா வகையிலுமே வேலை எல்லாம் செய்திருக்காங்க. வீட்ல வந்து பிள்ளைகளுக்கு அப்பா வந்து வித்தியாசம் பாக்கவே மாட்டாங்க. எல்லாருமே வந்து பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்பாவும் அம்மாவும் equal-ஆ எல்லாம், எல்லா வேலை எல்லாம் செய்றதிலை, எல்லாம் பன்றதுக்கு family நல்லா, better இதில கொண்டு வர்றதுக்கு இரண்டு பேருமே இப்படி ... பணசெலவு, அப்பா இதில, அப்பா குடுப்பாங்க, அம்மா அதை அது, அந்த இதை, அதை அந்த அதை, அவங்க அந்த business-ன்றதினால, அதுக்கேத்த மாதிரி அம்மா எல்லாம் பண்ணுவாங்க கலியாணமெல்லாம் பண்ணும் போது எங்கையெல்லாம் கலந்து ஆலோசிச்சி, எப்படி செய்யலாம், அப்படி இது பண்ணுவாங்க. ... அப்பா வீட்ல எல்லாருமே, இரண்டு பேருமே, எல்லாம், பிள்ளைங்கெல்லாம் சேந்து, ன், ஆமா, எல்லாமே

43. Kamala – SR43, என் குடும்பத்திலையும் நான் அப்படி இல்லை. எங்க வீட்டுக்காரர் வந்து என்கிட்ட குடுத்திருவாங்க. அவங்க எதிலையும் கலந்துக்க மாட்டாங்க. ஏதாவது செய்யணுன்னா நான் கேட்டு செய்வேன். ஆனா எல்லா பொறுப்பும் நான் தான் செய்வேன். பிள்ளைங்களை வளர்க்கிறதில இருந்து எல்லாமே நான் தான். அதெல்லாம் எது பற்றியும் பேசிக்க மாட்டாங்க. வேலைக்குப் போறமா வர்றமா குடுக்கிறமா அப்படினா,

44. Sweety – SR44, இப்பம் எங்களுடைய குடும்பத்தில பாக்கும் போது ஏன், எங்க parents வந்து எங்க அப்பா ரொம்ப வீட்டுக் காரியம் ரொம்ப கவனிக்க மாட்டாங்க. அவங்களுக்கு ரொம்ப financial-ல ரொம்ப இது இல்லை. அப்படி எல்லாம் எங்க அம்மாவே தான் செய்தாங்க. அப்புறம் பணம்ல்லாம் பத்தலைன ஓடனே எங்க அம்மா வேலைக்குப் போணாங்க. அதினால இப்படி family-ல எங்க அம்மா full-ஆ எங்க அம்மா தான் எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க ஆனா கடைசியில இரட்சிக்கப்பட்டது எங்க அப்பா தான், மொதல்ல இரட்சிக்கப்பட்டாங்க. கடவுளை அறிஞ்சு கொண்டது. மொதல்ல அவங்க ரொம்ப இது இருந்தா கூட, கடைசில எங்க அப்பா இரட்சிக்கப்பட்டாங்க. அப்பம் எங்க அப்பா, ஆனா full family இரட்சிக்கப்பட எங்க அம்மா தான்.

45. Mallimalar – SR45, எங்க அம்மாவுக்குக் கொறைஞ்ச கூலி தான். SPIC company-ல தான் வேலை செய்வாங்க. ஒரு நாள் சம்பளமே 1 1/4 ரூபா சம்பளம் தான் அந்தக் காசைக் கூட எங்க அம்மா அதில பத்திரம் பண்ணி வச்சு, அதில ஏதாவது வாங்கி பிள்ளைங்களுக்குக் குடுக்கப் பண்ணுவாங்க. ஆனா எங்க அப்பா கையில காசு இருக்குன்னு பாத்திட்டாங்கன்னா வேலைக்குப் போகமாட்டாங்க.

46. Sampooma – SR46 எங்க வீட்ல எங்க அம்மா தான் all in all எல்லாத்துக்கும் என்னன்னா எங்க அப்பாவுக்கு சீக்கிரம் கோபம் வந்திரும் எல்லாத்துக்கும். பொறுமை இருக்காது, எங்க அம்மா எல்லாம் பொறுத்து, எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க. படிச்சு பாடம் கத்துக் குடுக்கிற விஷயத்தில இருந்து, எவ்வளவு 4 பேர் இருந்தாங்க, 4 பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் தவறாம சொல்லிக் குடுத்திருவாங்க. படிப்பு விஷயத்தில, school-க்கு போகிற விஷயத்தில, ஒழுங்கில, அதிக கண்டிப்பு, பெறகு இந்த கடவுள் பக்திக்குரிய காரியத்தில், அதிக முக்கியத்துவம் எங்க அம்மா எங்கள் சின்ன குழந்தையில இருந்தே, ... அம்மா means தான். அவங்க என்ன செய்றாங்களோ அது correct அவ்வளவு தான்.

47. Devar, SR47, எல்லாம் எங்க வீட்ல அம்மா தான் manage பண்ணுவாங்க. நேரமே இருக்காது. .. finance-உம் எங்க அம்மா தான். Sunday வந்திருவாங்க எங்க வீட்டுக்கு, அதெல்லாம் கவனிப்பாங்க. ... ஆனா ரொம்ப எங்க அம்மா எங்க அப்பா. அந்த மாதிரி இது. அந்த மாதிரி background-ல வந்தேன். எப்பவுமே discussion இருக்காது. எல்லாம் சரியா இருக்கும். மாசக் கடைசில சொந்தக்காரர் வர்றவங்களுக்கு எல்லாஞ் செய்திட்டு.. இது பண்ணுவாங்க. ஆச்சர்யமா இருக்கும். மாசக்கடைசில இவ்வளவு ரூபா இருக்கு, என்ன செய்லான்னு கேப்பாங்க. இதை வச்சக்கலாமா, இல்லை இதை வேறு எதுவும் .. நாங்க எல்லாம் hostel-லயே படிச்சோம். வந்தா ரொம்ப ஆச்சர்யமா இருக்கும். என்ன, எங்க வீட்ல இப்படி அப்படினாவாங்க. எங்க வீட்டிலயும் அதே மாதிரி இவங்களுக்கும் camp-க்குப் போற வேலை. அதுனால மொதல்ல இருந்தே நான் தான் finance manage பண்ண வேண்டியதாயிருச்சு. ... மற்றப்படி கடவுள் கிருபையா, இப்ப ஒரு hitch argument வந்ததே இல்லை. நானும் trying to ஏதாவது ஒண்ணு, அதுக்கு செய்யலாம். ஒங்க family-க்கு செய்யலாமா, எங்க family-க்குச் செய்யலாமா,ன்னு. By God's grace hitch வந்ததே இல்லை.

48. Mallimalar – SR48, இப்பம் நான் வந்து என் தாய் வீட்ல எவ்வளவோ கஷ்டப்பட்டேன். கடவுளுடைய கிருபையினால நான் இங்க வந்த எடத்தில் வந்து எனக்கு வேற எந்த கொறைவும் கெடையாது. பணப்பற்றாக்குறை தானே தவிர ஒரு கடவுள் கொடுத்த கணவரும் நல்லவர் தான். கடவுள் குடுத்த மூன்று பிள்ளைகளும் நல்ல பிள்ளைங்க தான். ... அதினால இப்ப வீட்டுக் காரியங்கள நான் எடுத்துப் பாக்கும் போது, எங்க எல்லாமே எடுத்து, மொதல்ல கலியாணம் வந்த புதிசில அவங்க தான் எல்லாமே வாங்கி வந்து, இங்க மெட்ராஸுக்குள்ள எதுவும்

தெரியாதில்லையா. அவங்க தான் எல்லாம் வாங்கி வந்து குடுப்பாங்க. அப்புறம் என்னையைக் கூட்டிட்டுப் போவாங்க. ஒரு நேரம் இது. இருக்காங்கல்ல அவங்க தான் எல்லாமே வாங்கிட்டு வந்து குடுப்பாங்க. வாங்கிட்டு வந்தாங்கன்னா, காய் கறி எல்லாம் பாத்தீங்கன்னா, ரொம்ப இது இருக்கும். 'நீங்க வாங்கிட்டு வந்து நல்லா இல்லைங்க நானே வாங்கிக்கிறே'ன்னு சொல்லி அப்படியே இது பண்ணினால இப்ப கடைசில கடையில் என் பொறுப்பிலேயே விட்டுட்டாங்க, 'எல்லாமே நீ தான் பாத்துக்கம்மா' அப்படின்னு விட்டிருவாங்க. என்றாலும் இப்பம் ஒரு காரியமா இருந்தாலும் நான் தான் எதுவும் வாங்கணும். செய்யணும்ன்னும் போது, 'இது வாங்கணுங்க', ஆனா திடீர்னு ஒரு நேரம், 'காசு குடுத்தேனே, எங்க கணக்கு'ன்னு அப்படி கேப்பாங்க. நான் எப்பவுமே, ஒரு நேரம் கையில் நெறைய காசு கெடைக்குதே, கணக்கு கேப்பாங்கன்னு தெரியும். திடீர்னு கேட்டங்கன்னா திட்டப்போறாங்க. என்னமோ மனசில திடீர்னு கேப்பாங்க. கேட்டாங்கன்னா, 'பாத்துக்குங்க, இவ்வளவு செலவாயிருக்கு' வரிசையா பார்ப்பாரு. 'ஒன் கணக்கைப் பார்த்தாவே எனக்கு, நீ காட்டாத', ஏதாவது சொன்னாங்கன்னா, 'பாத்துக்குங்க, இவ்வளவு செலவாயிருக்கு'.... ஆனா குடும்பத்தில் உள்ள பொறுப்பு, இப்பம் பாக்கிறதெல்லாம் நான் தான் பாக்கிறேன்.

49. Heera – SR49, என் வீட்ல அப்பாவும், அம்மாவும், அம்மா தான். she was in control எல்லாம் பணம் கிணம் எல்லாம் அம்மாகிட்ட குடுத்திருவாங்க அப்பா. அப்பா soft natured. ஆனா வீட்ல எல்லாம் நல்லா help பண்ணுவாங்க. எங்க அம்மாவுக்கு நாங்க எட்டு பேரு. நெறைய பிள்ளைங்க. அம்மா தான் வீட்டுக் காரியம் எல்லாம் பாத்துக்கிடுவாங்க ஆனா. அப்பா வந்து officer-ஆ இருந்ததுனால வெளிய போய்ட்டுவர, late- ஆ வர, camp போக, அப்படி இப்படின்னு இருக்கும். So, but அம்மா தான் எல்லாம் manage பண்ணாங்க. she managed it very well ....

50. Arunavathy – SR50, பிள்ளைகளை வளக்கிறதில். ... அதாவது பிள்ளை இப்படிதான் இருக்கணும். அளவுக்கு மீறி, இது, மற்றும் உலகப் பிரகாரமான காரியத்தில் எவ்வளவோ பிள்ளைங்க போறாங்க. அது எப்படி சொல்றது. கட்டுப்பாட்டுக்குள்ள நம்ம பெண்கள் தான் பிள்ளைங்களை .... தகப்பன், மற்றபடி பெண் பிள்ளைங்கன்னும் போது நம்ம ladies தான் அதுகளுக்கு அதிகமா care எடுக்கணும். ஏன்னா, தகப்பன்மாருக்கும் ஒண்ணும் அவ்வளவா ஒண்ணும் இது பண்ண முடியாது. என்னா, பெண்களுக்கு அந்த உரிமை இருக்கணும். நீ இப்படி தான் இருக்கணும் அப்படின்னு வளக்கணும் பெண்கள் தான். ஆன அது வந்து ladies-க்கு தான் அந்த இது தெரியும். பெண் பிள்ளை எப்படி இருக்கணுன்னு ladies-க்கு தான் தெரியும். gents-க்குத் தெரியாது. இப்பம் ஒரு ஜெபத்திலயே நடத்தணுன்னா நம்ம நடத்துற மாதிரி –gents-க்கு அப்படி நடத்த தெரியாது.

51. Arunkumari, SR51, அதுனால நான் என்ன சொல்வேன் 'நீங்க வந்து கொஞ்சம் strict-ஆ இருங்க'. நான் அன்பா இருக்கிறேன். அப்பம் பசங்க மனசில நம்ப ஒரே படி நல்லா வரும். வேற்றுமை வராது, அப்படின்னுவேன். மற்றபடி நான் வந்து எந்த இதுவும், அவங்க கேக்கிற இஷ்டந்தான்.

52. Arunkumari – SR52, மற்றபடி நான் வந்து எந்த இதுவும், அவங்க கேக்கிற இஷ்டந்தான். Weekly once McRennet கூட்டிட்டுப்போய் அவங்களுக்கு ஏற்படி இது பண்ணிடுவேன். ஆனா கடவுள் விஷயத்தில் வந்து நான் strict-ஆ இருப்பேன். Bible படிக்கணும். daily வந்துட்டு வசனம் சொல்லிட்டுத் தான் படுக்கணும். அதாவது school-ல என்னதாவது songs ஏதாவது சொல்லிக் குடுத்தா, பாடவைப்பேன். அந்த மாதிரி கொஞ்சம் interest கொண்டு வர்றேன்.

53. Lila - SR53, எங்களுக்கு finance பொறுத்தமட்டில என்ன நடந்துதுன்னே தெரியாது. எங்களுக்கு வேண்டியது எங்களுக்குக் கெடைக்கும். யாரு என்ன சம்பாதிக்கிறோம், எவ்வளவு சம்பாதிக்கிறோம் அதெல்லாம் தெரியாது. எங்க வேலைக்குப் போறாங்க அது தெரியும். என்ன வாங்கப் போறாங்க, வீட்டுக்கு என்ன, நாங்கெல்லாம் வேற மாதிரி, .... ஒண்ணுமே தெரியாது எங்களுக்கு. என்ன நடந்துது ... . இல்லை அப்படியெல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே, நாங்கெல்லாம் we were so innocent. இந்த மாதிரி கூட இருக்கன்னு

54. Gem – SR54, பாக்கணும், பாக்கணும் ஆனா men வந்து நான் பெருக்கிறது, பாத்திரம் வெளக்கிறதெல்லாம் இஷ்டப் படமாட்டேன். Men செய்றது அது எங்க வீட்டுப் பழக்கம், அது நான் விடுறதில்லை. ஏதோ முடியாதுரப்போ, இல்லாம போயிட்டப்போ எங்க அம்மாக்கு help-க்குப் போன சமயம் அவங்க செய்திருந்தா செய்யலாம் மற்றபடி நான் செய்ய விடமாட்டேன். அதினால ஆணைப் போட்டு செஞ்சு, நமக்குன்று அவங்க செய்ய விரும்புறதில்லை.

55. Ranjithamani – SR55, அப்புறம் எங்க அப்பா, அம்மா ஒரு நாளுங்கூட ஒரு மாதிரி பேசாம இருந்தாங்காறதை என் னுடைய அறிவு தெரிஞ்ச வரைக்கும் நான் பாக்கல. எங்க அப்பாவும் அம்மாவும் சண்டையும் போட்ட மாதிரி, பேசாம இருந்த மாதிரி நான் கண்ணாலயோ, காதாலயோ நான் கேள்விப்பட்டது கூட இல்லை. எங்க அப்பா ஒரு மாதிரி நல்ல ஒரு type-ல தான் .... நான் வந்து, மக மூத்தவ 1¼ வயசில, அம்மாவும் ஏறந்திட்டாங்க. ஏறந்ததுக்கப்பறம் எங்க அப்பா வந்து என்னன்னா, இங்க ஏறந்து கெடக்கிறாங்க, நாங்க, அவங்க சொன்னாங்க, 'கவலைப்படக்கூடாது' ன்னு தான் சொன்னாங்க. ரொம்ப Bible-ல உள்ள வசனத்தை ரொம்ப விரும்புவாங்க. உக்காந்து சாப்பிட்டுக்கிட்டு இருந்துக்கிட்டு, 'ஏன் இப்படி யெல்லம் அழுற? அழாதீங்க. அம்மாவை நல்லா நம்ம பாத்திட்டோம். முடிஞ்சவரைக்கு. அது கர்த்தரு டைய சித்தமில்லை; அப்படி ஒரு மாதிரி அப்படி ஒரு மாதிரி நல்லா. ... அப்புறம் சின்ன பேக்கரி வச்சிருந்தாலும், ம், ரூபா விஷயங்கள்ல கூட எங்க அம்மா கிட்ட எந்த இதுவும் இல்ல. கேக்கிறதைக் குடுப்பாங்க. அப்படி bakery நம்ம வீட்ல கூட கொஞ்சம் செல ஆட்கள் ரோட்டுக்குப் போகாது. அந்தக் காலம் கொஞ்சம் அப்படியெல்லாம் உண்டில்ல,

அது வெக்கப்பட்டுக்கிட்டு. ஓடனே வீட்ல கொஞ்சம் வச்சுவிக்க. அதெல்லாம் எங்க அப்பா எவ்வளவு வித்தன்னு கேக்க மாட்டாங்க. அது எங்க அம்மா, எப்படியும் பெண்களுக்கு நெறைய செலவு இருக்கும். அதெல்லாம் அப்படி வச்சிக்கிடுவாங்க.

56. Jeyavathy – SR56, என்னுடைய பெற்றோருடைய வீட்ல, என்னுடைய அப்பா தான் எல்லாவிதமான அதிகாரமும், அவர் தான் எல்லாம் செய்வார். அவரைப் பார்த்தாலுமே எங்க வீட்ல எல்லோருமே பயப்படுவாங்க. அப்படி ஒரு இது. ... . Finance விஷயமோ மற்றபடி எல்லாவற்றையும் செய்றது. எல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரி .... அப்புறம் சில தாய் தகப்பனுக்குள்ள கொஞ்சம் சண்டை வர்ற தான் செய்யும். ஆண்டவருக்குள்ள வந்து ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளைங்களா அவங்க மாறின பிற்பாடு, அதற்குப் பிற்பாடு அம்மால்லாம் கொஞ்சம் .. அவ்விதமா இருந்துச்சு. ... என்னுடைய குடும்பத்தில் நாங்க equal ஆவே financeஆனாலும் சரி அவ்விதமான equal-ஆ தான் finance-ல மற்ற எல்லா விஷயத்தில், ஒண்ணு அவரு என்னைக் கேக்காம செய்ய மாட்டாரு, நானும் அவ்விதமாக அவரைக் கேக்காம எதுவும் செய்யமாட்டேன். அப்படி எங்களுக்குள்ள நல்ல ஒரு ஒற்றுமை, ஒற்றுமை.

57. Varam – SR57, எங்க அக்கா தங்கச்சி எங்களை விட வசதியா இருக்கிறாங்க. ஆணா எங்களுக்கு இருக்கிற சமாதானம் அவங்க கிட்ட கெடையாது. சண்டை போடுறாங்க. ஆணா அழுவுறாங்க. அதான் சொல்லுவேன், 'என்கிட்ட இருக்கிற சமாதானம் ஒங்கிட்ட இல்லைன்னு ... ஒரு சாட்சியா இப்ப எங்க குடும்பத்தில் நான் ஒரு இதா இருக்கேன். இன்னும் அதில நெலைச்சிருக்கனுன்னு எனக்கு ரொம்ப ஆசை.

58. Tiny – SR58 , பெறகு இப்பவும் அந்த church activities போறதுக்கு ஒரு நாளும் தடை சொல்றதில்லை. 'என்னத்தையும் சமைச்சு வச்சிட்டுப் போனன்னா, என்னத்தை யாது', Coffee எல்லாம் அவங்க போட்டுக் கிடுவாங்க. எல்லாம் எல்லா காரியமும் செய்யத் தெரியாது. Coffee மட்டும் போடுவாங்க. மற்றதெல்லாம் சமச்சு வச்சிட்டேன்னா, அவங்களா சாப்பிட்டு பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் போட்டு எல்லாம் manage பண்ணிருவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் பண்ணி help பண்ணுவாங்க. ஒரு இதுக்கு போணும், இது பண்ணினும்னா அதுக்கெல்லாம் சொல்லிட்டு, இந்த மாதிரி எனக்கு help பண்ணுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி எல்லாம் உண்டு. அதினால் spiritual இதுல நாங்க நல்லா வளர்றதுக்கு கடவுள் கிருபை செய்தார். குடும்பமா வளர்றதுக்கு கடவுள் கிருபை செய்தார்.

59. Lita – SR59, நாங்க family-ஐ ஆரம்பிச்சப்போ, அவங்க வந்து factory worker-ஆ இருந்ததுனால, நானும் career woman-ஆ teacher-ஆ இருந்ததுனால எங்களுக்கு equal இது தான். என்னா நான் அப்படி அதை, ஆணா எங்க மாமியார் வீட்ல அந்த மாதிரி கெடையாது. அந்த, அவங்க only male domination இதிலேயே life-தான் அவங்க பாத்திருக்கிறாங்க. இன்னொன்னு அவங்க இருக்கிறது ரொம்ப ஒரு பயங்கரமான village. அதினால் அந்த rural area-ல அந்த ideas தான். இதோடேயே வந்தாங்க. கொஞ்சம் எனக்கு ஒரு five, six years பிடிச்சது, அவங்களை என் வழிக்கு கொண்டு வர்றதுக்கு... . எனக்கு வந்து பொண்ணு இப்படித்தான் அடங்கி இருக்கணும்றதே எனக்குக் குடுக்கல. அதுக்கப்பறம் என் husband - ஓட சேர்ந்த பெறகு பயங்கர கஷ்டமா இருந்துச்சு. ஆணா அதுக்கப்பறம் அவங்களை நல்லாவே கொணந்திட்டேன். என்னா அவங்களுக்கும் அந்த equal இது வரணும். அப்படின்றது.

60. Varam – SR60, அதுக்குப் பெறகு கட்டிக் குடுத்தாங்க. சொந்தத்தில் கல்யாணம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்தாங்க. பண்ணா, எங்க மாமனார், மாமியார் அதிகாரந்தான். மாமனார் மாமியார் அதிகாரன்னா சாப்பிடறது கூட அவங்க இஷ்டந்தான். இந்நேரம் சாப்பிடனுன்னா சாப்பிடனும். லேட்டாக் கூட சாப்பிடக் கூடாது. ஒரு ரேடியோ இருந்தா ரேடியோ வைக்கக்கூடாது. பேப்பர் இருந்தா பேப்பர் பார்க்கக்கூடாது. அவங்க முன்னடியே இருக்கணும். படுன்னு, சரி நைட்டு, 12, 10.30 ஆயிருச்சு, 12 ஆயிருச்சா, சரி படுங்கன்னா தான், நாங்க படுக்கப் போவோம். அதுவரைக்கும் சும்மா அந்த ரூமில், என்ன ரூமுக்குள்ள இது பண்ணதுன்னு அப்படி சொல்லுவாரு. இந்த மாதிரி ஒரு இதில் வளர்ந்ததுனால எனக்கு உடம்பு சரியில்லாம போயிரிச்சு (chuckles) .... அந்த condition-லேயே அவர் வளர்த்தாரு. அங்க அப்படிங்கையும் எனக்கு ஒண்ணுமே புரியல. என்னவோ ஜெயில் இருந்து இந்த ஜெயிலுக்கு வந்த மாதிரி. நான் நெனச்சேன். கல்யாணம் பண்ணா, எல்லோரும் எங்கெங்கையோ போறாங்க, அழகழகா வைக்கிறாங்க. அப்படியெல்லாம் நான் வாழ்க்கையிலே எதிர்பார்த்தேன். ஆணா எனக்கு இந்தமாதிரி வாழ்க்கைனவும் அதுவும் mental illness வந்திருச்சு. .... சாமிக்கு எல்லாம், இந்து சாமியெல்லாம் போனாங்க. ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. கடைசில என் husband வந்து என்னை விட்டுட்டாரு. ஆணா என் husband-க்கு இஷ்டம் இல்லை. ஆணா, பார்த்துத் தான் கொண்டு வந்து விட்டுட்டாங்க. விடையும், அதுக்குப் பெறகு நான் எங்க சொந்தக்காரர் ஒருத்தங்க பைபிள் குடுத்து தனிமையா இருக்கும்போது, மொதல்லையே, பிடிக்காது, Bible இதெல்லாம் பார்த்தாங்கன்னா இந்த Christian இதெல்லாம் கோயிலுக்குப் போனாலாம் ரொம்ப பிடிக்கும். எனக்கு ரொம்ப பிடிக்கும். ஆணா அதில ரொம்ப கலந்து, ஆணா இதை நல்லா படிச்சு அறிந்த பெறகு, .... கடைசில என் husband மனசு மாறி என்னை வந்து கூட்டிட்டு வந்திட்டாங்க. ....

61. Arunkumari – SR61 , எங்க அம்மா அப்பா பொறுத்தவரைக்கும் total-ஆ different-ஆ இருக்கும் அப்பா தான் financing எல்லாம். எங்க அம்மா work மட்டும் எங்க அம்மா தான் பண்ணுவாங்க. பணம் குடுத்திருவாரு, But எல்லாவிதத்திலயும் எங்க அம்மா தான் பண்ணணும். ... எங்க அப்பா எந்த ஒரு கஷ்டமானாலும் செய்ய மாட்டார். வெறும் பைசா தான். ஆணா கணக்கா இருப்பாரு. .... ஆணா finance-ல மொதல்ல கொஞ்சம் எல்லாம் என் இஷ்டம் தான். எதுனாலும் என்னை free-ஆ விட்டிருப்பாரு. அது இஷ்டமே இருக்காது. 'நீங்க கணக்கை கேளுங்க, அப்பத்தான் நம்ம family நல்லா நடத்த முடியும்.

62. Arunkumari – SR62, மற்றபடி dress அதெல்லாம் இது பண்ணும் போது அவர் வந்து பெண்கள் இப்படித்தான் இருக்கணும், போத்திக்கிட்டுத் தான் போணும். அப்படித்தான் பண்ணணும். இப்படியெல்லாம் இருக்கணும்னு. ஆனா பசங்கன்ற முறையில் free-ஆ விடுவாரு. எனக்கு அது கேட்பேன். 'இப்ப எனக்கு மட்டும் strict-ஆ வச்சிக்குறிங்களே, பசங்கள மட்டும் free-ஆ விடுறீங்களே, இப்ப இருக்கிற காலம் ரொம்ப மோசமா இருக்கு. கொஞ்சம் நீங்க கொஞ்சம் strict-ஆ இருங்க'ன்னா 'ஆன், அதெல்லாம் சின்னப்பசங்க', அப்படின்னுவாரு. நான் அப்பம் யோசிச்சப்பேன். நம்ம வீட்ல வளர்ந்தோம். இப்பம் ரொம்ப, அதில சில விஷயத்தில் நான் பாக்கும் போது, எல்லோரும் சொல்லுவாங்க servant 'என்னமா நீ இப்படி dress பண்ணிக்கிற ஒன்னை பன்ற மாதிரி'

63. Mallimalar – SR63, ரொம்ப கஷ்டத்தில், நான் எங்க வீட்ல இருந்த வரைக்கும், நான் நான் அறிஞ்ச வரைக்கும் எங்க வீட்ல ரொம்பகஷ்டமாதான் நான் இருந்த வளர்ந்தேன். பாத்துக்குங்க. ஆனா கர்த்தருடைய கிருபையினால, எங்க அம்மா வந்து வியாபாரத்துக்குன்னு, வர்த்துக்குன்னு சொல்லி கெளம்பினாங்க. கெளம்பினப்போ, எங்களை கொஞ்சம், எங்க அம்மா தான் எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க. ... 'பாரு, பெண் அவங்க அம்மா அந்தக் காலத்தில் அப்பா அப்படியெல்லாம் இருந்தேன். ஆனாலும் ஒங்க அம்மா அவ்வளவு தூரம் என்னையை இது பண்ணி வளர்த்து, உங்களையும் ஒரு ஆளாக்கி ஒங்களை ஒரு இது பண்ணியிருக்கிறாங்க. ஆனா அம்மா கொணம், அழுவற மாதிரி நீ நடந்துக்க கூடாதம்மா. அந்த மாதிரி நீ நடந்துக்க கூடாதம்மா' எங்க அப்பா advise பண்ணுவாங்க. பாத்துக்குங்க. அப்படி ஒரே இதா மாற்றி எங்க குடும்பத்தில் வந்துது.

64. Bina – SR64, வீட்டு வேலை நான் மட்டுந்தான். அவர் ஒண்ணும் தொடவே மாட்டார். போட்டு ஒரு வெந்நி போட்டு குடுக்க மாட்டாரு. (laughs)

65. Heera - SR65, So, அந்த மாதிரி நான் girls-கிட்டகூட ரொம்ப warn பண்ணுவேன். எப்படி நான் warn பண்ணுவேன். 'நீங்க கலியாணம் கட்டிப் போனைங்கின்னா வேலை பாக்காதீங்க. வேலை பாத்தீங்கன்னா be careful that you see that your husband shares your work. மொதல் கலியாணங்கட்டின புதிசில இருந்தே சொல்லிக் குடுத்திருங்க. அல்லாட்டி நீங்க you will be duped.. நம்ம, ஒங்க health நீங்க முப்பது வயது முப்பத்தைஞ்சு வயசிலேயே செத்துப் போயிருவீங்க. ஏன்னா அவ்வளவு வேலை இருக்கும் ஒங்களுக்கு அதினால வீட்டுக்கு வந்தா, இப்ப household choresலயும் let them do it. அவங்களுக்கும் train பண்ணிடுங்க. கலியாணம் கட்டின மொதல்லன்னா they will be willing to accept this sort of thing. பண்ணி வச்சீங்கன்னா தான் பொழைச்சீங்கன்னு எப்போதும் moral philosophy அதில warn பண்ணுவேன், girls-ஐ. warned about your future. It is in your. நீ வந்து ரொம்ப உழுந்து, உழுந்து அவன் ஐஞ்சு மணிக்கு வந்தா அவனுக்குக் coffee-ஐக் கொண்டு குடுக்கிறது. என்னைக்காவது அவன் வந்து உங்களுக்கு coffee போட்டுக் குடுப்பானா? இப்படி பண்ணிங்கன்னா அப்புறம் என்ன பண்ணுவாங்க. What will you do after your menopausal syndrome அந்த time-ல வந்து ஒங்க பிள்ளைங்களுக்கும் they will be அந்த puberty time-ல 14, 15 அப்பம் ரொம்ப கஷ்டமான time. அப்பம் இவங்களால சமாளிக்கவே முடியாது. வீட்டு வேலையும் அந்த tension இருக்கும். எல்லாம் சமாளிக்கவே முடியாது. ஆனா, 'you have to be careful' அப்படின்னு பண்ணி, கொஞ்சம் இது பண்ணா, ஏன்னா இவங்கெல்லாம் 'எல்லாம் we have to do Madam, we have to do everything' அப்படின்னுவாங்க. அப்படியே, 'நம்ம கையில் தான் இருக்கு இவ்வளவு காரியங்கள்' அப்படின்னு சொல்லிக்குடுப்பேன். ன், ன், அப்பம் I was known as a militant woman (laughs...) அப்படித்தான்.

66. Saguna – SR66, அதினால இந்த மாதிரி மூணு பேருந்தான் எப்படிமே ஒண்ணா ஒரு family மாதிரி இருப்போம். Christmas, New Year அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் எல்லாம் அந்த சித்தி சின்னையா அந்த family-யும் நாங்களுந்தான். அப்புறம் money matters எல்லாம் அப்பா வந்து, அம்மா வந்து கணக்கு எழுதுவாங்க, அது எனக்கு தெரியும், என்னமோ அதெல்லாம் எல்லாம் என்னென்ன செலவழிச்சா அதை எழுதுவாங்க. பெறகு family prayer உண்டு.

67. Flora – SR67, அம்மா வீட்ல, எங்க அம்மாவுடைய ஆதிக்கந்தான். எதை எடுத்தாலும் எல்லாம் அவங்க தான் செய்வாங்க. அதினால எங்க குடும்பம் ஒரு அன்பில்லாத குடும்பமா இருந்துது.

68. Flora – SR68, அப்புறம் எனக்குத் திருமணம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்தாங்க. என்னுடைய கணவர் வந்து, என்னுடைய கணவருடைய ஆதிக்கம். எதுமே என்னைய கலந்து ஆலோசிக்க மாட்டார். ... என்னுடைய குடும்பத்திலையும் கணவருடைய அன்பு பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் இல்லை. ஒரு ஒத்துழைப்பும் இல்லை. கர்த்தருடைய சித்தத்தின் படி, அவருடைய சித்தத்தின் படி நடத்திட்டு வாரார்.

69. Bina – SR69, எங்க அப்பா அம்மா வீட்ல, that is எங்க அப்பா கையில் தான் எல்லா அதிகாரமும். எல்லா அதிகாரமும். எல்லா money handle பன்றது, எல்லாம் எங்க அம்மா பாவம் போல, அவங்க earn பன்றத மட்டும் செலவு பன்றதுக்கு freedom இருந்தது. ஆனா எங்க வீட்ல வந்து எல்லாரும் equal. நான் என்ன செய்தாலும் அவங்க கேட்டுக்க மாட்டாங்க. அவங்க என்ன செய்தாலும் கேக்க மாட்டோம். அதாவது discuss பண்ணி பண்ணுவோம். ஆனா யாரும் நான் தான் பண்ணுவேன்னு இல்லை. அது ஒரு point.



70. Sweety – SR70, ஆணா எங்க மாமியார் வீட்ல உம், எங்க மாமியார் எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க. பணம் எல்லாம் குடுத்திடுவாங்க. full family management வந்து எங்க மாமியார் தான் செய்வாங்க. ஆணா கூட ரொம்ப மாமாவுக்குப் பயப்படுவாங்க. அவங்களுக்குக் அப்படியே அவங்களுடைய காரியங்கள் அந்தந்த நேரத்தில் நடக்கணும். அவங்களுக்கு இல்லைன்னா அவங்களுக்குக் கோவம் வரும். அதினால அவங்க தான் dominate பண்ணிக்கிட்டு இருந்தாங்க. .... ஆணா, actually she was, என்ன, நல்ல ஆவிக்குரிய ஒரு தாய் அவங்க. அவங்ககிட்ட இருந்து தான் நான் ரொம்ப கத்துக்கிட்டேன். எங்க family-லயும் கடவுள் பக்தி உள்ளவங்க தான். ஆனாலும் நான் கல்யாணம் பண்ணும்போது எனக்குக் கடவுள் ஒரு நல்ல பக்தியுள்ள குடும்பத்தை எனக்கு தந்தாருன்னு.

73. Lita - SR73, அப்படின்னு அந்த அளவுக்கு வந்து எனக்கு வந்து அதில வித்தியாசமே ஒரு நாளும் எனக்குத் தெரியல. ஆணா, ஒரு வேளை, செல வேளைகல்ல இது மாதிரி பெண்கள் இது பண்ணி போகணுன்னு வந்து இல்லை. பெத்துக்க மாத்திரந்தான். அந்த மாதிரி வீட்டை, ஆன்னா, எந்த நாள்லயும் நான் அதுக்கு விடவே மாட்டேன். ஆணா பெண்கள் வந்து, நாமளே அதை ஒரு இதா எடுத்தக்கிறோம். எப்பவுமே. நம்ம தான் அந்த மாதிரி அடங்கி தான் போணும். ஒரு மாமியார் ஓடனே என்ன சொல்லுவாங்க 'நீ தான் போணும். அவங்களுக்குக் கீழ்ப்படிஞ்சு போணும்'. அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு ladies-ஏ ladies-ஐப் போட்டுக் கொழப்பித்தான் நம்ம இந்த அளவு இப்படி தவளை மாதிரி இழுத்துக்கிட்டு இங்கேயே கெடக்கிறோம்தான் நான் சொல்லுவேன். ஏன்னா, சொன்னா ஓரளவு புரிஞ்சிக்கிற கொணம் உடையவங்கதான். ஆணா நெறைய families-ல பாத்தீங்கன்னா அந்த in-laws-ஆலையும் இதாலையுந்தான் அந்த மாதிரி ஆயிடிராங்க.



## APPENDIX 8

### Treatment of Children (TC):

1. Udhaya – TC(Treatment of Children)1, இதிலையும் அம்மா பிள்ளைங்க அதே மாதிரி. Both Boys and girls எல்லாம். equal rights ஓடத்தான் வளர்த்தாங்க.

2. Amar – TC2, ஆனா, இதில என்ன இருக்குன்னாக்கா, மற்ற அக்காமார், ம், அவங்கவங்க விரும்பினதை அம்மா செய்ய விட்டாங்க. கல்யாண விஷயத்தில் கூட, அவங்கவங்க, என்னென்ன 'ஆட்டு'ன்னு சொன்னாங்களோ, எங்களுட விருப்பத்தைக் கேட்டு, எங்களுட விருப்பத்து பிரகாரமாகவே செய்தாங்க. தம்பிக்கிண்டு special-ஆன்ட்டு இல்ல, நாங்க பெண்களுக்குண்டு special-ஆ செய்யலை. ரொம்ப அவங்களு, நமக்குத் தெறமைக்கு ஏத்த மாதிரி அவங்கவங்க விருப்பப்பட்ட பிரகாரம் செய்தாங்க.

3. Amar – TC3, அவன் தம்பின்னு அவன் வேற மாதிரி treatment, girls எங்களுக்கு வேற மாதிரி treatment இல்லை. இப்ப கூட நாங்க வந்து தம்பியோட வீட்டுக்கு எப்படி நம்ப sisters வீட்டுக்குப் போறமோ அப்படி தான் அவங்க வீட்டுக்கும். அவனும் நம்ப வீட்டுக்கு வாறதில் அவங்களுக்கும் பிள்ளைங்களாச்சு. எல்லாரும் இப்போம் ஒரு வித்தியாசம் இல்லாம தான் பாத்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறோம். ... நாங்கள் வந்து என்னுடைய தம்பியா இருந்த போதிலும் அவனுக்கும் எங்களுக்கும் எந்த வித்தியாசமாவும் காண்பிக்கலை.... கல்யாண விஷயத்தில் கூட,.... தம்பிக்கிண்டு special-ஆன்ட்டு இல்ல, நாங்க பெண்களுக்குண்டு special-ஆ செய்யலை.

4. Amar –TC4, அம்மா வந்து ரொம்ப disciplined person. அவங்களுக்கு கொஞ்சங் கூட indisciplined-ஆ இருக்கிறது இஷ்டமே இருக்காது. நல்லா அடிப்பாங்க. அவங்களுடைய இஷ்டத்துக்கு நம்ப இந்த ஒழுங்குக்கு நம்ம மீறிட்டோனாக்கா நல்லா அடிப்பாங்க. பையனை அதிகமாக அடிப்பாங்கன்ட்டு இல்லை. பொண்ணைதான் அதிகமா அடிப்பாங்கன்ட்டு இல்லை. நானெல்லாம் நல்லா ஒதைப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன். ம், தம்பியும் நல்லா ஒதைப்பட்டிருக்கிறான். வந்து அக்காமார்ங்க கொஞ்சம் respect, பெரியவங்களா இருக்கிறாங்கல்ல, பொறுப்பா, நாங்க கடைசி இரண்டு குட்டிங்க இஷ்டத்துக்கு, free-ஆ வைப்பாங்க.

5. Amar –TC5, அப்புறம் ஒரு எண்ணத்தில் பெற்றோருக்குக் கீழ்ப்படிந்து, நல்லா என் மூணு பிள்ளைங்களும் தாய் தகப்பனாந்னு ரொம்ப மரியாதை குடுத்து, எல்லாரும் இப்ப கூட மூணு, மூணு பேரும் எங்க இரண்டு பேருக்கும் எல்லா சவரட்சனையும் செய்வாங்க.

6. Bina – TC6, பிள்ளைகளுக்கு equal-ஆ they are like friends. இந்த age-லாம் எல்லாமே equal-ஆ discuss பண்ணி

7. Saguna – TC7, பிள்ளைங்க..... இல்லை. In fact மகளை தான் ரொம்ப நேசிப்பாங்க. மகளைத் தான் ரொம்ப நேசிப்பாங்க. அவங்க அப்பாவுக்கு பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளை தான் வேணுான்ட்டு இருந்தாங்க. மொதல்ல என் மகன் பெற்றந்தே கொஞ்சம் disappointment பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளை தான் ரொம்ப, அப்புறம் அப்படியே, அதினால பிள்ளைகளுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு difference அப்படி இல்லை. பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்களன்னா தான் birthday-க்கு எல்லாம் குடுப்பாங்க. இந்தப் பசங்களும் அவ்வளவு விரும்பவும் மாட்டான்க (chuckles) அந்த மாதிரி பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளை தான் கொஞ்சம் ஜாஸ்தி இதை இருக்கும். மற்றபடி எல்லாம் மூணும் நல்லா.

8. Joy – TC8, I think he has to share. And like taking care of the children also, I think, mostly, most of the parents they do that because, if they are working, naturally they, we can understand that they have the feeling to take care of the children. Treatment of children is, like, .... O.K., usually naturally they are same to both the sex. And .... naturally what they want (chuckles) .... No not at all like that I like both female and male What they want to do.

9. Ranjithamani – TC9, ஆனா பிள்ளைகள் எல்லாரையும் ஒண்ணு போல தான் நடத்துவாங்க. ஆனா அதெல்லாம் நல்லா கவனிப்பாங்க, எல்லாரையும், ஒண்ணுபோலதான் தப்பிருந்தா கண்டிப்பாங்க எல்லாரையும் அதினால ஆம்பிளைப்பிள்ளை கிட்டதான் நல்லா இருக்கணும், பொம்பளை பிள்ளைகள் கிட்ட, அந்த மாதிரி இதுவும் எங்க அப்பா அம்மாகிட்ட இல்லை. ... எல்லாப் பிள்ளைகளும் பெறகு இது பண்ணி, எங்க அம்மாவும் ஏறந்த, பெறகு எங்க அப்பாவுக்கும் மருமக கெடைச்சி இருந்தது.

10. Lila – OMW - TC10, ன், வந்து, no, no, partiality ...no partiality .... எப்படி treatment-ன்னா, ன், ஆனா it was all for good. இப்பம் அண்ணனை எல்லாம் எடுத்துக்கும் அனுப்புவாங்க. எங்களை அனுப்ப மாட்டாங்க. அது because நம்ப (laughs) அது எங்களுக்கு feeling இருந்தது. 'அண்ணனை மட்டும் அனுப்புவீங்களே' அப்புறம் அது, to be very very frank, அண்ணனை வந்து அப்படி அனுப்பினதினால் அண்ணன் வந்து love marriage-உ. நாங்க இரண்டு

பேரும் அதினால தான் அப்படியெல்லாம் சொல்ல முடியாது. ஆனா, சும்மா ஒரு மடத்தனமா ஒரு பண்ணுவோம், சில சமயம் இப்பம். 'ஆன், அண்ணனை மட்டும நீங்க வந்து loose-ஆவிட்டீங்க. அவன் love marriage பண்ணிக்கின்னான்'. இந்த மாதிரி சும்மா. அது அநாவசியம், not at all necessary-ம் நாங்கெல்லாம் ரொம்ப இதுவா, இல்லை, ஜன்னல் வழியா கூட எட்டிப்பாக்க விடமாட்டாங்க. . . . அண்ணனை வந்து இப்பம் எங்களுக்குத் தெரியாம நாங்க College போனோன்னா எங்க பின்னாலேயே அனுப்பிருக்கிறாங்க. தெரியாது, அப்புறந்தான் எல்லாம் தெரியவந்துது. அந்த மாதிரி, 'ஏன் எங்களை, ம், இப்படி loose-ஆ விடலை'. Of course ஒண்ணும், எங்களுக்குத் தெரியாது, அவங்க பின்னால் வர்றான்னு. But, ம், எப்பமே அண்ணன் பின்னாலேயே இருந்திருக்கிறாங்க, எங்க இரண்டு பேர் பின்னாலேயே இருந்திருக்கிறாங்க. அது இப்பம் எங்களுக்கு கோவம் வரும், இப்பம் சொன்னா, ஏன் அப்படி அனுப்பினீங்க, ஏன் எங்கமேல நம்பிக்கை இல்லையா,

11. Melody – TC11, Studies also, both of them used to. Maths and language all daddy used to help and others my mom used to help. And there was no partiality shown between for my brother and me. We were treated equally.

12. Priya – TC12, Otherwise in, like you asked in child rearing, I think, they are, both of them had equal participation. Not that, like Melody said, it's not that preference for one kid, that

13. Joy – TC13, Taking care of children like, when we were small my father used to take care of us. Now, we are young. So, we know how to do our work. So, they help in guiding us. Both the parents help in guiding us. m, we do what we want (chuckles). ... Am, when we, I know father and my mom treated together. Whereas equality,.... my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn

14. Flora – TC14, எந்த பிள்ளைகளையுமே அம்மா நேசிக்கிறதில்லை. ஒரு மாதிரி எங்க நாங்க அவங்க அக்கறை உள்ளவங்களாவும் இல்லை. படிக்கிறதிலையும் ஒரு ஆர்வம் காட்டுறதில்லை. நாங்களா Government school-ல படிச்சோம். அதோட நிறுத்திட்டாங்க. Pass பண்ண பெறகு படிக்க வைக்கல. நான் நெனைச்சேன். பெண்ணனால என்னை அதுமாதிரி பன்றாங்கன்னு. எனக்கு அடுத்தது தம்பிங்க. தம்பிங்களையும் படிக்க வைக்கல. அந்த மாதிரி எந்த ஒரு காரியத்திலேயுமே ஒரு freedom குடுக்கல. எங்களுடைய வளர்ச்சிலயும் அவங்க அக்கறை கொண்டவங்களா இல்லை.

15. Swarna – TC15, அப்புறம் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு எங்க வீட்டிலையும் நாங்க இருக்கும் போது எல்லாப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் ஒரே மாதிரியான treatment-தான். அண்ணை, தங்கச்சி, எனக்கு எல்லாருக்கு இப்பம் வரைக்கும் அது மாதிரிதான். எல்லாருக்கு. இப்பம் வரைக்கும் அது மாதிரி தான் எல்லாருக்குமே கல்யாணம் ஆயிட்டு. ஏதாவது ஜாமான் வாங்கினா அந்த அண்ணைக்கு, அண்ணைக்கு, எனக்கு, தங்கச்சிக்கு மூணு பேருக்கு ஒண்ணு மாதிரி வாங்கிட்டு வந்திருவாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி நான்.

16. Swarna – TC16, இங்கயும் நான் எங்க பிள்ளைகளையும் ஒண்ணு மாதிரிதான், ஒரே இது இவனுக்கு வாங்கிக்குடுக்காம அல்லது இவனுக்கு, அவனை அடிக்காம இவளுக்கு அடிச்சி, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு இது கிடையாது. இப்பம் சொல்லப்போனா இப்பம் வீட்டுக்குள்ள dominate பன்றது (laughs) அந்த மாதிரி வேற கூடுதல் என்ன.

17. Jeyam – TC17, எங்க அம்மா அப்பா காலத்தில் வந்து அம்மா தான் செய்வாங்க. அம்மாக்கு helpers-ஆ நாங்க இரண்டு girls இருந்ததினால நாங்க இது பண்ணுவோம். sons, இரண்டு பெரிய sons இருக்கும் போது, தண்ணி எடுக்கிறது. அதெல்லாம் use பண்ணுவாங்க. அதினால பிள்ளைங்களெல்லாம் அது share பண்ணதினால அப்பா அந்த responsibility தேவை இல்லாம போச்சி அப்பாக்கு.

18. Ranjithamani – TC18, ஆனா, மகா வீட்டு வேலை செய்யணும், பையன் செய்ய வேண்டியதில்லை, அப்படின்னு. ... அந்த மாதிரி யோசிக்கல .... அவனும் விரும்பலை, அதுக்கு மேல படிக்க மாட்டேன்ட்டான்.

19. Saguna TC19, வீட்டு வேலைங்க கொஞ்சம் செய்ய அதாவது plate-லாம் கழுவணும். கொஞ்சம் கொஞ்சம் வேலையை allott பண்ணீறது. 'நீங்க செய்யணும். ஆளுக்குக் கொஞ்சம் வேலை செய்யணுன்னு. அப்புறம் மீதி வேலை செய்வாங்க. இப்பம் கொஞ்சம் ஏதாவது கட்டணுன்னா சிமென்ட் வச்சுக்கடற அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் இரண்டு பசங்களும், அப்புறம் car-ல எல்லாத்தையும் இது பண்ணி அதை repair பண்ணணும் இது பண்ணணுன்னா வேலையெல்லாம் செய்துக்கு அஞ்சமாட்டாங்க. பிள்ளைங்க எல்லாம். ... ஆமா, அதுக்கும் பிள்ளைங்க, மூணு பேரையும் Equal - ஆதான் இது மாதிரி treatment குடுத்தோம்.

20. Arunavathy – TC20, நான் சொல்லுவேன், 'அவனுடைய வயசு இவ்வளவு தான் இருப்பான். ஆனா நம்பளால அவனை நடத்த முடியாது'. ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட stage வந்த பெறகு அவங்களை அடிக்கவோ ஒண்ணும் பண்ண முடியாது. அப்பம் நம்ம என்ன பன்றது. நானும் என்ன சொல்லுவேன், 'விட்டிருங்க அவனை, அவன் இதுக்கு விட்டிருங்க. நம்ம ஜெபிப்போம். நம்மளால ஜெபிக்க மட்டுந்தான். இந்த stage-ல அது தான் செய்ய முடியும் ஆண்டவருடைய கரத்தில குடுத்திடுவோம். அவர் எப்படி நடத்துறாரோ அப்படி நடத்தட்டும். ... அதில நம்ம ஜெபத்திலதான் அந்தப்

பிள்ளைங்களை ஒப்புக் குடுத்திறோம். 'எப்படியும் நீங்க பாத்துக்குங்கப்பா. எங்களால இந்தப் பிள்ளையை, எப்படி நடத்தணும், எப்படி அதுங்க கிட்ட behave பண்ணது எங்களுக்கு தெரியாது. ஆனா நீங்க நடத்துறீங்க, நேர்த்தியா நடத்துவீங்க. எப்படி பரிசுத்த ஆவி, நீங்க எப்படி பரிசுத்தமா இருக்கிறீங்களோ அதே மாதிரி என் பிள்ளைங்களையும் நீங்க பரிசுத்தமா நடத்தணும், அப்படி என்ற பாரம் நமக்குள்ள வந்திருது. அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்களைக் குறிச்ச பாரம் வந்திருது. ... நம்ம கர்த்தருடைய கரத்தில் ஒப்புக்குடுத்திருவோம்'. என்னுடைய விசுவாசம் என்னன்னா, என்னுடைய ஜெபம் அவனைத் தாங்கும். நான் ஜெபிக்கிறேன். என் பிள்ளை வீணாப்போகாதுசாட்சியா நிற்கும். ... ஆனா, ஆண்டவர் நமக்கு ஜெபங்குடுக்கிறதற்கு நம்மோட இருக்கிறார். நம்மதான் ஜெபம் எடுக்கப்போகிறோம், அப்படி என்ற விசுவாசத்தில் பிள்ளைகளை அப்படியே விட்டாறது.

21. Heera – TC21, வீட்ல பிள்ளைங்க படிக்க, இப்பெல்லாம் இரண்டு பேரும் were interested. we wanted them to do, to become doctor. ஆனா மல்லிகா didn't get enough mark to become a doctor. We did not have that thing, இல்லை. அந்த பலரையும் பாத்து கீத்து பன்ற இதெல்ல, இவங்க இவ்வளவுத்துக்கும் doctors directorate-ல தான் இருந்தாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி பாத்து செய்யுன்னலாம் வர்ல. அல்லாட்டா கெட்சிருக்குன்னு யோசிக்கிறேன். எல்லாம் கடவுளுடைய சித்தம்.

22. Heera – TC22, அதுக்குள்ள ஒரு மக கல்யாணம் கட்டிக்குடுத்துட்டா, கலியாணம் கட்டிப் போயிட்டா. அடுத்தவனும் கல்யாணத்துக்கு நிண்ண, அது prayerful-ஆ இருக்கும். நல்லா அவா fasting and prayer-ல யேதான், prayer-லயே கலியாணங்களெல்லாம் நடந்துச்சு. ... எந்த விஷயமும் கடவுள் நல்லா பாத்து, பிள்ளைங்க விஷயத்தையோ settle பன்றதோ, நல்ல பிள்ளைங்க, அந்த மாதிரி குடும்பங்க, அதெல்லாம் செஞ்சிருக்காரு.

23. Saguna – TC23, பிள்ளைங்களும் by God's Grace நல்லாப் படிச்சாங்க. அதினால ஒரு problem இல்லை. மூணு பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் அப்படி tuition-னே வைக்கலை. எல்லாம் வீட்ல அதுகளே படிச்சிக்கும். படிச்சி கர்த்தர் எல்லாப் பிள்ளைகளை நம்ம மேன்மை பாராட்டுறதுக்கு ஒண்ணும் கெடையாது. கர்த்தரே எல்லாஞ்செய்தாரு அதினால by God's grace ஒரு peaceful life தான் ஆண்டவர் குடுத்தாரு.

24. Arunkumari – TC24, ஆனா பசங்கன்ற முறையில் free-ஆ விடுவாரு. எனக்கு அது கேட்பேன். 'இப்ப எனக்கு மட்டும் strict-ஆ வச்சிக்குறீங்களே, பசங்கள மட்டும் free-ஆ விடுறீங்களே, இப்ப இருக்கிற காலம் ரொம்ப மோசமா இருக்கு. கொஞ்சம் நீங்க கொஞ்சம் strict-ஆ இருங்க'ன்னா 'ஆன், அதெல்லாம் சின்னப்பசங்க', அப்படினாவாரு. நான் அப்பம் யோசிச்சப்பேன். நம்ம வீட்ல வளர்ந்தோம்.

25. Bina – TC25, பிள்ளைகள் அதுவா வளர்ந்தது (laughs) தாத்தா பாட்டி தான். அதுக்கப்பறம் இப்பம் பெரியவங்களாயிட்டாங்க. அதாவது நான் என்ன சொல்றேன்னா, வேலைக்கு விட்டுட்டுப் போயிட்டு, முழுசா ஒண்ணும் நான் கவனிக்கல.

26. Udhaya – TC26, பிள்ளையை வளர்க்கிறது என்னவோ நாங்க, அவங்களுக்கு கொஞ்சம் busy life-றதினால, அதினால moreover எல்லாமே நான் செய்றது உண்டு). அனா முடிஞ்சா time இருந்தா அவங்களும் help பன்ற type தான்.

27. Gem – TC27, அது வித்தியாசம் வீட்ல இருக்கு. இல்லாம இல்லை. ... பெற்றோர் வீடையும் அதே மாதிரி இது பண்ணதினால இங்கயும் வந்து எனக்கு அதே பழக்கமாயிருச்சு ன், பெரிய காரியமா தெரியலை.

28. Sneha – TC28, நான் அது அப்புறம் என் பிள்ளைக்கு அது sure-ஆ எங்களது, நான், எங்க அப்பா சொல்லுவாங்க, 'நீ எதாவது, எங்கயாவது போனான்னா சொல்லிட்டு, இந்த time க்குள்ள வந்திருவேன்னு சொல்லிரு - information குடுத்திரு இவ்வளவு time ஆகுன்னு'. அப்பம் இங்க போகக் கூடாது. அங்க போகக் கூடாதுன்னு restrict பண்ணறே கெடையாது. so, அதினால நானும் வந்து future-ல even I'll bring up my children like that. Over-ஆ, ஏன்னா restrict பண்ணாதான், திருட்டுதனமா செய்யுன்னா அந்த இது தோணும், So, அவங்களுக்கு liberty-யா நம்ம கொஞ்சம் free-ஆ move பன்ற அந்த இது இருந்தா good children, like how my mother got me. So, அதான். Future-ல Household management-ன்றது பற்ற இப்ப வரைக்கும் I am zero. எனக்கு ஒண்ணும் துணிமணி எல்லாம் electrical எல்லாம் அம்மா அப்பா தான் பாத்துக்கிறாங்க. அதுபாட்டுக்கு சம்மா வீட்டுக்குப் போறன்னா, என்னுடைய வேலைப் பாத்துக்கிட்டு, அது தான், அப்புறம், சில times என் வேலையைக் கூட சேந்து அம்மாவே செய்திருவாங்க. so, அது பற்றி, I don't have an idea.

29. Sneha – TC29, அம்மாவே யோசிப்பேன், ஆனா அம்மா வந்து உள்ள போனாலே என்னை விட மாட்டாங்க. அது வந்து எனக்கு இது வாயிருச்சு. எனக்கா கஷ்டமா இருக்கும். sometimes ..... ஏன்னா நீ வந்தா எனக்கு double வேலை, நானே பண்ணி முடிக்கின்றேன். நீ போன்னு சொல்லுவாங்க. அதுவும் ஒண்ணு (laughs) ஏன்னா நான் வந்து, ஏன்னா எடுத்தா எடுத்த அப்படி கெடக்கும் எங்க அம்மா வந்து இரண்டு பாத்திரத்தில் வேலை செய்றாங்கன்னா நான் அந்த வேலையை செய்றதுக்கு அஞ்சு பாத்திரம் எடுப்பேன். so, பாத்திரம் தேய்க்கிற வேலை again அம்மாது, so, என்னை

விடமாட்டாங்க.....

(Laughs) interest இருந்தா நானே போய் sometimes இந்த glass இதெல்லாம், அதெல்லாம் உள்ள வச்சா அது ஒடைஞ்சிருன்னு careful-ஆ இருக்கிற things-ஐ நானே பண்ணி வச்சிருவேன். But general-ஆ, ஆணா ninety nine point percent அம்மாதான்.

30. Sneha – TC30, But for bringing my children everything I... அவங்களுக்கு கொஞ்சம் liberty குடுக்கணும். ஏன்னா இப்பம் 2000-ல வந்து இப்பம் எதுவும் என்னென்னவோ advance எல்லாம் இருக்கு, advancement எல்லாம் இருக்கு. so, அதுக்கு ஏத்த மாதிரி we have, even we have to keep with that, so அவ்வளவு தான்.

31. Swarna – TC31, மற்றபடி எல்லாமே செலவு பண்ணுதக்கும் எங்களுக்கு காசு எதாவது shopping எல்லாம் எதாவது போனா எங்க கையில் காசெல்லாம் free-ஆ தந்து விட்டிருவாங்க. நம்ம, அப்படி எனக்குத் துணியெல்லாம் வாங்கணுன்னா அம்மா கூடதான் போவோம், அதான். அம்மா வந்து select பண்ணாதான் நல்லா இருக்குன்ற மாதிரின்ற ஒரு இது மற்றபடி தனியா விடாம அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை அம்மா வந்தா தான் அந்த மாதிரி இருந்தோம்.

32. Lovely – TC32, ன், என்னுடைய, நான், வந்ததில் இருந்து படிப்பு விஷயங்கள் எல்லாமே I think we had the full liberty. அப்புறம், கொஞ்சம் நாங்கெல்லாம் பெரிய வங்க ஆன போது, அப்புறம் mummy was more or less friend தான் எங்களுக்கு so in fact எனக்கெல்லாம் still remember school-ல இருந்து college-ல எல்லாம் single activities-உம் I think I use to recite to her. சொல்லன்னா ஒரு மாதிரி இருக்கும். so I think அவங்களும் எங்களுக்குக் எல்லாமே ஒரு fair, clear-ஆ open-cut relationship தான். So, I think we're the more we look forward to the parents. The moment we start hide few things-ன்னாதான், then அந்த relationship comes a little இதில்லை with இது I never had, கலியாணம் ஆனபிறகு வந்து, ம் என்னுடைய husband's side வந்து they, the way they have been bought up and அப்புறம் செலவழிக்கிறதெல்லாம் tottally different from the way I was brought upன்ற தான். அவங்க கொஞ்சம் பாத்து செலவழிக்கிற type தான்.

33. Gem – TC33, ஒரே பையன் ...பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளை இல்லை. பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளை இல்லாததினால் அது தெரியாட்டி போனாலும், ஆணா நாங்களும் பாரம்பரியந்தான் கடைபிடிச்சோம். அது strict-ஆ இஷ்டம் போல dress பண்ண விடாம அப்படி தான். ... ஆனாலும் ரொம்ப free-ஆ இஷ்டத்துக்கு பேச போக வர விட்டுருக்கிறது ரொம்ப கஷ்டந்தான். ...

34. Gem – TC34, வீட்டு வேலை girls செய்றது செய்யணும், must அது எங்க இதில் men-ஐ அவ்வளவு வற்புறுத்த மாட்டாங்க. எனக்கு வந்து ஒரே பையனா இருந்ததினால் எல்லாமே செய்தான் எனக்கு ஒதவியா. அப்படிதான் இருந்தான்.

35. Amar – TC35, சாயந்தரம் வரும் பொழுது காய்கறிங்களை வாங்கிட்டு வந்திருவேன். இல்லைன்னா என் மகன் அஞ்ச வயதில் இருந்தே அவன் காய்கறி வாங்குறது பழக்கப்படுத்தினேன். சின்ன வயதில் இருந்து வாயில் வார்த்தை சரியா வராது. ஆனாலும் கத்தரிக்கா, வெண்டைக்கா அவன் தான் வாங்கிட்டு வருவான். Girls-ஐ நான் அதிகமா கடைக்கு அனுப்பிச்சதில்லை. நானும் போனதில்லை. எது இருந்தாலும், எது சின்ன article மகன் தான் வாங்கிட்டு வருவான்.

36. Amar – TC36, இப்ப இதில் கூட girls -ங்க அதிகமா போய், கலியாணம் ஆணா கூட husbands takeover பண்ணிக்கிட்டாங்களே ஒழிய, ஒரு அளவுக்கு பிள்ளைகளுக்கு கடைக்குப் போணும், வாங்கிட்டுப் வரண்ணுற responsibility இல்லை. Menfolk தான் கடைக்குப் போறதெல்லாம் பாத்துக்குவாங்க.

37. Arunavathy – TC37, ஆணா இப்பம் வந்து, இவன் வந்து, 'தண்ணிக்கெல்லாம் grisalda-வை அனுப்பக்கூடாது'. அவனே தான் வந்து இப்பம் தண்ணி அடிக்கிறான் ரோட்ல. ... `Grisalda வந்து தண்ணி அனுப்ப வேண்டாம்மா. இரண்டு side-உம் gents-ங்கெல்லாம் உக்காந்து அந்த mechanic இது பண்ணலை. அதினால் Grisalda போக ஆயிருச்சு. தண்ணி'ன்ட்டு அவனே வந்து இப்பம் தண்ணி எடுக்கிறான். ... அடிக்கவே மாட்டான். ... இப்பம் Grisalda நான், 'வெளிய நீ வரக்கூடாது. நான் தான் தண்ணி அடிப்பேன்' அதே மாதிரி

38. Lila – TC38, Boys-ஓட mingle பண்ணாம இருந்த இது effect இருக்கு. அதினால் என் பொண்ணை நான் வந்து, ஒரு அளவுக்கு mingle பண்ணலான்னு, நான் வச்சிருக்கிறேன்ன அவனை, ஒரு அளவுக்கு. ... இப்பம் we don't mind sending our children out. ... அதான், அண்ணைன் அதான் எட்டிப் பாத்ரா, 'ஏ, உள்ளப்போன்னா, ஓடனே போயிறணும்.

39. Amar – TC39, அப்பம் வந்து, 'நான் Air Force-ல சேரணும், நான் Air Force-ல சேரணான்னு அம்மாவை கேட்டுக்கிண்ணே இருந்தான். அம்மாக்கு ஒரே மகணானுணா அம்மா தயங்கிக்கிட்டு தான் இருந்தாங்க எப்படி Air Force-ன்னு அதை சொல்லல அம்மா ஆணா, 'சரிப்பா, ஒன் இஷ்டம் நீ போறதினா போன்னு சொல்லிட்டாங்க.

40. Betty – TC40, எங்க வீட்ல மொத்தம் நாங்க ஒம்பது பிள்ளைங்க. நான் மூத்தவா. எங்க அப்பா வீட்ல வந்துட்டு எட்டு அண்ணன் தம்பிங்க கூடப்பொறந்தவங்களுட்டு, நான் மூத்த பொண்ணா இருந்ததுனால ரொம்ப செல்லமா வளர்த்தாங்க. நானு கோடம்பாக்கம் வர்ற வரைக்கும் எல்லாமே அம்மா அப்பாவுடைய maintenance-ல தான் இருப்பேன். எனக்கு சுத்தமா துணி தொவைக்கக் கூடத் தெரியாது. அந்த அளவுக்கு என்னை ரொம்ப இது பண்ணாங்க.

41. Tiny – TC41, அதில விசேஷமா என்கிட்டன்னா, வந்து, ம... ரொம்ப அன்பா இருப்பாங்க, என்ன கேட்டாலும் வாங்கிக் குடுத்திடுவாங்க. (chuckles) எங்க அம்மாவால ஒண்ணும் முடியாது. ஏன்னா, நேரடியா கேட்டு வாங்கிக்கிடுவேன், ஒரு நாளும் இல்லைன்னு சொன்னதே கெடையாது. என்ன கேட்டாலும் வாங்கிக் குடுத்தாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி இது உண்டு. ஒரு soft heart -உம் உண்டு

42. Bina – TC42, என்னைக் கேட்டா பெண் கொழந்தையே, இப்பம் உள்ள காலத்துப்படி பார்த்தோன்னா better. கொஞ்சம் ஒழுங்கா கொஞ்சமாது அடங்கியாது இருக்கும். எதோ ஒரு படிப்பைக் குடுத்து நம்ம கல்யாணம் கட்டிக் குடுத்திரலாம். (chuckles) பையனை வச்சிட்டு அது அடங்கி ஒழுங்கி படிக்காமலும் அவனை வச்சிட்டு நம்ம என்ன பண்ண முடியும். அவனுக்குக் காலம்பூரா சம்பாதிச்ச அவனைச் காப்பாத்திக்கிட்டு நம்ம உக்காந்திருக்கணும். இதான. main, boys beocme a big problem for the parents rather than the girl. பொண்ணு பெறந்தா அதுக்கு மாப்பிள்ளை பாக்கணும், கல்யாணம் பண்ணணுன்ற அது வேற இருந்துட்டு problem- ன்னு நெனைக்கிறாங்க, அந்த problem-உம் இது so much better .... அதினால எந்த child-உம் superior, inferior-ன்றது கெடையாது. அதினால girl child-ஐ செய்து இது பன்றதுறதெல்லாம் absurd. But இரண்டும் இருக்கிறது நல்லது. ஏன்னா அது வந்து definitely got its advantages. எனக்கெல்லாம் நான் to be frank, நான் சொல்றேன். Binu, first girl பெறந்தால், எனக்கு, .... Second இவனுக்கும் time ஆயி இன்னும் due date ஆச்சு, .... everybody almost everybody decided girl ... இப்படியெல்லாம் இருக்கும் போது, எனக்கு கொஞ்சம் boy வேணுன்னு ஆசை. அது ஒரு இது. எப்படினாலும் எனக்கு அதிலையும் அண்ணன் விட தம்பி, தம்பி இருக்கிறது எனக்கு ரொம்ப வேணுன்னு. என் friend ஒருத்தியுடைய தம்பி அவளை 'அக்காவை கூட்டிட்டுப்போ'ன்னுவாங்க வீட்ல, வருவான். நாங்களல்லாம் போகும்போது அவன் வந்து காத்திருப்பான். அந்த மாதிரி அக்காவுடைய friend வீட்டுக்கு ஏதாவது குடுத்துட்டுவா'ன்னு சொன்னா நல்லா செய்வான் அங்க இருக்கிற மாதிரி, எங்க வீட்லெல்லாம் அண்ணன்மா,சட்டை பண்ணுவாங்களா ஏன் 'வெளில கூட்டிட்டுப் போ'ன்னா கூடமாட்டான். அப்படி போட்டுட்டுப் போயிருவான். அந்த விதமா இருந்ததினால தம்பி இருக்கணுன்னு ரொம்ப இஷ்டம். தம்பின்னா will be helpful. அப்பம் நான் வந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணேன், 'ஆண்டவரே Binu-க்கு ஒரு தம்பி இருந்தா நல்லா இருக்கும்'. ... அதே மாதிரி கர்த்தர் வந்து எனக்கு, அது ஒரு boy-யா குடுத்தாரு. அது வந்து நானு ஜெபம் பண்ணி, boy பெறந்ததுக்கு நான் ரொம்ப சந்தோஷம், ஏன்னா, so many ways he is very helpful as a boy பண்ண முடியுது. இப்பம் என் பொண்ணு கூட இருந்தான்னா எனக்கு வந்து அவளை வச்சி நானு ரொம்ப அப்படியெல்லாம் ஒரு மாதிரி காரியங்களெல்லாம் அனுப்பி வேலை வாங்கிறது செய்ய முடியாது. ம், ஏன்னா, நான் அவளுட protection-க்கே நான் பார்த்து, அவளுக்கு தனியா போணுன்னா நான் தொனைக்குப் போணும். அந்த விதமான பிரச்சனைகள் இல்லை இதில்ல. Another thing அவன் boy-ஆ இருக்கிறதினால O.K. இப்பம் வந்து அவங்க அப்பா இல்லாததுக்கு கொஞ்சம் responsibilities-ஐ அவன் மேல சொமத்த முடியுது, .... இரண்டு இதுவும் வந்து, ம், இருக்கிறது ரொம்ப நல்லது. எனக்கு feel பண்ணேன். and as such,...definite-ஆ வேணும்.

43. Bina – TC43, ஏன்னா வீட்ல girl இருந்தாலே தனி இது தான். ஒரு எப்படியானாலும் they are more affectionate to the parents பையன்களுக்கு affection இருக்கும். காட்ட மாட்டான்க வெளியிலெல்லாம். ... நான் வந்து பொண்ணா இருந்ததுனால, இப்பம் எங்க அம்மாவுக்கு ரொம்ப, ஏன்னா யாருமே எங்க அம்மாவை வந்து கவனிக்கல. அதான் கடைசி வரைக்கும் கவனிச்சேன். எங்க அம்மாவுக்கு ஒரு நல்ல, ஆனா, அந்த last month தான் நான் இல்லை. அது, அந்த ஒரு மாசம் கூட எங்க அம்மா தாக்கு பிடிக்கல, போய்ட்டாங்க. ... even in my absence she didn't want to leave the house. 'நான் இங்கயே இருந்துக்கிறேன்' ..... அப்புறம் அவங்க ரொம்ப இஷ்டம் இல்லைன்றதினாலேயே வந்து I tried other sources. ... எல்லாமே ஒரு மாதிரி, nobody accepted to be here....So, நான் அனுப்பியாச்சு அவங்க அவ்வளோ விருப்பம் இல்லை. அதுக்கேத்த மாதிரி அவங்க விருப்பமில்லாம் இருக்கிறது ஒரு வேளை கடவுளிட்ட, நான் feel பன்றது, 'நான் என்னதுக்கு சாமி, சம்மா இப்படி இருக்கணும் மற்றவங்க கஷ்டம்'ன்னா அப்படி ஏதாவது நெனைச்சிருப்பாங்க. நான் நெனைக்கிறேன். God heard her prayers and took her தான். ... அதினால அந்த விதத்தில நான் வந்து நான் பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளையா இருந்ததினால, இது பண்ணேன். ஆனா அதுவும் சொல்ல முடியாது allow பண்ணாத மாதிரி பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்க என்ன பண்ண முடியும். அதுவும் ஒண்ணும் பண்ண முடியாது. எல்லாம் அது கர்த்தர் ஏற்ற விதமா வைப்பாரு. ஆனா, பையன்களை விட கொஞ்சங்கூட care பண்ண முடியும். நெனைக்கிறேன். ஏன்னா women தான் கொஞ்சம் வீட்டுக் காரியங்களெல்லாம் செய்ய முடியும். அந்த woman வந்து வீட்டுப்பொண்ணா easy-ஆ செய்யலாம் வெளில இருந்து வர்ற பொண்ணுக்கு அவ்வளவு involvement-உம் affection-உம் இருக்கிறது எதிர்பார்க்க முடியாது. Unless they are very much in Christ. அவ்வளவு தூரம் சொந்த தாய்தகப்பன் மாதிரி கவனிக்கணுன்ற ஆர்வமும் இருக்காது, natural only .... not only for that ஒரு பொம்பளை பிள்ளைங்க இருந்தாதான் கொஞ்சம், சின்னதில் கூட நீங்க கொஞ்சம் ஆசையா உடுத்திட கூட பாக்கிறது, பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்கன்னா ஒரு interest-ஓட செய்யலாம். இதோட என்னத்தை சொல்வது. Both எது உயர்ந்ததோ தாழ்ந்த தோன்று சொல்ல முடியாது. Both-உம் இருந்தா நல்லதுன்னு சொல்லுவேன். அதினால பொம்பளைப்



பிள்ளைங்களை low-வா infact எனக்கு வந்து one ஒரு grade superior அதான் நான் நெனைப்பேன்.

44. Amar – TC44, ஆணா நான் என்ன நெனைக்கிறது, இந்தப் பெண் கொழந்தைங்கள் நமக்கு காண்பிக்கிற அன்பை மாதிரி ஆண் கொழந்தைங்க காண்பிக்கவே காண்பிக்காது. அதுங்க நமக்கு அம்மா, அப்பாவுக்கு அடங்கிற வயசு வரைக்குந்தான் வந்து நமக்கு அம்மா வேணும், அப்பா வேணும்னு இருக்குமே ஒழிய, ஒரு தடவை அவங்களுக்கு நெக்கை மொளைச்சிருச்சின்னா ம், ம் வேண்டான்ட்டு போயிடுறாங்க. Very few are affectionate and in touch with their parents. Specially foreign -னு போயிடுறாங்க. போணும் சரி, எத்தனை பேர் பணம் அனுப்புறாங்க பெற்றோருக்கு. அங்கேயே கலியாணம் பண்ணி முடிச்சிக்கிறாங்க. ‘ஐயோ, நம்ம இங்கேயே கலியாணம் பண்ணிட்டா. அம்மா அப்பறம் வெசனப்படுவாங்களே’ன்ற thought கூட இருக்க மாட்டேன்து.

45. Lita – TC45, இப்பம் என் daughter-in-law-ன்னா அவா she has her own views-ல்ல. ந்த மாதிரி நான் விட்டிருவேன். அது ஏன் இப்படி பண்ணுனா, அதான், ‘நீங்க மாமியாரே இல்லை’, அப்படின்னுவாங்க. எல்லோரும் என்னை. ஆணா கூட என் தங்கச்சியெல்லாம் சொன்னாகூட, நான் அதை இது பன்றதில்லை. என்னா, அவ இது, அவளுக்குன்னு ஒரு இது இருக்கு, .... ஆணா, இப்பம் எவ்வளவு தூரம் எங்களால் support பண்ண முடியுமோ, அவ்வளவு support பண்ணிக்கிட்டுத்தான் இருக்கிறோம் still. ... அவங்க எல்லா இதிலையும் equal இது தான். எல்லாம் நான் இன்னும் கேட்டா, என் மருமகளைத் தான் திட்டுவேன். என்னா, அவ எல்லாம் அவனுக்கு செய்து குடுக்கிறதினால, அவனுக்கு ஒரு இது இல்லாம, இப்பம் நான் என் husband-ஐ செய்ய வச்சிட்டேன். ஆணா, என் மருமகா, மகன் வந்து dominate பண்ணிட்டு தான் இருக்கிறான். எல்லா வேலையும் செய்துகிட்டு எப்ப பாரு அவளை, அவளையே தாங்கிட்டு இது பண்ணிட்டு இருப்பான். ரொம்ப dependent-ஆ ‘அந்த மாதிரி இரு . நீ வந்து அவன் வேலை செய்ய வைக்கணும்’. அப்படினட்டு தான் நான் சொல்லுவேனே ஒழிய, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரே இதில எனக்கு அதில உடன்பாடே இல்லை. இரண்டு பேரும் சேர்ந்து தான் எல்லாத்திலையும்.

46. Devar - OMW – TC46, ஒரு மகன். சின்னதில் இருந்து எங்க வீட்ல அவங்க சொன்னாங்க, pocket money குடுத்துப் பழக்கணுன்னு, அது, எப்பவும் first week லேயே தீர்ந்திடும். திருப்பிக் கேப்பான். சரி, இன்னும் கொஞ்சம் நாள் ஆகட்டும், 15 நாள் ஆன பிறகு திருப்பிக் குடுப்பேன்னுவாங்க. அவனும் finance படிச்சிக்கணுன்னு.

47. Melody – TC47, And for my children educationally I will help them, but the final decision is their own. ... If they are really interested then I'll let them go. And career wise, I think, men and women both take, can take up the career if they want

48. Priya – TC48, Particularly I'll just leave it open to them what they want. Or I'll give them the pros and cons of everything. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean. children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.

49. Amar – TC49, ஆணா ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கு என்ன, எந்த line -ல போகனுன்றது அவங்களுடைய choice. நாங்க கட்டாயப்படுத்தி எங்க choice -ல அவங்க போயிருந்தா அவங்க interest - ஓட படிச்சிருக்க மாட்டாங்க போல.

50. Sampoorana - Older Unmarried Single Woman (OSW) – TC50, எங்க வீட்ல எங்க அம்மா தான் all in all எல்லாத்துக்கும் என்னன்னா எங்க அப்பாவுக்கு சீக்கிரம் கோபம் வந்திரும் எல்லாத்துக்கும். பொறுமை இருக்காது, எங்க அம்மா எல்லாம் பொறுத்து, எல்லாம் செய்யவாங்க. படிச்ச பாடம் கத்துக் குடுக்கிற விஷயத்தில இருந்து, எவ்வளவு 4 பேர் இருந்தாங்க, 4 பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் தவறாம சொல்லிக் குடுத்திருவாங்க. படிப்பு விஷயத்தில, school-க்கு போகிற விஷயத்தில, ஒழுங்கில, அதிக கண்டிப்பு, பெறகு இந்த கடவுள் பக்திக்குரிய காரியத்தில், அதிக முக்கியத்துவம் எங்க அம்மா எங்கள சின்ன குழந்தையில இருந்தே, ஐஞ்சாறு வயசில இருந்தே கோயிலுக்கு எங்களைக் கூட்டிட்டுப் போனாங்களன்னா, அந்த காலத்திலேயே, கோயில் தொடங்கிறதுக்கு முன்னால்தான் நாங்க போணும், கோயில் முடிஞ்ச பின்னால்தான், அது என்ன அவசர business இருந்தாகூட, ஒரு காரியத்தை முன்னிட்டு, கூட்டிட்டு வரவே மாட்டாங்க. பெறகு கோயில் முடிஞ்ச வந்த உடனே, இன்னைக்கு ஐயர் என்ன பிரசங்கம், என்ன சொன்னாரு, ஒரு வார்த்தையாவது சொல்லணும், அவர் பிரசங்கம் பண்ணதில் ஒரு வார்த்தையாவது சொல்லணும். சொல்லி முடிச்சிட்ட ஓடனே எங்க நாலு பேரையும் உக்கார வச்சிடுவாங்க. உக்கார வச்சிட்டு ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கு ஒரு சங்கீதம் குடுப்பாங்க. சங்கீதத்தை நாங்க படிச்ச சீக்கிரம் சொல்லணும். சொல்லலையோ அடி. யார்க்குன்னாலும் சாப்பாடு கெடையாது. (laugh) எங்க பாட்டி. என்ன பண்ணுவாங்க எங்களுக்கு பரிந்து பேசுவாங்க. ‘பரவால, கொஞ்சம், உட்டுடு, அவங்க சாப்பாடு போட்டுடு’ நானும் இன்னொரு தம்பியும் சீக்கிரம் சொல்லிடுவோம். எங்க இரண்டு தம்பிகள் கொஞ்சம் delay ஆயிரதினால சோறு போடமாட்டா. படிச்ச ஒப்பிக்காத, நாலடிச்சா கூட சரி, சோறு கெடையாது. உடனே எங்க பாட்டி சொல்லுவாங்க, ‘இல்லைல்ல, போட்டிரு, சாப்ட பெறகு சொல்லட்டும்’. ஊஹும். விடவே மாட்டா. அதே போல எங்க கூட்டம் வந்தாலும் சரி, எங்களைக் கூட்டிணு போகாது, ஆவிக்குரிய கூட்டங்க தவிர, நாங்க இன்னை வரைக்கும் ஒரு dance ஒரு சினிமா, ஒரு இந்தப் பாட்டுகள்ல எங்களுக்கு நாட்டமே கெடையாது. இன்னும், இப்ப கூட நான் வீட்ல இருந்தாக் கூட, கதவு சாத்திட்டு தன்னந்தனிச்சு, இப்ப தங்கச்சி வீட்ல அவ TV கீவி போடறா. அதுக்கு முன்ன நாங்க

gramophone music கூட நாங்க கேட்டது கெடையாது. எங்க வீட்ல அப்படிப்பட்ட பக்திக்கு முதலிடம். கோயில் முதலிடம். ஆகவே, தப்பா மற்றதுக்கெல்லாம் .. அம்மா means தான். அவங்க என்ன செய்றாங்களோ அது correct அவ்வளவு தான்.

51. Ranjithamani – TC51, அப்புறம் எங்க அண்ணேன் வாலிப வயசில ரொம்ப படியாம இருப்பாங்க. அப்போல்லாம் அப்பா அவனை எல்லாம். கொஞ்சம் கண்டிச்சி.

52. Devar – TC52, அப்ப கோயில் இது நாங்க ரொம்ப அழுத்த முடியல, ஏனா அவன் premature ... எப்ப. பாரு ஏதாவது தொந்தரவு இருந்துக்கிட்டே இருக்கும். அந்த இதை நாங்க ரொம்ப அழுத்த முடியல நாங்க இஷ்டப்பட்ட மாதிரி அவனுக்கு நாங்க அதைச் செய்யல. நான் I always feel

53. Jeyam – TC53, அந்த மாதிரி sons, daughters இருந்தாகூட அம்மாக்கு வந்து உண்மையா sons மேலதான் பாசம் ஜாஸ்தி. ஒரு இரண்டு daughter, daughters இருந்தும், ஒரு daughter வந்து, ன், ஆனா, twenty one years-ல எறந்திட்டா. But அப்படி இருந்தா கூட, sons மேலதான் பாசம் ஜாஸ்தியாதான், நான் நிச்சயமா சொல்லமுடியும். இப்பம் எப்படி இருக்கிறாங்களோ தெரியாது. அந்தக் காலத்தில் actuals-ஆ sons மேல தான் பாசம் ஜாஸ்தி But, அப்பாவுக்கு வந்து என் மேல பாசம் ரொம்ப அதிகம், ஜாஸ்தி, ஆனா வெளில காட்டிக்க மாட்டாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி. அப்பா வந்து ரொம்ப என்னைக் condition-ஆ, அம்மா வந்து என்னை ரொம்ப இருக்கும் போது, அப்பாவுக்கு அது இஷ்டம் இருக்காது. இருந்தா கூட, வெளில காட்டிக்க முடியாது. ஒண்ணும் சொல்ல முடியாது. அம்மா ரொம்ப strict அந்தக் காலத்தில் நல்லா அடியெல்லாம் நெறையா (laughter) வாங்கிருக்கிறேன். அந்த மாதிரி (laughs) அந்தக் காலத்தில் எங்க வீட்ல எங்க அம்மா, but இது spiritual way-ல பாத்தாக்கி, every year எங்களுக்கு அங்க examination எல்லாம் உண்டு. இது start பண்ணனும். அந்த மாதிரி Tuticorin-ல நான் வளந்தேன். அப்போம். அது வந்து every year கட்டாயம் அதை அது வந்து correct-ஆ Christmas leave-ல தான் வரும் அந்த exam. Half yearly exam-ஐ முடிச்சவுடனே வரும். அதினால நான் வந்து கொஞ்சம் free ஆ இருக்கணுன்னு இஷ்டப்படுவோம். But அந்த condition-ஆல அத்தனை, நான் உண்மையில் சொல்றேன், படிக்கணுமேன்னு நெனைச்சி கூட நான் படிச்சிருக்க மாட்டேன். அப்பா, அம்மாவுடைய condition-ல அதை நான் படிச்சிருக்கிறேன். அந்த மாதிரி நெறைய எனக்கு Bible-ல நெறையா வசனம், நெறையா அதிகாரங்களும் மனப்பாடம் பண்ண வேண்டிய சூழ்நிலையில எனக்கும் தம்பிக்கும் வந்த காரணம் அம்மா தான் சொல்வேன். வேறு யாரும் சொல்ல முடியாது. எங்க அம்மாவுடைய condition-ஆல நாங்க அந்த இதெல்லாம் செஞ்சிருக்கோம். இஷ்டப்பட, படாம செஞ்சிருக்கோம். அப்பம் அந்த வீட்டில வெறுத்திருக்கோம் இப்பம் அந்த எங்களுக்கு ரொம்ப useful-ஆ இருக்குன்னு ஒரு சந்தோஷந்தான்.

54. Jeyam – TC54, கலியாணம் ஆன பெறகு எங்களுக்கு ன், ஒம்பது வருஷம் கொழந்தையே இல்லாம இருந்துச்சு, பத்தாவது வருஷந்தான் கொழந்தை பெறந்திச்சு. அதுக்கு எடையில் நெறையா abortions ஆயிருந்திது. ஆனாலும் நான் வந்து, நான் வந்து மனசுக்குள்ள கடவுள் கிட்ட கேக்கிறதெல்லாம், 'இவ்வளவு தூரம், நான் இன்னும் என்ன பாவம் செய்றேன்னு, என் என்னை இன்னும் தண்டிக்கிறீரா, ன்னு. எனக்கு இந்த மாதிரி நான் மற்றவங்க முன்னாடி வெக்கப்பட்டுப் போகக் கூடாதின்னா. நீர் எனக்குக் கட்டாயமா', நான் சண்டை போடுவேன் கடவுள் கிட்ட செல நேரத்திலெல்லாம் அந்த வச்சிட்டு, அந்த ninth year எல்லாம் ரொம்ப சண்டை போட்டிருக்கிறேன். நெறையா நான் nights எல்லாம் தூக்கம் இல்லாம அழுதிருக்கிறேன். ஜெபித்து அழுதிருக்கிறேன். அந்த மாதிரி, ன், 'என்னை வந்து மற்றவங்க முன்னாடி நீர் அவமானப்படுத்தாமா இருக்கிறதின்னா எனக்குக் கட்டாயம் ஒரு கொழந்தையைத் தானும். நானே கொழந்தைங்க மத்தில் ஒரு ஊழியத்தை செஞ்சிக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறேன். எனக்கு இந்த இது கட்டாயம் வேணுன்னு நான் ஒரு மாதிரி உரிமையோட சண்டை போட்ட நாட்களெல்லாம் இப்பமும் நெனைவில இருக்கு. அந்த மாதிரி இருக்க, கடைசில கடவுள் ஆசீர்வாதமா எனக்கு ஒரு பையனையும் குடுத்தாரு. பத்தாவது வருஷம் சாட்சியின் பிள்ளையாக நிச்சயமா அது சாட்சியா எங்கயும் சொல்ல முடியும். சாட்சியின் மகனா ஒரு பையன் எனக்குக் குடுத்தாரு. எங்க life குடுத்தாரு. இது எங்க husband-க்குமே கடவுள்டைய ஆசீர்வாதத்தால தான் கடவுளுடைய துணை இல்லாம இந்தப் பிள்ளையைப் பெத்திருக்கவே முடியாது. அப்படின்ற ஒரு நிச்சயமான ஒரு இது எங்க husband-க்கும் உண்டு.

55. Amar – TC55, அப்புறம், ன், ன், கடைக்குப் போறதெல்லாம் கூட என் தம்பி சின்னதா இருந்த வரைக்கும் அம்மாவே வாங்கி வந்திருவாங்க. நாங்களும் ஒவ்வொரு சமயம் கடைக்குப் போயிருக்கிறோம். அதிகமா அனுப்ப மாட்டாங்க girls-அ, அதிகமா இல்லை. தம்பி போயிட்டு வருவான். தம்பி பெரிசு ஆக, ஆக full responsibility-யும் அவன் மேல தான். கடைக்குப் போறதெல்லாம் எங்களை, ம், அனுப்ப மாட்டாங்க.

56. Bina – TC56, எங்க அம்மாதான் எங்களை வந்து மற்றபடி நல்லபடி இது பண்ணி வளர்த்தது, இப்ப வந்து எல்லாம் கர்த்தருக்குள்ள கொண்டு வந்தது எல்லாமே எங்க அம்மா தான்.

57. Arunkumari - TC57, மற்றபடி நான் வந்து எந்த இதுவும், அவங்க கேக்கிற இஷ்டந்தான். Weekly once McRennet கூட்டிட்டுப்போய் அவங்களுக்கு ஏற்றபடி இது பண்ணிடுவேன். ஆனா கடவுள் விஷயத்தில் வந்து நான் strict-ஆ இருப்பேன். Bible

படிக்கணும். daily வந்துட்டு வசனம் சொல்லிட்டுத் தான் படுக்கணும். அதாவது school-ல என்னதாவது songs ஏதாவது சொல்லிக் குடுத்தா, பாட வைப்பேன். அந்த மாதிரி கொஞ்சம் interest கொண்டு வர்றேன்.

58. Saguna – TC58, சின்ன நான் தனியாதான் வளந்தேன். எங்க அண்ணனுக்கும் எனக்கும் பன்னண்டு வருஷம் difference. அதினால அண்ணேன் காலேஜ் படிக்கும் போது தான் நான் பள்ளிக் கூடத்தில் படிச்சிக் கிட்டு இருந்தேன். அதினால leave-க்கு தான் வருவாங்க. வந்து நல்லா music போட்டு orchestra வச்சிக்கிட்டு அந்த மாதிரி நல்ல ஒரு மாதிரி அண்ணேன் வந்த மாதிரி வீடு சந்தோஷமா கலகலலட்டு இருக்கும் மற்றபடி நானும் அப்பா அம்மாதான். அதினால என்னை ஒரு மாதிரி ரொம்ப ஜெபத்தில்தான் வளத்தாங்கன்னு சொல்லணும். ஏன்னா, எல்லாத்துக்கும் ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு விடுவாங்க. ம், school-க்குப் போயிட்டு, school-ல நல்ல friends எல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு சந்தோஷமான, நல்ல ஒரு childhood-தான் இருந்தது. School எல்லா games அப்புறம் நான் School Pupil leader-ஆ இருந்தேன். அந்த மாதிரி அதினால அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு சந்தோஷமான வாழ்க்கைதான் இருந்தது. ... இந்த மாதிரி மூணு பேருந்தான் எப்பவே ஒண்ணா ஒரு family மாதிரி இருப்போம். ... இப்படி சின்னையா வர்றதினால கொஞ்சம் வீட்டில் அவங்க வந்து எனக்கு கணக்கெல்லாம் சொல்லித் தருவாங்க. ம், அப்படி school life. அந்த மாதிரி இருந்துச்சு. அதுக்கப்புறம் வீட்டில் வேலை செய்ய அந்த மாதிரி, வேலை அவ்வளவு தெரியாது. தெரியாம தான் வளந்தேன். Music கொஞ்சம் படிச்சேன். மற்றபடி வேற வீட்டு வேலைண்டு ரெண்டு பேரையும் செஞ்சு, செய்யவிட்ட மாதிரி ரூபகமில்ல.

59. Amar – TC59, பிள்ளைங்க மாத்திரம் கஷ்டப்படுறாங்கன்ன ஓடனே கண்ண தண்ணீ வந்திரும். நான் என்ன ஆனாலும் கவலப்படமாட்டாங்க. பிள்ளைங்க அவங்களுக்கு ரொம்ப அன்பா, ரொம்ப கொஞ்சி, கொலாவி, அவங்க பிள்ளைங்களை அடிச்சா மாதிரி எனக்கு, நான் அடிப்பேன், நான் திட்டிவேன். ஆனா அவங்க இல்லை. அதினால பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு அம்மாவைக் காட்டிலும் அப்பா மேல தான் உயிரு.

60. Ranjithamani – TC60, எங்க அப்பா ஒரு மாதிரி நல்ல ஒரு type-ல தான் பிள்ளைகள், நான் கூட பெறகு என்னை age-க்கு வந்தப்புறம் வெளிய விடமாட்டாங்க. 'நீ எதுக் கெல்லாம் ஒரு பொதுக் கெணத்துக்குப் போணும். ரோட்டில் கடைகளெல்லாம் இருக்கு இனிம நீ வாலிபப் பிள்ளை, போகக் கூடாதின்னு அம்மாதான் எடுப்பாங்க. எப்பமாதா முடியலை. எங்க அம்மாக்குன்னா இராத்திரிதான் போய் எடுக்கச் சொல்லுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி சில ரொம்ப ஒழுக்கமா இருப்பாங்க. ஒரு நாளு நான் இதில துணி காயப்போட்டிருந்தது.saree நல்லா இருக்குன்னு அப்படி பிரிச்சி பாத்துக்கிட்டு இருந்தேன். 'என்ன இங்க நிக்கிற 'அப்படி'ன்னு கேட்டாங்க. அப்படி ரொம்ப எங்களை நல்ல வளப்பில் வளத்து இது வரைக்கும் ஏழு பேருமே ம், இருக்காங்க.

61. Jeyavathy – TC61, பிள்ளைகளுக்கு நல்ல rights நாங்க குடுத்திருக்கிறோம். அவளும் நல்லா எல்லா விதத்திலேயும் சுதந்திரமா இருந்து பேசுவா. ஒரு friendly-ஆ எங்களோட, ஏனா இந்தக் காலத்தில நம்ம வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகளை அதிகமா நம்ம கண்டிக்கவும் முடியாது. நம்ம எப்படி அவங்களை சரியாகத் திருத்தணுமோ, அப்படித் தான் நாங்க திருத்துவோம். அவர்களும் அதற்குக் கீழ்ப்படிந்து அப்படி நடக்கிறாங்க. குடும்பம் நல்லா ஒற்றுமையா இருக்கும்.

62. Saral – TC62, அவங்க அம்மா அப்பாவும், இரண்டே இரண்டு பையன்க, பொண்ணே இல்லாததினால, என் மேல ரொம்ப அன்பா இருந்தாங்க. ஆனா இது மாதிரி நான் யோசிப்பேன். ஏன் மேலை ரொம்ப நல்லா இருக்கிறவங்களை தான் கடவுள் தான், இரண்டு வருஷத்தில் அவங்க அம்மா எறந்திட்டாங்க. என் மேல,இவ்வளவு பொண்ணு மாதிரி ஒவ்வொரு தடவையும் எனக்கு Christmas-க்கு அதுக்கு இதுக்குன்னு, அவங்க தான் பொடவை எடுத்துத் தருவாங்க. எங்க அம்மா வந்து, கொழந்தை பெறந்தப் கூட வரவே இல்லை, அப்பாவும் வரலை, அம்மாவும் வரலை, வந்து பாக்கிறதாக்கு அப்பம் இவங்க அம்மா தான் என் கூடவே இருந்து எல்லாம் பார்த்தாங்க. ஆனா ஒரு 'ஒங்க அப்பா இப்படி, அப்படி'ன்னு ஒரு நாள் கூட சொன்னதே இல்லை, அப்புறந்தான் கொஞ்சங் கொஞ்சமாக நான் change ஆகி change ஆகி, அதுக்கப்புறம் இப்பம் ரொம்ப நல்லா இருக்கிறாங்க.

63. Saral – TC63, இப்பம் நல்லா ரெண்டு பிள்ளைங்க, பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்க இருக்கிறாங்க. நல்லா படிக்கிறாங்க.

64. Saral – TC64, இரண்டும் daughters தான். எனக்கு actual-ஆ twins வந்து second, ஒரு son and one daughter. son எறந்து, எறந்திருச்சி. . . . அப்படியெல்லாம் இல்லை. அவங்க அவங்க. இவ second daughter ரொம்ப நல்லா படிப்பா. அவ அப்படி engineering-க்கு இவளும் இப்பம் நல்ல, American Consulate General-ல வேலிருக்கிறதா, computer படிச்சிட்டு இவா . . . . அப்படியெல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை. அவ என்னை அவங்க பிள்ளைங்க என்ன விருப்பப்படுறாங்களோ, அதான். அதினால அது ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை. ... அதிலெல்லாம் நல்லா தாராளமா எங்களுக்காக செலவு செய்வாங்க. பிள்ளைங்க கேக்கிறதை வாங்கித் தருவாங்க. எல்லாம் இருக்கு. நல்ல கொணம் இருக்கு, எல்லாம் பண்ணுவாங்க.

65. Sneha – TC65, அப்புறம் வீட்டிலையும் household work-ன்னா house management-ல literally zero நானு. ஏன்னா எங்க அம்மா சொல்லி அவங்க சின்ன வயசில என்னென்ன கஷ்டப்பட்டிருக்காங்க அப்படி'ன்னு



சொல்லியிருக்கிறாங்க. Mother's love and care இல்லாததினால் அவங்களுக்கு அது வந்து she is, எங்க சொல்லப்போனா எங்க அம்மா, எங்க சித்தி, எங்க மாமா எல்லாம் one of the gems-ன்னு சொல்லலாம். நெறையபேர், நெறையளா குடும்பம் வந்து செதறிருக்கு love and care இல்லாததினால். இப்பம் அப்படி வந்து ஒவ்வொருத்தரும் வேற வேற மாதிரி அவங்க life போயிருக்கு. ஆனா அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு life வந்து, miserable life வந்தும் இவங்கெல்லாம் வந்து இவ்வளவு நல்லா, இவ்வளவு நல்ல பிள்ளைங்களா வந்து, God's children-ஆ இதுவரைக்கும் வந்து நல்லா இருக்கிறாங்க so they are one of the best examples-ன்னு சொல்லணும். So I am blessed to have such parents and aunts, அப்போ, அதினால் எங்க அம்மா வந்து கஷ்டப்பட்டதால் 'என் பிள்ளைங்க அப்படி கஷ்டப்பட கூடாதுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, என்னை வந்து வீட்ல ஒரு வேலை செய்யவிட மாட்டாங்க. Kitchen குள்ள வரமாட்டாங்க. 'நீ வேணா, எப்படியும், future-ல நீங்கதான் இதெல்லாம் செய்யப் போற. இப்பவே இதெல்லாம் என் செய்ற' அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு. each of at home அப்படி வீட்டிலெல்லாம் அப்படி நான் பாட்டுக்கு வருவேன். jolly-ஆ தூங்குவேன். வேணுன்னா தூங்கறது, friends கூட வெளியி போறது. என் வேலை பாத்துப்பனே தவிர, வீட்ல வீட்ல சமையலு இதெல்லாம் வந்து இது வரைக்கும் நான் பாத்துக்கிட்டது கெடையாது. அம்மா தான் பாத்துக்கிறாங்க. அப்பாவும் அதை எதுவும் சொல்லமாட்டாங்க. அப்பாவும் உடனே, 'சரி, பிள்ளைங்க enjoy பண்ணாங்களோ, அவங்களுக்கு என்ன interest-ஓ இருக்கட்டுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு அப்பாவும் 'இதெல்லாம் பண்ணணும். அதெல்லாம் சொல்ல மாட்டாங்க, full-ஆ 100% இது இருக்கு. ஏன்னா, அம்மா வந்து அவ்வளவு கஷ்டப்பட்டிருக்காங்க. so அந்த கஷ்டம் வந்த பிள்ளைங்க படக்கூடாதுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, எங்களை, என்னை எதுக்குமே இது பண்ணாது கெடையாது. ஒண்ணு என்னன்னா இந்த மாதிரி grandparents love எனக்குக் கெடச்சிருக்கு. கெடையாது, தாத்தான்னா, தாத்தா, பாட்டி, எனக்கு பாட்டி இரண்டு பக்கமும் பாட்டி கெடையாது. வந்து எனக்கு grandmother's love-ன்னு கெடையாது. எதோ தாத்தா, அதுவும் எங்க அப்பாவுடைய அப்பாவைதான் எனக்கு நல்லா தெரியும். I was... அப்பம் அவங்களும் அதினால் இப்பம் வந்து இருக்கிறது எங்க அம்மா அப்பா அப்பறம், அவங்களுக்கு best-ன்னா aunties தான். ன், அவங்க எங்க அம்மா sisters எல்லாம் ரொம்ப close, so, எனக்கு parents-க்கு அப்பறம் எங்க aunties தான். so, அப்படி எனக்குன்னு restrictions எதுவும் எங்க parents குடுத்தது கெடையாது. அப்போ, நான் இவ்வளவு liberal-ஆ எனக்கு liberty குடுத்து வளத்ததினால், may be I like, think some எனக்கு future life-ல இப்படி இருக்கணுன்னு expect பண்ணலாம். But, ஆனா அது பயமா இருக்கு.

66. Sneha – TC66, I'll see that I'm a caring mother. A good house wife and a career woman, எல்லாமே balanced-ஆ I'll see that

67. Mariam – TC67, actual-ஆ பார்த்தா அம்மா வந்து church P.C.-ல அம்மா இருக்கிறதினால் அம்மா என்னை அனுப்பி விட்டிருவாங்க. ன், எங்க அப்பா வந்து அப்பம் வந்து ரொம்ப church பற்றி அவங்க இருக்க மாட்டாங்களன்னா கூட, எங்க அம்மா வந்து எல்லா fellowship எல்லாந்லாம் கலந்துக்கிடுறதினால், என்னை வந்து அம்மா encourage பண்ணுவாங்க. நீ, னும், Bible எல்லாம் வாசிக்கணும். அப்படியெல்லாம், அதெல்லாம் எனக்கு வந்து அந்த இது continuous-ஆ இன்னும் வந்துட்டு இருக்குது, ஆனா எனக்கு வந்து எங்க அம்மாவைப் போல பிள்ளைகளையும் அந்த line-ல கொண்டு வந்திரணும் அப்படின்னு அம்மா வந்து church இதிலெல்லாம் வந்து, ம்.அது ஆராதனை அதில எல்லாம் ரொம்ப இது பண்ணிக்கிடுவாங்க. அம்மா வந்து எல்லாத்திலையுமே participate பண்ணுவாங்க. ன்,

68. Amar – TC68, அப்பறம் அவனுக்கு கலியாணம் பொண்ணு பாக்கிறது கூட அம்மாவே பார்த்த பொண்ணை தான் கட்டி வச்சாங்க, அம்மாக்கு திருப்தியா அவனும் சொல்லிட்டான், 'அம்மா நீங்க யாரை திருப்தியா பாக்கிறீங்களோ, அப்படியே நீங்களே', அதே போல அவனும் அம்மா திருப்தியா கலியாணம் பண்ணி,

69. Amar – TC69, ரெண்டு பேருக்கும் அம்மா அப்பாவுக்கு இன்னமும் கீழ்ப்படியிறாங்க, அவங்க கலியாணம் முடிஞ்சா, அவங்க family இருந்தாலும் . அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு atmosphere-ல, ஒரு தேவ பக்தில கொண்டு வந்ததினால். ஒங்களுக்கா எது நல்லது, எது நல்லதில்லைன்னு தெரிஞ்சு போச்சு.

70. Varam – TC70, அதுக்குப் பெறவு, நல்லா இருந்தேன். ஆனாலும் ஒரு பையன் தான், அந்த ஒரு பையனையும் கடவுள் எடுத்துக்கிட்டாரு. அந்த cancer-ல ஒம்பது வயசு, படிக்கும் போது எறந்திட்டான் அவன். இப்ப நாங்க ரெண்டு பேரும், இப்பத்தான் கர்த்தருக்குள்ள வந்திருக்கிறோம்.

71. Sweety – TC71, ஆனா, actually she was, என்ன, நல்ல ஆவிக்குரிய ஒரு தாய் அவங்க. அவங்ககிட்ட இருந்து தான் நான் ரொம்ப கத்துக்கிட்டேன். எங்க family-லயும் கடவுள் பக்தி உள்ளவங்க தான். ஆனாலும் நான் கல்யாணம் பண்ணும்போது எனக்குக் கடவுள் ஒரு நல்ல பக்தியுள்ள குடும்பத்தை எனக்கு தந்தாருன்னு.

72. Ranjithamani – TC72, என் மக வாலிப்பிள்ளையில போயிட்டா, நல்லா ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளையா. ... அதிகமா கூட நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணலை, என் மகனுக்கு அவன் இப்பம் ரொம்ப ஆவிக்குரிய பையனா இருக்கிறான்.

73. Flora – TC73, ஆனா பிள்ளைங்களை வளர்க்கிறதில் நான் தான் பொறுப்பெடுத்தக் கிட்டேன். அந்த பிள்ளைங்களை காலையில் எழுப்பி விடுறது, ஜெபம் பண்ணறது, daily வசனம் சொல்றது, அது மாதிரி நான் வாஞ்சித்த

மாதிரி ஒரு Christian school- ல தான் சேக்கணும், அப்படின்னுட்டு அந்த மாதிரி ஒவ்வொரு காரியங்களும் தேவனுடைய பாதத்தில் வச்ச.... என்னுடைய குடும்பத்திலையும் கணவருடைய அன்பு பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் இல்லை. ஒரு ஒத்துழைப்பும் இல்லை. கர்த்தருடைய சித்தத்தின் படி, அவருடைய சித்தத்தின் படி நடத்திட்டு வர்றார்.

74. Amar – TC74, அவன் யார் கூட friends இருந்தாக்கா, அந்த sir-ங்க வீட்டுக்கு வந்து, 'ஒங்க மகனை இதைப் போலான பையன்க கூட சேர வேண்டா'ன்னு சொல்லுங்க. இது போலப் பையனோட சேர வேண்டா'ன்னு, சொல்லுங்க'ன்னு அம்மாகிட்ட சொல்லுவாங்க. அம்மா சொன்னா கூட தம்பி எடுத்துக்க மாட்டான், அவன் friends ன்னுட்டு. ஏன்னா அவனுடைய intelligence-ஐப் பார்த்து, மற்றவங்களோட சேந்தா கெட்டுருவான்ற நல்ல எண்ணத்தோட தான் அவங்களுடைய வாத்தியாருங்க கூட வந்திருக்கிறாங்க. அதோட கூட நம்ம கோயிலுக்கெல்லாம் போயி ஒரு இது, fellowship-லெல்லாம் இருக்கிறதினால, அவங்களுக்கு நம்ப family மேல ஒரு interest அந்த மாதிரி. தம்பியைக் கவனிச்சிக்கிட்டு.

75. Amar – TC75, அது வந்து, அனாவசியமான சாதனங்கள் வாங்குறதுக்கு allow பண்ண மாட்டோம். எது முக்கியமோ அது மாத்திரம். அப்புறம் துணிமணிகள் விஷயத்தில் கூட, ன், lavish-ஆ வாங்குறதுக்கு, ம், சொல்லிக்குடுக்கல. ஏதோ இரண்டு கிழிச்சல் இருந்தாக்கா தெச்சப் போட்டுக்கிறதுக்கு தான் சொல்லிக்குடுத்தாங்க. அப்படி நாங்க வந்து, கொஞ்சம் டுட்டுப் பொறுத்த வரைக்கும் ஒழுங்கா, எல்லாம் அடக்கம் சொல்லிக் குடுத்தாங்க. ...

76. Amar – TC76, அவங்களுட பெறந்த நாளங்க வரும். இதுக்கெல்லாம் நாங்க இரண்டு பேரும் கலந்து, 'கடையில இதை வாங்கலாமா, அதை வாங்கலமான்'ட்டு இரண்டு பேரும் consult பண்ணி, சொன்னது, அவங்க ஒத்துக்கிட்டது இரண்டும், ம், எங்களுடைய திருப்திக்குன்ற மாதிரி தான் கொண்டு வருவோம். பிள்ளைங்க கூட, 'இது நல்லா இல்லை, அது நல்லா இல்லை'ன்னு இதுவரைக்கும் சொன்ன மாதிரி தெரியலை. நாங்க என்ன choose பண்ணோம், இப்பகூட பிள்ளைங்க மூணு பேரும் மூணு எடத்தில் இருக்கிறாங்க. அவங்க வங்க பெறந்த நாளுக்கு நாங்க என்ன வாங்கிட்டு வந்து குடுத்தாலும் அவங்க போட்டுக்கு வாங்க. 'அம்மா இது நல்லா இல்லை, ஐயோ நீங்க அது வாங்கிட்டு வராத போயிட்டிங்களே, இது கொண்டாராத' ஒரு நாளும் இதுவரைக்கும் பிள்ளைகளும் சொன்னதில்லை. நம்ப எது குடுத்தாலும் அவங்க சந்தோஷமா போட்டுக்கிட்டாங்க அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு வகையில பிள்ளைகளை கொண்டு வந்துட்டோம். திருப்தியா இருக்கிறதுக்கு. இப்பம் அவங்கவங்க நல்லா தான் இருக்காங்க. எந்த பிள்ளைக்கும் எந்த கொறைவும் இருக்கிற மாதிரி தெரியலை, கடவுளுடைய கிருபையினால. ...

77. Kamala – TC77, பிள்ளைங்களை வளர்கிறதில் இருந்து எல்லாமே நான் தான்.... நான் தான் பிள்ளைங்களை சர்ச்சுக்கு வரணும், நல்லா Bible வாசிக்கணும், எல்லா விதத்திலயும், இப்படி இருக்கணும். அதுங்களை condition ஆவும் நான் வளர்க்கல. அதுங்களுக்கு என்னென்ன தேவையோ அதையும் செய்துக்கணும். அதுங்களை சர்ச் மூல்யத்திலையும் எல்லா விதத்திலையும் கொணர்ந்து வருவேன். எல்லாம் எங்க வீட்டிலையும் நான் தான்.

78. Tiny – TC78, ஆனா வந்து பிள்ளைகள் வளர்க்கிற விஷயத்தில் ரொம்ப இது செய்வாங்க... பண்ணுவாங்க பிள்ளைகளை, education-லயும் சரி. இந்த spiritual இதிலயும் சரி, prayer இருக்கும். எல்லா பிள்ளைகளும் வரணும், ஒவ்வொருத்தரா, எல்லாரும் சின்னதில் இருந்தே ஜெபம் பண்ணணும். பாடணும், கோயிலில் participate பண்ணணும். அப்புறம் கோயிலில் பாட்டுபாடுறதினா பாடணும், ஊழியத்துக்குப் போகணும். கூட்டிட்டுப் போயிருவாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி, ஒரு இதெல்லாம் உண்டு.

79. Mallimalar – TC79, அந்தக் காசைக் கூட எங்க அம்மா அதில பத்திரம் பண்ணி வச்சு, அதில ஏதாவது வாங்கி பிள்ளைங்களுக்குக் குடுக்கப் பண்ணுவாங்க. ... ஆனா கர்த்தருடைய கிருபையினால, எங்க அம்மா வந்து வியாபரத்துக்குன்னு, வர்றத்துக்குன்னு சொல்லி கெளம்பினாங்க. கெளம்பின்போ, எங்களை கொஞ்சம், எங்க அம்மா தான் எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க.

80. Mallimalar – TC80, எல்லாருமே இரண்டு பேருமே கிறிஸ்தவங்க தான். இருந்தாலும் கடவுளுடைய ஒரு இது இல்லாம எங்களை எல்லாம் வளர்த்தாங்க. ... 'பாரு, பெண் அவங்க அம்மா அந்தக் காலத்தில் அப்பா அப்படியெல்லாம் இருந்தேன். ஆனாலும் ஒங்க அம்மா அவ்வளவு தூரம் என்னையை இது பண்ணி வளர்த்து, உங்களையும் ஒரு ஆளாக்கி ஒங்களை ஒரு இது பண்ணியிருக்கிறாங்க. ஆனா அம்மா கொணம், அழுவுற மாதிரி நீ நடந்துக்க கூடாதம்மா. அந்த மாதிரி நீ நடந்துக்க கூடாதம்மா" எங்க அப்பா advise பண்ணுவாங்க.

81. Varam – TC81, எங்க அம்மா பிள்ளைகளை மட்டும் தனியா விட்டுட்டாங்க. ஏன்னா பிள்ளைங்க நெறைய. அதுனால அப்பா எங்காயாவது போயி சம்பாதிச்ச அனுப்பும். எங்க அம்மா அதுல வந்து குடும்பத்தை நடத்தினாங்க. ... அதாவது ஒரு புதுசு எடுக்கணுன்னா, இந்த தீபாவளி, பொங்கலுக்கு நாங்க புதிசு எதிர்பார்ப்போம். ஆனா எங்களுக்கு uniform எடுத்துத் தருவாங்க (chuckles) அது தான் புதுசு. ஏனா அந்த மாதிரி நெலைமையில் இருந்தோம். கலர் டிரஸ் வேணுன்னு ஆசையா இருக்கும். ஆனா எனக்கு வந்து uniform தான் எடுத்துத் தருவாங்க. அப்புறம் என்ன செய்ய,

அதைப்போடு, சிரிப்பாங்க பசங்க கூட, 'என்ன புது டிரஸ், இது போட்டிருக்க', எங்களுக்கு அது தான் புதுசு. ஏன்னா சில சமயத்தில் அப்படி எடுத்துக் குடுக்க அப்படி அம்மா வளர்த்தாங்க.

82. Gem – TC82 , அதினால அவங்க, ம், வண்டி கூப்பிடப் போணும் இது பண்ணணுன்னா எங்க அண்ணனை தான அனுப்பு வாங்க எங்களை அனுப்பமாட்டாங்க.

83. Amar – TC83, அப்புறம், ன், ன், கடைக்குப் போறதெல்லாம் கூட என் தம்பி சின்னதா இருந்த வரைக்கும் அம்மாவே வாங்கி வந்திருவாங்க. நாங்களும் ஒவ்வொரு சமயம் கடைக்குப் போயிருக்கிறோம். அதிகமா அனுப்ப மாட்டாங்க girls-அ, அதிகமா இல்லை. தம்பி போயிட்டு வருவான். தம்பி பெரிசு ஆக, ஆக full responsibility-யும் அவன் மேல தான். கடைக்குப் போறதெல்லாம் எங்களை, ம், அனுப்ப மாட்டாங்க.

84. Tiny – TC84, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு type எங்க அப்பா. அது அந்த ஆதிகாலத்து ஆட்களுடைய, ஒரு பொம்பளை பிள்ளைங்கன்னா கொஞ்சம் அடக்கிவைக்கிற மாதிரி, அந்த strict-ம் எல்லா எடுத்துக்கும் போகவிடமாட்டாங்க. பண்ணுவாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி உண்டு.

85. Lita – TC85, நாங்க பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைன்றது, எல்லோரும் சொல்லுவாங்க, 'இதை ஆம்பிளை மாதிரி வளர்க்கிறீங்க' அப்படின்னுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி தான் நானும். நானே கடைக்குப் போவேன். அந்தக்காலத்தில நீங்க யோசித்து பாருங்க. பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்க, ஒரு relative தான் பாத்திட்டு, 'என்ன கடைக்கு, ஐயோ இந்த வயசுப்பிள்ளையை Market-க்கு அனுப்புறீங்களே' அப்படின்னு வந்து எங்க அப்பா அம்மாவை கோவிச்சி, அவங்க ரொம்ப அக்கறையோடத்தான் கோவிச்சிக்கிட்டாங்க. அப்பம் எங்க அப்பா சொன்னாங்க, 'இல்லைல்ல, என்ன அது அவளுந்தான் எல்லாம்'. நான் தனியா போய் Station- போய் ஆளுங்கெல்லாம் கூட்டி வருவேன். அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு, இப்ப என் காலத்தில அது யாருமே செய்யலை. அதே மாதிரி நான் training-ல போனப்ப கூட, ம், போய் book பண்ணது, அந்த teacher-க்கு, அந்த மாதிரி, ஒரு ஆம்பிளை மாதிரி role நான் செஞ்சிருக்கிறேன். அது என்ன, ஆனா எனக்கு வந்து பொண்ணு இப்படித்தான் அடங்கி இருக்கணும்றதே எனக்குக் குடுக்கல.

86. Arunkumari – TC86, அது இல்லாம Christian-ஐ கல்யாணம் பண்ணிக்கிட்டான்றதினால ரொம்ப கோவம். ... ஆனா இப்பம் வந்துட்டு கடவுள் புண்ணியத்தில நான் prayer பண்ண prayer பண்ண எங்க வீட்ல எவ்வளவோ, முன்னாடி church-க்குப் போறயா, Bible-ஐ எடுத்துக்கிறயா' இப்ப எவ்வளவோ, இப்படி இருந்த, நீ இப்படி வந்துட்டையே வந்திருச்சேன்னு திட்டிடுவாங்க. பொட்டு வைக்கலான்னா கூட திட்டிடுவாங்க. வீட்டுக்குப் போனா பயப்படுவேன். கடவுளேன்னு. ஆனா இப்ப வந்துட்டு, எவ்வளவோ கடவுள் என்னை மாத்திட்டு வந்தாரு. இப்ப அடிங்களே church-க்கும் போனா, 'ஒழுங்காப் போறயா but நல்லா prayer பண்ணு. எனக்கும் prayer பண்ணு'ன்னு சொல்ற அளவு கடவுள் என்னைக் கொண்டு வந்திட்டாரு. அது நான் கடவுளுக்கு thanks சொல்லணும்.

87. Arunavathy – TC87, ஆனா, ஏன்னா, அதே, இப்பம் என் பொண்ணு அந்த மாதிரி தைரியமா எல்லார்கிட்டயும் பேசும். ... ஆனா, இப்பம் பிள்ளைங்க அவ்வளவா இல்லை. (other voices) பயப்படுறதே இல்லை. வீட்டுக்குள்ளேயே, ரூபனுக்கும், எந்த நேரமுமே இவங்க இரண்டு பேருக்கும் சண்டை. (other voices) அவன் எதாச்சும், 'சரி, கொஞ்சம் விட்டு, அவளுக்கு. பையன் அவன் ஆம்பிளைப் பையன், முரட்டுத்தனமா ஒன்னை அடிக்கிறானே ஏன்' 'ஏன், அவன் அடிப்பான், நான் அடிக்கக்கூடாதா?' அப்படின்ற தைரியம் அவங்களுக்கு அப்புறம் வந்து, எங்க அண்ணன்னா நாங்க பயப்படுவோம். ... இப்பம், ஆனா, நான் வந்து கொஞ்சம் free ஆ.

88. Arunkumari – TC88, நீங்க வந்து பசங்க மேல interest எடுத்துக்குங்க'. அவர் வந்து business, business, எப்ப பார் business-லையே போயிருவாரு. எனக்கு என்ன ஆசைன்னா, அவர் கொஞ்சம் interest எடுத்துட்டா family கொஞ்சம் நல்லா வரும்ற இது. அதுனால அப்படி கேப்பேன். எனக்கு இந்த, எனக்கு 25 years தான் ஆகுது. இந்த years-ல நான் வந்துட்டு இவ்வளவு பெரிய burden எடுத்துட்டேனேன்னு ஒரு பக்கம் கஷ்டமா இருக்கும். 'நீங்க கொஞ்சம் co-operate பண்ணினீங்கன்னா family-ஐ நல்லா நடத்தலாம்'. அது இல்லாம நான் வந்துட்டு, second-ஆ வந்ததுனால பசங்களுக்கு வந்துட்டு கொஞ்சம் பயம் இல்லாம, எது செய்தாலும் strict-ஆ நான் இப்ப சொல்லவும் முடியாது. இது ஒரு, அவங்க தாய் எது செய்தாலும் அம்மான்ற முறையில ஆயிடும். நான் எது செய்தாலும் அவங்களுக்கு, என்னடா இது அம்மா இப்படி செய்றாங்களே, கஷ்டமா இருக்குமே. வந்து விட்டாரே அந்த அதுனால நான் என்ன சொல்வேன் 'நீங்க வந்து கொஞ்சம் strict-ஆ இருங்க'. நான் அன்பா இருக்கிறேன். அப்பம் பசங்க மனசில நம்ப ஒரே படி நல்லா வரும். வேற்றுமை வராது, அப்படின்னுவேன்.

89. Saral – TC89, எங்க அம்மா கையில் அப்பாவுக்கும் அப்பவும் என்னன்னா அவங்ககிட்ட எல்லா அதிகாரம் குடுத்திட்டதினால, அவங்க வந்து ஒரு dummy மாதிரிதான். அவங்களே அவங்க என்ன சொல்றாங்களோ அதான் செய்வாங்க. அதினால நாங்களும் ஒண்ணுமே ஒரு மாதிரி helpless. ஆனா நாங்க three sisters ஒண்ணாவே இருந்ததினால எங்களுக்கு அவ்வளவு ஒண்ணு கஷ்டமா எங்க போனாலும் ஒண்ணாவே போவோம். ஏதாவது திட்டி, மூனுபேரும் ஒண்ணா உக்காந்து பேசினாலே அவங்க என்னைப் பற்றி பேசுறாங்க, நீங்க ஏன் அவங்களை கண்டிக்க மாட்டேன்றீங்கன்னுவாங்க. அப்பா ஓடனே வந்து எல்லாம் பிரிஞ்சிபோ நீ அங்க போ, இங்க போன்னு ஓடனே

தனித்தனி எடுத்துக்கு அனுப்பி விடுவாங்க. இதே மாதிரி ரொம்ப இப்படி கஷ்டப்பட்டு கடைசி தம்பி, அவனும் வந்து நாங்கதான் அவனைப்பாத்துக்கிட்டமே தவிர, அம்மா help அப்பா அம்மான்ற ஒரு அன்பே அவனுக்கும் இல்லாமே போயிருச்சி. அதுனால இன்னும் அவனுக்கு psychiatric மாதிரி தான். எங்க அப்பாவைப் பாத்தாலே அதினால அப்பா அவன் முன்னாலே வரமாட்டாங்க. பாத்தாலே அவன் சொல்லுவான் இப்பயும், இப்பமும் வந்து 'He is not a good father' அப்படின்னு சொல்லி, 'இப்ப எறந்தாகூட நான் grave-ல்' 'he is the happiest father I have ever seen' ன்னு எழுதி வைப்பேன். ஏன்னா இத்தனைச் பிள்ளைங்களை பெத்தாங்களே தவிர, அவங்களை சரியா வளக்கல. அவங்க அந்த அன்பைக் குடுக்கல. அப்படின்னு சொல்லி, இன்னும் அவன் அதை feel பண்ணுவான் எப்பவும். நாங்களெல்லாம் சொல்லுவோம். நாங்கெல்லாம் மறந்திட்டோம். ஒனக்கும் கலியாணம் ஆயிரிச்சில்ல. ஏன் நெனைக்கிறன்னு அப்படி ரொம்ப சொல்லுவோம். நாங்கெல்லாம் மறந்திட்டோம், அவன் இன்னும் மறக்கலை. இன்னும் அப்பாவைப் பாக்கும் போதெல்லாம் அவனுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி அந்த அன்பு கெடைக்கல, ஒரு இது இல்லை. அப்பறம் நாங்களும் இப்படியே இருந்து எங்களுக்கு, எனக்கு என்னன்னா கலியாணமே ஆகாதுன்ற மாதிரி ஏன்னா எங்க அம்மா பாக்கவே இல்லை. கலியாணத்துக்கு ஒருத்தரையும் பாக்கவே அல்லை.

90. Saral – TC90, அவா சந்தோஷமா இருக்கிறா. அவாதான் மூணாவது. எங்க இரண்டு பேருக்கு எங்க அம்மா அதைப் பத்தி நெனைக்கவே இல்லை. ம், ம், அப்பறம் எங்க மாமா, பெரியம்மாலாம் இருந்தாங்க. அவங்கெல்லாம் சொன்னாங்க, நீங்கெல்லாம் அங்கயே இருந்தீங்கன்னா, ஒங்க அப்பா ஒங்களை கவனிக்க மாட்டாங்க. இதான் சாக்குன்னு பேசாம இருந்திருவாங்க. வந்திருங்க. வந்து நீங்க அப்பாவோட இருந்தீங்கன்னாதான் ஏதாவது செய்வாங்கன்னு. எனக்கு வேற அதை யோசித்து பாத்தேன். சரின்னு தோணிட்டு, நான் resign பண்ணிட்டு பூனால ஒரு teacher-ஆ இருந்தேன். அங்க resign பண்ணிட்டு இங்க வந்தேன். இங்க வந்தா அதைப்பற்றி அவங்க பாக்கிறதாவே இல்லை.

91. Lila – TC91, 'மூணு பிள்ளைகளும், எங்க அம்மாவுக்கு மூணு பிள்ளைங்க, அந்த மாதிரி தான். ஒருத்தருக்கும் show காட்டுறதெல்லாம் கெடையாது. ஆனா எங்க அண்ணனுக்கு வந்து கொஞ்சம் show, அது, என்னன்னா, church-க்கு முன்னால நின்று guitar அது, இது வாசிக்கணும். அந்த ஒரு தான்தான் வாசிக்கணும், இது இருந்துது. நாங்க அப்பறம் பொம்பளை பிள்ளைங்கன்றினால, பின்னாலேயே நின்று நல்ல பாட்டு .... அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு disciplined lady. அதினால அதே follow பண்ணிருந்திருக்காங்க.

92. Devar – TC92, Sunday வந்திருவாங்க எங்க வீட்டுக்கு. அதெல்லாம் கவனிப்பாங்க. அது ரொம்ப அழுத்தமாட்டாங்க. வசனம் சொல்றது, ஆனா எங்க அம்மா கணக்கு கூட அம்மாகிட்ட தான் ஒப்பிக்கணும். அதுனால முழுநேரமும் அம்மா தான்.... ஏதாவது சொல்லுவோம். ஆனா ரொம்ப எங்க அம்மா எங்க அப்பா. அந்த மாதிரி இது. அந்த மாதிரி background-ல் வந்தேன்.

93. Jeyam – TC93, எங்க வீட்ல எப்படின்னா அப்பா அம்மா இரண்டு பேரும் எங்களை வளக்கும் போது education side-ல் வந்து அம்மா importance குடுத்தாங்க. அப்பாவும் importance குடுத்தாங்க. ஆனா அப்பா வந்து ரொம்ப interfere ஆக மாட்டாங்க. இந்த இது செஞ்சா நல்லா இருக்கும், ம்மா, அப்படின்னு சொல்லிடுவாங்க. But ரொம்ப condition ஆ 'நீ இது தான் பண்ணணும்' அப்படியெல்லாம் force பண்ண மாட்டாங்க. அம்மா வந்து steps எடுப்பாங்க, இதைச் செய்யணும், ன், இதைப் படிக்கணும் படிக்கிறதில் condition-ஆ இருப்பாங்க, படிக்கலன்னா திட்டுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி அப்படி condition-ஆ ரொம்ப strict-ஆ இருப்பாங்க அந்த காலத்தில் அப்பாவை விட அம்மா ரொம்ப strict-ஆ இருந்தாங்க.

94. Sneha – TC94, எனக்கு வந்து, அம்மா, அப்பா எனக்கு வந்து நெறையவே liberty யெல்லாம் குடுத்திருக்காங்க. அதில வந்து அந்த restrictions எல்லாம் இது வரைக்கும் எனக்கு வந்தது கெடையாது. நான் என் career, சரி, எனக்கு school life-லையோ, வந்து எனக்கு group என்ன field-ல் நான் போணும், ன்றதும் சரி நான் எல்லாம் சேந்துதான். எனக்கு வந்து, எங்க அம்மா அப்பாவுக்கு வந்து எனக்கு என்ன புடிக்கும், என் taste என்னன்னு தெரியும். so, அதுக்கு ஏத்த மாதிரி தான். அவங்களும் என்னை guide பண்ணாங்க. so, எனக்கு புடிச்ச மாதிரி எங்க அப்பா அம்மா சொன்னதினால நானும் அதை வந்து ஒத்துக்கிட்டு,

95. Arunkumari – TC95, பசங்களெல்லாம் எங்களை நல்லா வளர்த்தாரு. strict-ஆ இருப்பார். TV பார்க்கக் கூட விடமாட்டாரு. படிக்க, எந்த சினிமாக்கு அது இது எதுவுமே விடமாட்டாங்க. படிக்கணும். decent-ஆ இருக்கணும். அப்படித்தான் எங்க அப்பா வச்சிட்டு இருந்தார்.

96. Amar – TC96, அப்படி நாங்க ஞாயிற்றுக்கெழமை மாத்திரம் இங்க பரிசுத்தமா வைக்க தான். கோயிலுக்குத் தவறமாட்டோம். எங்க பிள்ளைங்களுக்கும் ... ஒரு மாதிரி இல்லை. இப்ப கூட '... க்குப் போகாதம்மா'ன்னா கூட கேக்க மாட்டாங்க. அந்தப் பழக்கத்தினால ஞாயிற்றுக்கெழமை கோயிலுக்கு ஒழுங்கா போயிறணும்.

97. Tiny – TC97, ஆனா வந்து பிள்ளைகள் வளர்க்கிற விஷயத்தில் ரொம்ப இது செய்வாங்க... பண்ணுவாங்க பிள்ளைகளை, education-லயும் சரி. இந்த spiritual இதிலயும் சரி, prayer இருக்கும். எல்லா பிள்ளைகளும் வரணும்,

ஒவ்வொருத்தாரா, எல்லாரும் சின்னதில் இருந்தே ஜெபம் பண்ணணும். பாடணும், கோயிலில் participate பண்ணணும். அப்புறம் கோயிலில் பாட்டுபாடுறதினா பாடணும், ஊழியத்துக்குப் போகணும். கூட்டிட்டுப் போயிருவாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி, ஒரு இதெல்லாம் உண்டு.

98. Jeyavathy – TC98, ஆணா church விஷயத்தில் Bible வாசிக்கிறதில் எல்லா விஷயத்திலையும் அதில் ரொம்ப கறாரா இருப்பாரு. வசனம் அண்ணைக்கு ஞாயிற்றுக்கிழமை சொல்லன்னா, அடி தான் எங்களுக்கு ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கும். அதன் பின் அந்த வசனத்தைச் சொல்லி, அதை இது பண்ணி, நம்ம செய்யணும். அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு strict-ஆ இருப்பாரு. ஆணா மற்ற விஷயங்களெல்லாம் fees விஷயத்தில் இதிலெல்லாம் ரொம்ப strict-ஆ அவரு இருக்கிறதினால, இதுக்கெல்லாம் வந்து, பிள்ளைங்க யாருமே பக்கத்திலே போக மாட்டாங்க.

99. Heera – TC99, இது, அப்பம் அம்மா சொல்லுவாங்க, 'பிள்ளைங்களுக்காக காசு சேத்து வைக்கணும். இது பண்ணணும்' என்னுவாங்க. அப்பாவுக்கு அந்த idea யாவே இருக்காது. He will live for that day. நல்லா பாடுவாங்க. வீட்ல பாட்டுெல்லாம் போட்டு காலம்பற போட்டாங்கன்னா organ போட்டாங்கன்னா எல்லோரும் வந்திருவோம் பாட. அம்மா வந்து religious-ல எங்களை கொஞ்சம் நடத்தினாங்க நல்லா in the Lord. அம்மா கொஞ்சம் கடவுளுக்குள்ள இருப்பாங்க. அதினால எப்போதும் 'இயேசுவின் இரத்தம்'. அதான் எனக்கு ஞாபகம். 'இயேசுவின் இரத்தம் ஜெயந்' தான் சொல்லிக்கிட்டே இருப்பாங்க. But she had a lot of troubles. ஏன்னா, எட்டுப் பேருல்ல நாங்க எல்லாங்க கலியாணங்கட்டி இது பண்ணி, அவ்வளவு பணம் இருக்காது. கடைசில பிள்ளைகளுக்கெல்லாம், எனக்கெல்லாம் கொஞ்சம் இலேசா, 'no dowry' அப்படின்னு தான் எனக்கெல்லாம் முடிஞ்சிருச்சி. மற்ற பிள்ளைகளுக்கெல்லாம் dowry எல்லாம் குடுத்தாங்க. அதினால அம்மாவுக்கு, எங்களுக்கு ஒரு பெரிய வீடு இருந்திச்சு. அதெல்லாம் they had to sell. Sell that to settle my sisters, கடைசி sisters அப்படின்னு நல்லா அதுக்குப் பெறும் அப்பா வீடெல்லாம் வச்சிட்டுத்தான் போனாங்க. நல்லாத தான் இருக்கும். நல்லா happy அப்பா ரொம்ப sense of humour எல்லாத்தையும் சிரிக்க வைப்பாங்க. jolly-ஆ இருப்பாங்க. Picnic கூட்டிட்டுப் போவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் ஒரு atmosphere வீட்ல இருக்கும். இது picnic-கு, அப்புறம் கட்டாயமா ரெண்டு மூணு நாளு ஊட்டி, கொடைக்கானல் அதுக்கெல்லாம் அதெல்லாம் கூட்டிட்டுப் போவாங்க, அம்மா நல்லா pack பண்ணி, அந்த காலத்தில எங்க immediate food எங்க கெடைக்கும். எல்லாம் pack பண்ணி coffee மொதற்கொண்டு போட்டு, பூரி, உருளைக்கிழங்கெல்லாம் எடுத்துட்டு அம்மா வருவாங்க. காலையே போவோம். நல்லாப் பாத்துக்கிடுவாங்க.

100. Ranjithamani – TC100, என் மக வாலிப்பிள்ளையில் போயிட்டா, நல்லா ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளையா. ... அதிகமா கூட நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணலை, என் மகனுக்கு அவன் இப்பம் ரொம்ப ஆவிக்குரிய பையனா இருக்கிறான்.

101. Saral – TC101, என்னு வந்து, ஒரு childhood - ஏ எனக்கு இல்லை. இவங்க எல்லாம் சொன்ன மாதிரி ரொம்ப happy-ஆ அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு childhood-ஏ இல்லை. ஏன்னா எனக்கு என்னுடைய அம்மாவை ஞாபகமே இல்லை. ரொம்ப சின்ன வயசிலேயே எறந்திட்டாங்க. எனக்கப்புறம், ன், அஞ்சு பேரு, அஞ்சு, ஆறு என்னோட சேத்து ஏழு அவ்வளவு பேரு, அப்பம் என் கடைசி தம்பி மூணு வயது. அதினால எனக்கு அப்பம் வந்து responsibility எல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே அப்பமே எனக்குத் தெரியலை. ஏனா பத்து வயது எங்க அம்மா எறக்கும் போது, அதினால எனக்கு அந்த நெனைவே இல்லை. அப்பா வந்து Army-ல இருந்தாங்க. Army-ல Major-ஆ வந்து Delhi-ல, கல்கத்தா அவங்க எங்கெங்க போறாங்களோ அங்கங்க எல்லாம் கடைசி ஒரு தங்கச்சியும் தம்பியும் மட்டும் கூட்டிட்டுப் போவாங்க. எங்களை இங்கு Northwick School இருக்கில, அங்க boarding-ல விட்டிருந்தாங்க. நாங்கெல்லாம், எங்க boarding-ல இருந்ததுனால, அப்பம் அப்பாவும் தெரியாது, அம்மாவும் தெரியாது. அந்த மாதிரி அப்பாக்கு என்னன்னா, சம்பாதிச்சிக்கணும், அனுப்பிச்சிவிட்டுரெண்ணும் பணத்தை அவ்வளவு தான் தெரியுமே தவிர, எங்களுக்கு என்ன need-உ எங்களுக்கு என்ன வேணும் அதெல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே பண்ணாதே கெடையாது. இப்பவும் இருக்கிறாங்க அப்பா. ஆணா இன்ன வரைக்கும் எங்களுக்காக அவங்க அன்பு இருக்கா, இல்லையா அதெல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே தெரியாது. அதுக்கப்புறம் என்ன பண்ணாங்க, டெல்லில இருக்கி, Calcutta-க்கு transfer ஆயிருச்சு. அப்பம் நான் Tenth Standard. அங்க ஆணாவுடனே அந்த leave-ல நாங்க நெனைச்சோம். கல்யாணன்னா ரொம்ப நல்லா இருக்கும். தட்டெல்லாம் தூக்கிட்டுப் போகலாம், நல்ல dress எல்லாம் பண்ணிக் கலான்ற அந்த ஒரு ஐடியா-ல நாங்கெல்லாம், நான் ஆணா actual-ஆ இப்பெல்லாம் school-ல சொன்னா எல்லாம் சிரிப்பாங்க, 'நான் தான் எங்க அப்பா கல்யாணத்துக்கு தட்டெல்லாம் தூக்கிட்டுப் போனேன், சீவரிசை எல்லாம் தூக்கிட்டுப் போனேன்னு'. சொல்லுவேன். எப்போதும். எங்க மூணுபேரையும் அங்க ஒரு தமிழ் family தான். அவங்க வந்து இந்த கோயிலில், church-ல இப்படி meet பண்ணி meet பண்ணி அப்படியே அவங்க வந்து, அப்பாவுக்கும் அவங்களுக்கும் ரொம்ப வயது ஜாஸ்தி, must be, அம்மா, எங்க அப்பாவுக்கு அப்பம் fortyfive-ல அவங்களுக்கு கல்யாணம் பண்ணும் போது அவங்களுக்கு twentyeight தான். அவங்களுக்கு நெறையா பிள்ளைங்க, அவங்க வீட்ல. அதினால அவங்களுக்கு வந்து எப்படியாது ஒருத்தர் கெடைக்கணும் அப்படின்ற மாதிரி இருந்துச்சு. எப்படியோ நாங்க அப்படி feel பண்ணோம். அப்புறம் அவங்க கல்யாணம் பண்ணி வீட்டுக்கு வந்த ஓடனே, அவங்களுடைய சின்ன வயசினால, அவங்களுக்கு வந்து ஒரு மாதிரி பொறாமை எண்ணந்தான் எங்களோட இருந்ததே தவிர, எங்களைப் பாக்கணும் அந்த மாதிரி ஒண்ணு இல்லை. அன்பே இல்லை அவங்ககிட்ட எப்பவும் அவங்க இரண்டு பேருக்குள்ள சண்டை ஏன்னா, எங்களை வச்சி, எங்ககிட்ட பேசினா நீங்க ஏன் அவங்க கிட்ட பேசறீங்க, அவங்க, 'இப்பம் நான் இல்லையா பாத்துக்கிறதுக்கு'ன்னு கேப்பாங்க, ஆணா, அப்பா எங்ககிட்ட ரொம்ப பயப்படுவாங்க பேசறதுக்கு. ஆணா அப்ப தனியா வந்து தான் பேசுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு மாதிரி எங்களுக்கும் வந்து ன், ன், ஒரு மாதிரி நிம்மதியாவே நாங்க. என்ன நெனைச்சோம். hostel-ல இருக்கிறது. நான்



best-உவீட்யே இருக்க வேண்டான்று சொல்லிட்டு, அதுக்கப்பறம் நாங்க WCC-ல தான் எங்களை எல்லாம் அவங்க அனுப்பிச்சு விட்டாங்க. நாங்கெல்லாம் ஒவ்வொருத்தரா அப்படி படிச்சோம். படிச்சி கடைசில கடைசியா இருந்து அப்பா station வந்து அப்பா retire - ஆகிறதினால. Poona-ல. Poona-ல எனக்கு கடைசி five years நான் இருந்தேன் அப்பாவோட.

102. Saral - TC102 - எங்க அம்மா என்ன சொல்லிட்டாங்க 'நீ இந்த வீட்டை விட்டுப் போயிட்டன்னா, திருப்பி உள்ள வரக்கூடாதுன்னு. அதுக்கு பயந்துட்டு நானும் போகவே இல்லை.

103. Saral - TC103, எங்க அம்மா கையில் அப்பாவுக்கும் அப்பவும் என்னன்னா அவங்ககிட்ட எல்லா அதிகாரம் குடுத்திட்டதினால, அவங்க வந்து ஒரு dummy மாதிரிதான். அவங்களே அவங்க என்ன சொல்றாங்களோ அதான் செய்வாங்க. அதினால நாங்களும் ஒண்ணுமே ஒரு மாதிரி helpless. ஆனா நாங்க three sisters ஒண்ணாவே இருந்ததினால எங்களுக்கு அவ்வளவு ஒண்ணு கஷ்டமா எங்க போனாலும் ஒண்ணாவே போவோம். ஏதாவது திட்டி, மூணுபேரும் ஒண்ணா உக்காந்து பேசினாலே அவங்க என்னைப் பற்றி பேசறாங்க, நீங்க ஏன் அவங்களை கண்டிக்க மாட்டேன்றிங்கன்னுவாங்க. அப்பா ஒடனே வந்து எல்லாம் பிரிஞ்சிபோ நீ அங்க போ, இங்க போன்னு ஒடனே தனித்தனி எடுத்துக்கு அனுப்பி விடுவாங்க. இதே மாதிரி ரொம்ப இப்படி கஷ்டப்பட்டு கடைசி தம்பி, அவனும் வந்து நாங்கதான் அவனைப்பாத்துக்கிட்டமே தவிர, அம்மா help அப்பா அம்மான்ற ஒரு அன்பே அவனுக்கும் இல்லாமே போயிருச்சி. அதுனால இன்னும் அவனுக்கு psychiatric மாதிரி தான். எங்க அப்பாவைப் பத்தாலே அதினால அப்பா அவன் முன்னாலே வரமாட்டாங்க. பத்தாலே அவன் சொல்லுவான் இப்பயும், இப்பமும் வந்து 'He is not a good father' அப்படின்னு சொல்லி, 'இப்ப எந்தாகூட நான் grave-ல' 'he is the happiest father I have ever seen' ன்னு எழுதி வைப்பேன். என்னா இத்தனைச் பிள்ளைங்களை பெத்தாங்களே தவிர, அவங்களை சரியா வளக்கல. அவங்க அந்த அன்பைக் குடுக்கல. அப்படின்னு சொல்லி, இன்னும் அவன் அதை feel பண்ணுவான் எப்பவும். நாங்கெல்லாம் சொல்லுவோம். நாங்கெல்லாம் மறந்திட்டோம். ஒனக்கும் கலியாணம் ஆயிரிச்சில்ல. ஏன் நெனைக்கிறன்னு அப்படி ரொம்ப சொல்லுவோம். நாங்கெல்லாம் மறந்திட்டோம், அவன் இன்னும் மறக்கலை. இன்னும் அப்பாவைப் பாக்கும் போதெல்லாம் அவனுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி அந்த அன்பு கெடைக்கல, ஒரு இது இல்லை. அப்புறம் நாங்களும் இப்படியே இருந்து எங்களுக்கு, எனக்கு என்னன்னா கலியாணமே ஆகாதுன்ற மாதிரி என்னா எங்க அம்மா பாக்கவே இல்லை. கலியாணத்துக்கு ஒருத்தரையும் பாக்கவே அல்லை.

104. Saral - TC104, அவா சந்தோஷமா இருக்கிறா. அவாதான் மூணாவது. எங்க இரண்டு பேருக்கு எங்க அம்மா அதைப் பத்தி நெனைக்கவே இல்லை. ம், ம், அப்புறம் எங்க மாமா, பெரியம்மாலாம் இருந்தாங்க. அவங்கெல்லாம் சொன்னாங்க, நீங்கெல்லாம் அங்கயே இருந்தீங்கன்னா, ஒங்க அப்பா ஒங்களை கவனிக்க மாட்டாங்க. இதான் சாக்குன்னு பேசாம இருந்திருவாங்க. வந்திருங்க. வந்து நீங்க அப்பாவோட இருந்தீங்கன்னாதான் ஏதாவது செய்வாங்கன்னு. எனக்கு வேற அதை யோசித்து பாத்றேன். சரின்னு தோணிட்டு, நான் resign பண்ணிட்டு பூணால ஒரு teacher-ஆ இருந்தேன். அங்க resign பண்ணிட்டு இங்க வந்தேன். இங்க வந்தா அதைப்பற்றி அவங்க பாக்கிறதாவே இல்லை.

105. Saral - TC105, அப்புறம் எல்லாம் School-ல சொன்னாங்க, 'என்ன ஒனக்கு கலியாணம் ஆகலையா, ஆகலையா எனக்கு அப்பம் 28, 29 வயது ஆயிரிச்சு. அப்பம் வந்து நான் சொன்னேன். 'எனக்கு வந்து என்ன பண்ணது, நான் யார்கிட்ட போய் கேக்கிறது. எங்க அப்பா அம்மா தான் செய்யணும். அவங்க பேசாம இருக்கிறாங்க'ன்னு அப்பம் ஒரு நாள் அப்பா சொன்னாங்க, திடீர்ன்னு சொன்னாங்க, 'ஒன்னை பொண்ணு பாக்க வர்றாங்கன்னு. 'என்னப்பா திடீர்ன்னு சொல்றீங்க. நீங்க யாரு என்னன்னு சொல்ல வேண்டாமா'. எங்க அம்மா, 'யாரு மொதல்ல வர்றானோ, எல்லாரையும் நான் வீட்டுக்கு சேக்க மாட்டேன். யார் வர்றாங்களோ, நீ என்னா நீ பேசறது, நீ நடுவில, யாருக்கு நீ, fist வர்றவங்கதான்'. first இவங்கதான் வந்தாங்க. நான் என்ன பண்ணேன், எனக்குப் பிடிக்கவே இல்லை. அப்படின்னா, இவங்க வந்து, இவங்க சொல்றவங்களைதான், நான் கலியாணம் பண்ணிக்கணும். ஒரு saying இல்லை. எனக்கு ஒண்ணும் சொல்லக்கூடாது', அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, சொன்னேன், 'எனக்கு... 'அப்பம் அப்பா, அப்பம் அப்பா வந்து என்கிட்ட பயப்படுவாங்க போறதுக்கே. அப்பம் school-க்கு வந்து சொன்னாங்க நீ வந்து மாட்டேன், கிட்டேன், அப்படியெல்லாம் சொல்லிட்டு இங்கெல்லாம் நீ இருக்க முடியாது. நீ வந்து, ஏதாவது yes-ன்னு சொல்லினோம். நீ எங்கயது hostel-ல தான் போய் இருக்கணும்; அப்படின்னு வந்து கொஞ்சம் என்னை ஒரு மாதிரி கொஞ்சம் harsh-ஆ பேசினாங்க. school teacher எல்லாம் சொன்னாங்க 'நீ இங்க இருந்து கஷ்டப்பட்டதற்கு யாரா இருந்தா என்ன, ஒனக்குப் பிடிக்குதோ, இல்லையோ, அங்குப் போயிட்டுக் கஷ்டப்பட்டாக்கூட நீ வந்து சந்தோஷமா இருக்கலாலையா. நீ வந்து பேசாம 'yes'-ன்னு சொல்லிடுன்னு அப்படின்னாங்க. சரி வேற வழியில்லாம் 'yes'ன்னு சொன்னேன். அப்புறம் இவங்களோட கல்யாணம் ஆச்சு.

106. Jeyavathy - TC106, ஆணா church விஷயத்தில Bible வாசிக்கிறதில எல்லா விஷயத்திலையும் அதில ரொம்ப கறாரா இருப்பாரு. வசனம் அண்ணைக்கு ஞாயிற்றுக்கிழமை சொல்லலன்னா, அடி தான் எங்களுக்கு ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கும். அதன் பின் அந்த வசனத்தைச் சொல்லி, அதை இது பண்ணி, நம்ம செய்யணும். அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு strict-ஆ இருப்பாரு. ஆணா மற்ற விஷயங்களெல்லாம் fees விஷயத்தில இதிலெல்லாம் ரொம்ப strict-ஆ அவரு இருக்கிறதினால, இதுக்கெல்லாம் வந்து, பிள்ளைங்க யாருமே பக்கத்திலே போக மாட்டாங்க.

107. Tiny- TC107, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு type எங்க அப்பா. அது அந்த ஆதிகாலத்து ஆட்களுடைய, ஒரு பொம்பளை பிள்ளைங்கன்னா கொஞ்சம் அடக்கிவைக்கிற மாதிரி, அந்த strict-ம் எல்லா எடுத்துக்கும் போகவிடமாட்டாங்க. பண்ணுவாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி உண்டு.

108. Arunavathy – TC108, பிள்ளைகளை வளக்கிறதில். ... அதாவது பிள்ளங்க இப்படிதான் இருக்கணும். அளவுக்கு மீறி, இது. மற்றும் உலகப் பிரகாரமான காரியத்தில் எவ்வளவோ பிள்ளைங்க போறாங்க. அது எப்படி சொல்றது. கட்டுப்பாட்டுக்குள்ள நம்ம பெண்கள் தான் பிள்ளைங்களை .... தகப்பன், மற்றபடி பெண் பிள்ளைங்கன்னும் போது நம்ம ladies தான் அதுகளுக்கு அதிகமா care எடுக்கணும். ஏன்னா, தகப்பன்மாருக்கும் ஒண்ணும் அவ்வளவா ஒண்ணும் இது பண்ண முடியாது. என்னா, பெண்களுக்கு அந்த உரிமை இருக்கணும். நீ இப்படி தான் இருக்கணும் அப்படின்னு வளக்கணும் பெண்கள் தான். ஆன அது வந்து ladies-க்கு தான் அந்த இது தெரியும். பெண் பிள்ளை எப்படி இருக்கணுன்னு ladies-க்கு தான் தெரியும். gents-க்குத் தெரியாது. இப்பம் ஒரு ஜெபத்திலயே நடத்தணுன்னா நம்ம நடத்துற மாதிரி -gents-க்கு அப்படி நடத்த தெரியாது. ... ஜெபத்தில் பிள்ளைங்களை நடத்துறது, வேதவாசிப்பில நடத்துறது, ஆவிக்குரிய ஜீவியத்தில் நடத்துறது பெண்கள் தான் அதிகமா கவனம் செலுத்துறாங்க. அப்படின்னு நான் சொல்லுவேன்.

## APPENDIX 9

### Narratives about education (E):

1. Joy – E(Education)1, I don't know about studies, studies like whatever you want to learn you can learn. ... my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn.
2. Joy – E2, Future family, about my, .... Married life .... naturally what they want (chuckles) that like, because usually people nowadays, we think what we want to do, because if we learn we can be well, in church naturally I think.
3. Sweety – E3, அப்புறம் எனக்கு நாலு girls. எங்க அம்மாவுக்கும் நாங்க ரெண்டு girls தான். எனக்கும் நாலு girls. அதினால பிள்ளைங்களை படிக்க வைக்கிறதில் எல்லாம் equal-லாத் தான் படிக்க வச்சோம். அவங்க என்ன படிக்கணும்னு விரும்புறாங்களோ அதைப் படிக்க வச்சோம். அதில்ல ஒண்ணும் பிரச்சனை இல்லை.
4. Ranjithamani – E4, பெறகு ஒரு பையன், ஒரு பொண்ணுதான்.... அப்புறம் அவ வந்து B.Sc. முடிச்சா, .... ஆமா, கட்டாயம், ஏன்னா அவா விருப்பம் போல அவா நல்லா படிச்சா.
5. Gem – E5, படிப்பு, படிக்கிற வரைக்கும் படிக்கட்டுமேன்னு நெனைச்சி, ஆமா, அவ்வளவுதான்.
6. Melody – E6, And children also, studies, both of us should look after the children's studies. And we should spend time with them. That's very important. And for my children educationally I will help them, but the final decision is their own. ... If they are really interested then I'll let them go.
7. Mariam – E7, Qn: அதான், எவ்வளவு படிச்சாலும் படிக்கலாம்.ன்றது.  
Mariam: அதெல்லாம், ஆமா
8. Joy – E8, my mom was, she wanted all the girls and boys to learn.
9. Sampoorina – E9, படிப்பு விஷயத்தில், school-க்கு போகிற விஷயத்தில், ஒழுங்கில், அதிக கண்டிப்பு,
10. Mariam – E10, அது எங்க education எல்லாமே எங்களுக்கு equal importance அப்பா, அம்மா கிட்ட, ன், எனக்கு கெடைச்சிருக்கு, ன்.
11. Heera – E11, அம்மாவுக்கு எல்லாம் படிக்கணும் அப்படின்னு ஒரு ஆசை. எல்லாரும் படிச்சிறணும். என்னை சொல்லுவாங்க, 'நீ மொதல் பிள்ளை, முற்றுங்கோணலாயிரும், நீ படிக்கலைன்னா', அதினால எப்படின்னாலும் எனக்கு M.A.-க்கு honours seat கெடைக்கிறதுக்கெல்லாம் அம்மா தான் காரணம் என்னோட வந்து Presidency-க்கு வந்து இது பண்ணி, எல்லாம் பண்ணாங்க. இதில் நல்லா படிக்க வச்சிறணும் பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்களை அப்படின்னு ஒரு ஆர்வத்தோட அம்மா எல்லாத்தையும் படிக்க வச்சாங்க. அது தம்பிமாரும் நல்லா படிச்சாங்க.
12. Tiny – E12, அது வந்து அவங்க ஒரு education ஒரு standard இருந்தாத்தான் நாளைக்கு ஒரு காலத்தில் ஒரு mishap எதுவும் ஏற்பட்டா அதை stand பண்ணிக்கிடலாம். அதுனால பெண்கள் படிக்கணுன்றது தான். ... அதே மாதிரி எங்க அப்பா வந்து பெண்கள் வந்து, 'நீ படிச்சா கொஞ்சம், சும்மா நீ வேலைக்குப் போணுன்னு ஒண்ணும் ஒன்னைக் காலேஜுக்கு அனுப்பலை. ஒரு knowledge improvement-க்கு, general knowledge இருக்கணும்றதுக்காகத் தான் ஒன்னை college-க்கு அனுப்புறேன்'னு
13. Bina – E13, Education பொறுத்த மட்டில பெண்கள் எல்லாம் படிக்கணும்னு இருக்கிறேன். பெண்கள் வேலைக்குப் போணுன்றது கெடையாது. ஆனா படிக்கணும், Knowledgeable-ஆ இருக்கிறது. In case ஒரு necessity-ன்னு வரும் போது பெண்கள் தன் காலல் நிக்கறதுக்கு அந்த education ஒதவும்ன்றதுனால. ... unless it is a necessity, தான் husband இல்லாத நெலையில் சம்பாதிச்ச குடும்பத்தைக் காப்பாற்ற வேண்டியது தான். அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை. ஆனா education இருந்தாத்தான். இந்த மாதிரி வரும். எப்படி வந்தாலும் செய்ய முடியும்ன்றது என்னுடைய opinion
14. Kamala – E14, பெண்களுக்கு அவசியமா படிப்பு தேவை. நான் படிக்காதுனால தான் ஒரு ஊழியத்துக்குப் போனாக் கூட பிரசங்கம் பண்ண ஒரு உற்சாகம் இல்லாதிருக்கு. அதுனால பிள்ளைங்களையும் நல்லா படிக்க வைக்கணும். ... பெண்கள் படிப்பும் தேவை.



15. Varam – E15, பெண்களுக்கு கல்வி தேவை என்று, ஏனா நானும் S.S.L.C.தான் அப்பம் குடும்ப வாழ்க்கை எப்படி இருக்கும்? நல்லா படிச்சிருந்தா, நல்லா வேலை கெடச்சிருக்கும். நல்லா சம்பாதிக்கலாம். pension ஏதோ இப்ப இவங்க இதுன்னா அவங்க ஒரு pension வராது. எதுவும் வராது. அப்புறம் இன்னும் சம்பளம் கொறைக்கதான் செய்வாங்க. கூட்டமாட்டாங்க. வயசு ஏற ஏற கவர்மெண்ட்டு jobனா pension வரும். இவங்க கொறைய தான் செய்யும். அந்த மாதிரி நெலமை இப்பம் நானும் நல்லாப் படிச்சிருந்தேனா, இன்னும் நான் ஏதாவது பண்ணியிருக்கலாம் ஒரு ஆசை. அதாவது குடும்பத்தை இன்னுங்கொஞ்சம் நல்லா கொண்டு போகலாம். கொஞ்சம் ஒரு படியா கொண்டு போகலாம் அப்படின்னுட்டு

16. Jeyavathy – E16, Education-ஐப் பொறுத்தவரையிலும் எனக்கு எங்க அப்பா பெண்களுக்கு அவ்வளவு தேவையில்ல அப்படின்னு எப்போதுமே சொல்றது வழக்கம். S.S.L.C. படிச்சா போதும். S.S.L.C. படிச்சா போதும். பொம்பளை பிள்ளைங்க 10<sup>th</sup> படிச்சா போதுன்னு. ஆனா நான் என்னுடையதில் என்னுடைய இதில் cousins எல்லாம் வந்து எங்க பெரியப்பா ரொம்ப நல்லா படிக்க வச்சு மற்ற பிள்ளைங்களெல்லாம் அவங்க பிள்ளைங்களெல்லாம் அதினால அதேமாதிரி நம்மளும் ஒரு graduate ஆகனுன்னு எனக்கு ரொம்ப விருப்பமாயிருந்தது. அவ்விதமாக நானே தான் போய் அந்த S.S.L.C. pass பண்ண பிற்பாடு நானும், நானே தான் போய் application போட்டேன். நானே தான் போய் இது பண்ணேன். எல்லாம் நானே தான் செய்தேன். ஒன்னும் எங்க அப்பா ஒரு interest கூட எடுக்கவே இல்லை. என்ன group எடுக்கனுன்னு கூட சொல்லவங் கெடையாது. எனக்குத் தெரியாது. அவருக்கு எந்த விதத்திலேயும் அவர் interest-ஏ கெடையாது. அவருக்கு பெண்களுக்காக இது பண்ணனும்தான். அதே மாதிரி தான் அப்புறம் நானே தான் application குடுத்து இது பண்ணி, Lady Doak College-ல, மதுரையில் நான் வந்து graduate ஆனேன் நானு. அதுக்குப் பிற்பாடு தான் அப்பாவுக்கு ஒரு interest வந்தது. சரி ஒரு teacher ஆகணும். இது ஆகணுன்ற அப்படி ஒரு interest வந்தது. அப்புறம் இங்க வந்து St.Christopher Training College-ல வந்து B.T. எடுத்தேன் நானு. இவ்விதமா இருக்கும் போது என்னுடைய sister-க்கும் அதே மாதிரி தான் S.S.L.C. முடிச்ச பிற்பாடு அது 'கண்டிப்பா நீ training எடுக்கணும்'ன்னு நான் தான் ரொம்ப compel பண்ணேன். Teacher-ஆ இருக்கணும். நீ இருக்கணும்தான் அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அதே விதமா, அது மாதிரி அதுவும் Secondary Grade Training எடுத்து - teacher-ஆ வந்து இது பண்ணா, கடைசி வரையிலும் அவளும், என்னுடைய sister -உம் வந்து நல்லா படிப்பு நல்லா,

17. Jeyam – E17, எங்க வீட்ல எப்படின்னா அப்பா அம்மா இரண்டு பேரும் எங்களை வளக்கும் போது education side-ல வந்து அம்மா importance குடுத்தாங்க. அப்பாவும் importance குடுத்தாங்க. ஆனா அப்பா வந்து ரொம்ப interfere ஆக மாட்டாங்க. இந்த இது செஞ்சா நல்லா இருக்கும், ம்மா, அப்படின்னு சொல்லிடுவாங்க. But ரொம்ப condition ஆ 'நீ இது தான் பண்ணணும்' அப்படியெல்லாம் force பண்ண மாட்டாங்க. அம்மா வந்து steps எடுப்பாங்க, இதைச் செய்யணும், ன், இதைப் படிக்கணும் படிக்கிறதில் condition-ஆ இருப்பாங்க, படிக்கலன்னா திட்டுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி அப்படி condition-ஆ ரொம்ப strict-ஆ இருப்பாங்க அந்த காலத்தில அப்பாவை விட அம்மா ரொம்ப strict-ஆ இருந்தாங்க. ன், படிக்கிற காலத்தில வந்து எனக்கு வந்து, ன், teaching profession தான் ரொம்ப இஷ்டமா இஷ்டமா இருந்திச்சி நான் அதை வந்து ஒரு imagination-ல teaching தான் போணும்தான் சொல்ல ஒரு இதிலையே இருக்கும் போது, 11th standard வரும் போது, எங்க அப்பா என்கிட்ட பேசும் போது, 'நீ வந்து teaching போறதை விட, secretarial course போனன்னியா, office-ல இன்னும் ஒனக்கு employment இதில் வந்து, ரொம்ப, அ, நெறையா chances கெடைக்கும். Teaching-அ விட இது better-ன்னு எனக்குத் தோணுது', அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு நீ condition ஆ இது தான் பண்ணணும். அது தான் பண்ணணும். but நான் நல்லா படிப்பேன் அந்தக் காலத்தில, ன், அதினால அப்பா என்னை சொல்லிட்டாங்க, வீட்ல இருக்கிற எல்லா பிள்ளைகளையும் விடயும், நான் தான் நல்லா படிப்பேன். வீட்ல, அப்பம், சரி ஒன் இஷ்டப் படி நீ, பண்ணுன்னாங்க. ஆனா, அப்பா இப்படி சொன்னாங்களே, அந்த employment இது இப்படி இருக்குமே அப்படின்னு சொல்லி இரண்டு தடவை யோசித்து பாத்திட்டு, சரி இதே நான் பண்ணேன்னு சொல்லிட்டு secretarial course-ஏ படிக்கப் போனேன். அந்த நேரத்தில் எங்க அப்பா ஏறந்திட்டினால, மேல்படிப்புக்கு எங்க வீட்ல அதை encourage பண்ணதுக்கு ஆள் இருந்தாலும், எங்க அம்மா மட்டும் எங்க கூட இருந்தாங்க. எங்க brothers எல்லாம் வெளியூர் வந்திட்டாங்க. ஆனால எங்களுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு support குடுக்க ஆள் இல்லாம இருந்ததினால, ன், நான் வந்து அந்த secretarial course-ஐ முடிச்சி முடிச்ச ஓடனே எனக்கு வேலை கெடைச்சிருச்சி அதினால, அப்புறம் படிக்கிறதை நிறுத்தி வச்சிருந்தேன்.

18. Lila – E18, No partiality, no partiality. ரொம்ப encourage பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்பால்லாம் ரொம்ப encourage பண்ணுவாரு. நான்லாம் M.A. Private-ஆ, earn and study learn. I learnt M.A. எல்லாம் Private-ஆதான் நான் பண்ணேன்

19. Amar – E19, என்னுடைய பிள்ளைகளுக்கு அவங்களை post graduation படிக்க வைக்கணுன்னு ரொம்ப வாஞ்சையா இருந்தது. ஆனா ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கு என்ன, எந்த line -ல போகணுன்றது அவங்களுடைய choice. நாங்க கட்டாயப்படுத்தி எங்க choice -ல அவங்க போயிருந்தா அவங்க interest - ஓட படிச்சிருக்க மாட்டாங்க போல. அவங்களாவே என், லீலா என் பெரிய மக. அவா என்ன சொன்னா, 'அம்மா எனக்கு English படிக்கணுன்னு இருக்குது'ன்னு சொன்னா.சரிம்மா நீ English படி'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, பரீட்சை சமயத்தில கூட அப்பா போயி வாசல்லையே உக்காந்திருப்பாரு, மரத்தடியில. பிள்ளைங்க பரீட்சை முடிச்சிட்டு வந்து நேரா அப்பா மூஞ்சைத் தான்

பாப்பாங்க, question paper -ஐ வச்சிட்டு. அதே போல சின்னவரும் அவ, 'ஆன், நீங்கள்ல்லாம் teacher ஆயிட்டீங்க. எனக்கு teacher வேண்டியதில்லப்பா. நான் bank officer -ஆ தான் போகணும்' சொல்லிட்டு, அவா சும்மா இருக்கும் போது என்ன பண்ணா, ஆன், B.Com-க்கு apply பண்ணி, B.Com படிச்சா. B.Com படிச்சி முடிச்சி, அந்த முடிச்ச கையோட அவளுக்கு, ம், apply பண்ணி இன்னும் அந்த service பன்றதுக்காக, 'applications இன்னும் குடுக்கல, இன்னும் ஆறு மாசத்துக்குப் பெறகுதான் குடுப்பாங்க, publish பண்ணுவோம். அப்பம் பாத்து எங்களுக்கு apply பண்ணுங்க'ன்னாங்க. ... அப்புறம் என்ன சொன்னா, 'எனக்கு M.Com. படிக்கலான்னு இருக்குது'ன்னு சொன்னா. சரிண்டு, இவங்க தான் போய் application வாங்கிட்டு, எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க. அப்புறம் அதுங்க படிச்ச பெறகு கூட எங்க centre -ன்னு போய் பாத்து, என்ன number ரெல்லாம் உக்காந்து பரீட்சை எழுதலான்னு, அந்த chair-ஐயும் table-ஐயும் கூடப்போய் பாத்து வருவாங்க. வந்து போய், 'இதோம்மா, இதோ உள்ள இருக்கு. நேரா போ. இங்க இருக்குது. இங்க ஒன்னுடைய, ன், நீ இங்க உக்காந்தன்னா invigilator அங்க இருப்பாங்க. ஒனக்கு என்ன வேணுமோ, எழுந்திச்சி நீ கேட்டுக்கலாம்'. எல்லாம் சொல்லி முடிச்சிட்டு, அங்கேயே வெளியவே இருப்பாங்க. பரீட்சை முடியறவரைக்கும். பரீட்சை முடிஞ்சதும் கூட்டிக் கிட்டு வந்து, auto வந்து வீட்ல பாத்து விடுவாங்க. இப்படி அவங்க encourage பண்ணினால பிள்ளைங்க படிச்சி வந்திருச்சி. அப்புறம் result-க்கு கூட அந்த publish பன்றதுக்கு முந்தி, எங்க பாக்கணும் கொள்ளணும் - ன்றதையும் போய் பாத்து, 'ஓ, நீ pass ஆயிட்டா', ரொம்ப சந்தோஷமா அதை அவங்களுடைய interest, நானு அதே மாதிரி தான் இவ்வளவு enthusiastic-ஆ இல்லாட்டி, அவங்களுடைய interest-ல பிள்ளைங்க படிச்சி முன்னுக்கு வந்தாங்க.

20. Amar - E20, school -க்குப் போகும் போது கூட ஒழுங்கா அவங்க பாடத்தைப் படிச்சிட்டு, வீட்டுக்கு வந்து homework செய்து அவங்களுடைய பொறுப்பு. அவங்க fail ஆன அவங்க படிக்காததினால், அவங்க pass பண்ணா அவங்க படிச்சதினால். அப்படின்னு, அவங்க பொறுப்பு அவங்க மேலேயே உட்டுட்டோம். அப்பா, ன், இரண்டு மாசத்தில இருந்ததினால் அப்பா அதிகமா கவனிச்ச மாதிரி இல்லை. ஆனா retire ஆயிட்ட பெறகு அவங்க படிப்பில ரொம்ப interest எடுத்து அவங்களுடைய encouragement -ல தான் பிள்ளைங்க எல்லாம் பெரிய படிப்பு படிச்சாங்க. ஒவ்வொண்ணும், அதான் பரீட்சைன்னு சொல்றேனே, இரத்திரியெல்லாம் இங்க light வச்சா படிக்க முடியுமா, அங்க light வச்சா இருக்குமா. அப்பம் 'இதை, மா tea குடிக்கிறையாமா'ன்னு கொண்டு வந்து குடுப்பாங்க. ம், 'ஏதாச்சும் எடையில சாப்பிடுறையா tea பசிக்குதாம்மா'ன்னு அப்படி ஒவ்வொண்ணும் கவனிச்சதில, அவ்வளவு interest காயிச்சதினால் பிள்ளைங்க கூட 'அப்பா இவ்வளவு பன்றாரே, அவங்களை சந்தோஷப்படுத்தலான்னு இன்னும் கஷ்டப்பட்டு படிச்சி நல்லா இரா pass பண்ணி, சந்தோஷமா படிச்சிட்டாங்க. -

21. Saguna - E21, அதினால அண்ணைன் காலேஜ் படிக்கும் போது தான் நான் பள்ளிக் கூடத்தில் படிச்சிக் கிட்டு இருந்தேன். அதினால leave-க்கு தான் வருவாங்க. வந்து நல்லா music போட்டு orchestra வச்சிக்கிட்டு அந்த மாதிரி நல்ல ஒரு மாதிரி அண்ணைன் வந்த மாதிரி வீடு சந்தோஷமா கலகலன்னு இருக்கும் .... school-க்குப் போயிட்டு, school-ல நல்ல friends எல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு சந்தோஷமான, நல்ல ஒரு childhood-தான் இருந்தது. School எல்லா games அப்புறம் நான் School Pupil leader-ஆ இருந்தேன். ... இப்படி சின்னையா வர்றதினால் கொஞ்சம் வீட்ல அவங்க வந்து எனக்கு கணக்கெல்லாம் சொல்லித் தருவாங்க. ம், அப்படி school life. அந்த மாதிரி இருந்துச்சு.

22. Saguna - E22, பிள்ளைங்களும் by God's Grace நல்லாப் படிச்சாங்க. அதினால ஒரு problem இல்லை. மூணு பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் அப்படி tuition-னே வைக்கலை. எல்லாம் வீட்ல அதுகளே படிச்சிக்கும். படிச்சி கர்த்தர் எல்லாப் பிள்ளைகளை நம்ம மேன்மை பாராட்டுறதுக்கு ஒண்ணும் கெடையாது.

23. Lovely - E23, Biggest miracle that happened in my life. second year-ல வந்து computer science க்கு வந்து எல்லாரும் they had to give ten thousand. அப்பம் girls எல்லாரும் they were shifting from civil to computer science. எல்லாரும் they paid even the last but one girl, எனக்கு முன்னாடி உள்ள girl கூட six hundred rupees pay பண்ணா. But, then, எனக்கு மட்டும் I was a seventy, roll number வந்து seventy two computer science department-ல Last, இன்னும் two months-ல exam வரப்போது எல்லாரும் கேட்டாங்க, எப்படி 'ஒனக்குக் கெடைச்சது' அப்படின்னு really through prayers. ஆனா join பண்ண பெறகு என்ன சொன்னாங்க, 'நீ கடைசி நிமிஷத்தில் வந்து join பண்ணியிருக்கிற, ஒன்னால படிக்கிறது ரொம்ப கஷ்டம். எங்களுக்கே கஷ்டமா இருக்கு, நீ எப்படி படிக்கப்போறன்னு and I got seventy two percent in that semester. அதுக்கப்புறம் நான் வரவேயில்லை. அவ்வளவு percentage வரவேயில்லை. So I think, nothing is impossible, if we have stand on prayers. That is my experience.

24. Tiny - E24, எங்க வீடிலயும் அவங்களுக்கும் அந்தப் படிப்பு விஷயம் மட்டும் ரொம்ப help பண்ணுவாங்க. அந்தக் கிராமத்தில் இருந்து வர்றவங்களுக்கெல்லாம் படிப்பு விஷயத்தில் எத்தனையோ பையன்களுக்கு engineer-உம் doctor-உம் வாங்கிக் குடுத்திருக்காங்க.

25. Heera - E25, ஆனா கடவுளுடைய சித்தத்ததுக்கு உட்டிருவேன். இவ வந்து நல்லா Stella Maris-லேயே நல்லா best school-ல படிச்சி, நல்லா வந்திருச்சிக் இரண்டு பிள்ளைகளும். படிச்சிதுக, அதில ஒண்ணும் பிரச்சனையே இல்லை.

26. Saral – E26, அப்படியெல்லாம் இல்லை. அவங்க அவங்க. இவ second daughter ரொம்ப நல்லா படிப்பா. அவ அப்படி engineering-க்கு இவளும் இப்பம் நல்ல, American Consulate General-ல வேலிருக்கிறதா, computer படிச்சிட்டு இவா

27. Amar – E27, எங்க அம்மா வந்து அவங்க சின்னதில் இருந்தே அம்மா வந்து படிச்சி முடிச்சிட்டு அம்மா இருந்த காலத்திலேயே அம்மா வந்து nineteenth century-ல பெறந்தாங்க. நம்மெல்லாம் 20<sup>th</sup> century-ல இருந்தவங்க. அம்மா nineteenth century-ல அப்ப women-க்கு ஜாஸ்தி freedom எல்லாம் இல்லாம இருந்திருக்குது. ஆனா எல்லாம் Christian-ஆ இருந்ததுனால அம்மானுடைய parents-உம் என்னுடைய grand parents-உம் நல்லா படிச்சவங்க, அதினால தன்னுடைய பிள்ளைங்களை அவங்க நல்லா படிக்க வச்சிருந்திருக்கிறாங்க. அப்ப தான் புதிசா missionaries இந்த நெறைய schools-ஐ establish பண்ணி வச்சிருக்காங்க. அப்பம் அவங்களும் ஒரு mission school-ல தான் நல்லா படிச்சிட்டு வந்திருக்காங்க. அம்மா வந்து நல்லா intelligent-ஆ படிச்சி, pass பண்ணிக்கிட்டே போனதினால அவங்களுக்கு எந்த தடங்கலும் இல்லை. Fees கூட அவ்வளவா இருந்ததாக தெரியலை. அப்புறம் அம்மாவுக்கு வந்த training-உம் teachers' training-உம் குடுத்து

28. Saguna - E28, ஆமாமா, படிக்க வைக்கிறதுக்கு ஒண்ணும் கடவுளுடைய கிருபையில் ஒண்ணும் அவங்க இது குடுக்கல. மொதல்ல ஆனா அப்பாவுக்கு கொஞ்சம் வயசாயிருச்சு, 80 எவ்வளவு ஆயிருச்சின்னு தெரியலை, கலியாணம் பண்ணணும் அதினால சீக்கிரம் கலியாணம் பண்ணாங்க, அப்புறம் Intermediate-ல first class எடுத்ததினால B.A.-க்கு விட்டாங்க, மற்றபடி ஒரு வேளை அதோட நிறுத்திருப்பாங்க. B.A.-ஐ முடிச்சிட்டேன் முடிச்சிட்டு.

29. Sweety – E29, நான் ரொம்ப கோழைந்தான் சொல்லணும். என் தங்கச்சி என்னை விட நல்ல கொஞ்சம், அவ. நல்லாவும் டாக்டருக்குப் படிச்சா. கொஞ்சம் bold-ஆ இருப்பா. நான் அவ்வளவு bold-ஆ இருக்க மாட்டேன். ரொம்ப பயப்படுவேன்.

30. Heera – E30, வீட்ல பிள்ளைங்க படிக்க, இப்பெல்லாம் இரண்டு பேரும் were interested. we wanted them to do, to become doctor. ஆனா மல்லிகா didn't get enough mark to become a doctor. We did not have that thing, இல்லை. அந்த பலரையும் பாத்து கீத்து பன்ற இதெல்ல, இவங்க இவ்வளவுத்துக்கும் doctors directorate-ல தான் இருந்தாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி பாத்து செய்யனுன்னலாம் வர்ல. அல்லாட்டா கெட்சிருக்குன்னு யோசிக்கிறேன். எல்லாம் கடவுளுடைய சித்தம்.

31. Ranjithamani – E31, ம், சரி, எங்க வீட்ல வந்து எங்க அப்பா அம்மாவுக்கு நாங்க ஏழு பேரு. ஏழு பேரில வந்து, ம், நான் அஞ்சாங்கிளாஸ் வரைக்குந்தான் படிச்சிருக்கிறேன். அதுக்கு மேல எனக்குப் படிப்பும் ஏறல்ல. அதுக்கப்பறம் என் தங்கச்சிமார்கலாம், ஒருத்தி training படிச்சி இருக்கிறா, ஒருத்தி எட்டாங்கிளாஸ் வரைக்கும் படிச்சா. அப்புறம் எங்க அண்ணேன் வாலிப வயசில ரொம்ப படியாம இருப்பாங்க. அப்போல்லாம் அப்பா அவனை எல்லாம். கொஞ்சம் கண் டிச்சி .... எனக்கு படிக்கையு ஓடாது, அதினால நான் (chuckles) அஞ்சாங்கிளாசோட நின்னுட்டேன். மற்றவங்கெல் லாம் படிச்சி, எல்லாரும் கர்த்தருக்குள்ள நல்லா இருக்கிறாங்க.

32. Ranjithamani – E32, பெறகு ஒரு பையன், ஒரு பொண்ணுதான். அவங்க இரண்டு பேரையும், என் மகன் வந்து ரொம்ப 10 வரைக்குந்தான் படிச்சான். அதுக்கு மேல விருப்பம் இல்லை. ... அவனும் விரும்பலை, அதுக்கு மேல படிக்க மாட்டேன்ட்டான். அக்கா கூட வந்து எவ்வளவோ தடவிக்குடுத்து சொல்லிப் பார்த்தாங்க 'படியா, படியா'ன்னு. அவன் ஒரே பிடிவாதமா இருந்துட்டான். ... இவன் முடியவே முடியாதுன்னட்டான்.

33. Sneha – E33, எனக்கு school life-லையோ, வந்து எனக்கு group என்ன field-ல நான் போனும், ன்றதும் சரி நான் எல்லாம் சேந்துதான். எனக்கு வந்து, எங்க அம்மா அப்பாவுக்கு வந்து எனக்கு என்ன புடிக்கும், என் taste என்னன்னு தெரியும். so, அதுக்கு ஏத்த மாதிரி தான். அவங்களும் என்னை guide பண்ணாங்க. so, எனக்கு புடிச்ச மாதிரி எங்க அப்பா அம்மா சொன்னதினால நானும் அதை வந்து ஒத்துக்கிட்டு, நானும் வந்து அம்மா சொன்னாங்க, 'Science field-ஐ' விட commerce field-ல போ, அதான் நெறைய ஓனக்கு நெறைய wide இது இருக்கு. you can come up', அப்படின்னு சொல்லி பண்ணாங்க. so, எங்க அம்மா அப்பா சொன்னதைக் கேட்டு தான் நான் இதுவரைக்கும் அந்த field சரி எல்லாம், total, everyone's interest is there. So அது பண்ணினதினால இப்பம் நான் நல்லா இருக்கிறேன். I've got a very good job. May be நான் science field-ல எல்லாம் போயிட்டினாலயா எனக்கு இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் job கெடைச்சிருக்குமான்னு சந்தேகந்தான்.

34. Mariam – E34, படிப்பில அம்மா வந்து, இப்பம் அம்மா எனக்கு 'இது படி நீ B.Ed. படிக்கணும்'. நான் வந்து, ன், training கெடைக்கல எனக்கு seat கெடைக்கல. 'அதினால நீ இது பண்ணணுன்னும் போது நான் வந்து ஆண்டவர் சித்தத்துக்கு ஆண்டவர் கிட்ட ஜெபம் பண்ணுவேன். அதுவரையும் எனக்கு வந்து நான் என்ன செய்வேன்னு தெரியல. நான் வந்து ஆண்டவர்கிட்ட இதெல்லாம் உமக்குத் தெரியுமில்லையா, என்னுடைய mental என்னுடைய பெலங்கள், பெலவீனங்களெல்லாம். அதுக்கு ஏத்த மாதிரி நீர் எனக்கு வந்து, future என்ன படிச்சா நல்லா இருக்கணுன்னு,



‘அம்மாவுடைய, அம்மாவும் ஜெபத்தில் இதுவா இருக்கிறதினால அம்மாவுடைய ஆலோசனை கேக்கும் போது, ஆண்டவர் அதுதான் அவர் சித்தம் ன்றது, ம், அதினால அப்பா, அம்மா, அதுக்கு அப்பா வந்து எதுவும் சொல்லமாட்டாங்க M.Sc., படிக்கணுன்னு அம்மா வந்து, first நான் collegeக்குப் போன அண்ணேன் எல்லாம் business-ல அப்படியே போய்ட்டதினால, ன், நான் வந்து, ம் M.Sc.-ல அப்பனை பண்ணும் போது எங்க அப்பா வந்து சொன்ன, ஏன்னா நெறையா படிச்சா மாப்பிள்ளை அதுக்கேத்த மாதிரி பாக்கணும். ஏன்னா அம்மா வந்து அதை விட்டுக் குடுக்க மாட்டாங்க. அதுக்கேத்த மாதிரி இது பண்ணணும், ன்னு. அப்பம், ஓடனே நான் என்ன பண்ணேன், சரி இரண்டு பேருடைய இதும் இருக்கிறதினால, ஆண்டவர் கிட்ட வந்து, ‘எனக்கு என்ன தெரியல’. ஆணா அப்பா சொன்னாங்க, ‘நீ WCC-ல தான் நம்ம set-உ எப்பபாரு படிச்சிட்டே. அதினால இனமும் திருப்பி MCC college-ன்னா நமக்கு கஷ்டமா இருக்குமேன்னு distance ரொம்ப MCC Train travel-லாம் இருக்கே,’ அப்படின்னு சொல்லும் போது நானும் ‘ஆண்டவருடைய சித்தத்துக்கு ஏத்தாப்போல, எனக்கு seat கெடைக்கலன்னா, அது போய் ரொம்ப இது பண்ண மாட்டேன். ஆணா, எனக்கு எனக்கு ஒரு பயம் இருந்திச்சி. எப்படினா co-edல தான் பண்ணணும் M.Sc. நான் எல்லாமே brought up எல்லாமே பாத்ரா, அப்படி வந்து, நான் படிச்சது எல்லாமே, B.Sc., வரைக்கும் girls college-ன்றதினால. எனக்கு எப்படி இருக்குமோ, அது தான் எனக்கு இதுவா இருந்திச்சி, ஆண்டவரே என் அதுக்கப்பறம் நான் ரொம்ப நான் கேக்கமாட்டேன். அது வேண்டான்னா கூட பரவால, ‘அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு அம்மா ஆசை இப்படி, அம்மாவுடைய எண்ணம் இப்படி இருக்கு. சொல்லும் போது எனக்கு seat கெடைக்கல, ன், ஆணா அது வந்து, ஆண்டவர் சித்தம் என்னன்னா, இப்பதான். M.Sc., என்ன பண்ண work பண்ணும் போது, ன், teacher-ஆ work பண்ணிட்டு இருக்கும் போது, உ கூட வேலைபாக்கிறவங்களாலம் சேந்து, ம், நம்ம, Mary நம்ம, அவங்கெல்லாம் B.Ed. பண்ணவங்க. படிச்ச, வேலை பாத்துக்கிட்டு, பண்லாமான்னு கேட்டுக்கிட்டு, ன், சரி சொன்னேன். அப்புறம் applyயெல்லாம் பண்ணிட்டு, அப்புறம் interview வந்திருச்சி எங்க இரண்டுபேர்ல, மூணுபேர்ல இரண்டு பேருக்கு வந்திருச்சு. அதில கூட நான் வந்து தைரியமாவே எதும் செய்யறமாட்டேன். ம், எதையுமே நான் அப்பா decision, அப்புறம் ஆண்டவருடைய சித்தம் அதெல்லாம் பாக்கும் போது, என்னுடைய இதைப் பாத்து, நான் அப்படி செய்யும் போது, வந்து, கடைசில Pachappa's college, நான் வந்து M.Sc. செய்ய வேண்டிய சூழ்நிலை. அப்படி அந்த கட்டாயத்துக்குள்ள வந்தேன். அது என்னு. இப்பம் வந்து, அப்பம் ஆண்டவருடைய சித்தம் இப்படி இருக்கும் போலிருக்கும், ன்றதை நான் இப்பம் ரொம்ப feel பண்ணேன். அப்பம் ஆணா கலியாணத்துக்கு அப்புறம் இது, ன், கலியாணத்துக்கு அப்புறந்தான் நான் வேலைபாக்கும் போது தான். M.Sc. படிக்கிறதற்கு ஆண்டவர் ஒதவி செய்தாரு. அப்பம் friend-ணா கூடவந்து friend தொனைக்கும் இருப்பாங்க. அதே college தான், போக அப்படி இது பண்ணும் போது, என்னமோ ஆண்டவர் எனக்கு ஒரு approval குடுத்து, உற்சாகத்தை குடுத்து, தைரியத்தைக் குடுத்து, நீ இன்னும் படிச்சா நல்லாயிருக்கும். அப்படின்றதினால, நான் join பண்ணேன். அதில ஆண்டவருடைய கிருபையினால இந்த வருஷம் எப்படியும், பிள்ளைங்க எல்லாம் பெறந்தாங்க. ஆணா course ஆரம்பிக்கிறதற்கு காரணமே பிள்ளை இல்லாம இருந்துச்சு மொதல்ல எனக்கு. அப்பம் நம்ம mind divert ஆரதுக்கு இப்படி ஒரு இது நம்ம work பண்ணிட்டு இப்படி பண்ணலாம் அப்படின்னு நெனைச்சிட்டு, ஆணா, அது ஓடனே, அப்படி சேர்ந்த ஓடனே, conceive ஆயிட்டேன். என்னடா இது இப்படி இருக்கிதே ஆண்டவருடைய சித்தம், எனக்கு எவ்வளவு burden-ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு ரொம்ப feel பண்ணேன். ஏன்னா, ரொம்ப school-ல நெறையா வேலை இருக்கும். அப்புறம் வீட்ல, அப்படி, இப்படின்னும் போதும். அப்புறம் என்ன பண்ணேன் எப்படியாது நம்ம ஆரம்பிச்சிட்டோம். ஓடனே, எனக்குள்ள அந்த ஆண்டவருடைய உற்சாகம் இருந்துது, ஒண்ணை start பண்ணா அது முடிச்சிறணும், அப்படின்றதினால, அப்படி இருக்கிறதினால, M.Sc., ஒரு paper தான் இருக்கு, ன், எல்லாத்தையும் ஆண்டவர் முடிக்க எனக்கு ஒதவி செய்தாரு.

35. Jeyam – E35, பையன் education விஷயத்திலையும் இரண்டு பேரும், ம், first காரணத்தினால அவங்க தூரத்து எடத்தில் அனுப்ப முடியாதுன்னு அப்படி சொன்னா கூட, ன், ன், ன், எவ்வளவு நான் அந்த decision எடுக்கிறேன்னு இது பண்ணி இரண்டு பேரும் ஒண்ணா ஆலோசனை பண்ணி தான் ஒரு செய்வோம்.

36. Priya – E36, Particularly I'll just leave it open to them what they want. Or I'll give them the pros and cons of everything. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean. children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their

37. Melody – E37, the parents advise, they advised us to take up this. But, they said the final decision is yours. Like my parents wanted me to do science. But since I wasn't interested in it, they said, ‘O.K.’ You do what else you want to do. So, I told them, ‘I want to do commerce. Let me do it’.

38. Amar – E38, நாங்கள் வந்து என்னுடைய தம்பியா இருந்த போதிலும் அவனுக்கும் எங்களுக்கும் எந்த வித்தியாசமாவும் காண்பிக்கலை. யார் யாரு என்னென்ன படிக்கணுண்டு அம்மா விரும்புனாங்களோ நாங்கள் அதில நாங்க ஒழுங்காக படிச்சிகிட்டே போனாக்கா எங்களுக்கு படிப்பு நிறுத்தவே இல்லை. அப்புறம் நான், நான் ஒரு teacher-ஆ training எடுத்திட்டேன். Training எடுத்தப் பெறகு அம்மா என்ன சொன்னாங்க, ‘நீ வந்து இதோட முடிக்கிறாதம்மா, நீ higher சொன்னாங்க. ன், தம்பியை வந்து, அவனும் Madras Christian College-ல படிச்சான். ... அவனும் நல்லா படிச்சி, அவனும் முன்னுக்கு வந்து

39. Amar – E39, தம்பி படிக்க வைக்கணும் இல்லையா', ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அவனுக்கும் ஓடனே Madras Christian College-ல எடம் கெடச்சிருச்சு

40. Varam – E40, அதுனால பெண்களுக்கு கல்வி அவசியம். என் தங்கை படிச்சதுனால தான் இப்ப என் தங்கையுடைய husband நிம்மதியா இருக்கிறாரு. அவா சம்பாதிக்கலனா அவளை ஒரு கொடுமா அவர் வந்து அடிமையா நடத்துற அவரு அவ படிச்சது, எங்க வீட்ல அவ ஒருத்தி படிக்க வச்சாங்க. அவ தான் ரொம்ப இப்பம் கஷ்டம் படுறா ஆனா. அப்படி அந்த மாதிரி இருக்கு (chuckles) நான் படிக்கல ஆனா நிம்மதியா இருக்கேன். படிச்சதுனால இன்னைக்கு அவ்வளவு சம்பளம் வாங்குற HM-ஆ இருக்கா. அவ்வளவு சம்பளத்தையும் வாங்கிக்குவாரு. ஒன்றும் கெடையாது. அவங்க வீட்டு ஆளுங்களுக்கு செய்வாரு. இவ செஞ்சா கணக்கு கேப்பாரு. இரண்டாவது பிள்ளை இஷ்டம் போல வளர்த்து வந்து ஒரு மாதிரி ஆகி அவ இப்பத்தான் கடவுளுக்குள்ள, இரகசியமா அவ கடவுளை ஏத்துக்கிட்டு இப்ப அது மாதிரி (chuckles) அதுனால படிக்கிறதுனாலயும் (chuckles) இந்த மாதிரி கஷ்டம் வருது (chuckles) படிக்காட்டியும் எனக்கு இந்த மாதிரி நிம்மதி இருக்கு.

41. Amar – E41, என்னைல்லாம் 'நீ teacher ஆனா போதும்', ஆன் சொல்லிட்டாங்க. 'சரி'ன்னு ஒத்துக்கிட்டேன். எனக்கு வந்து college-ல பெரிய lecturer-ஆ ஆகணுன்ற இதெல்லாம் இருந்துச்சு அப்பம் எனக்கு. ஆனா அம்மா வந்து, 'இல்லைம்மா, நம்ம தன்மைக்கு இவ்வளவு தூரத்துக்கு முடியாது. தம்பி படிக்க வைக்கணும் இல்லையா', ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு,

42. Lila – E42, அப்பம் அம்மா சொன்னாங்க, 'நீ ...' ஆனா அம்மா என்ன stress பண்ணாங்கன்னா, அண்ணனுக்கு வந்து ஏதாவது பண்ணலாம். அது, அந்த word வரமாட்டேன்னு. ஆனா girls வந்து graduation பண்ணணும், graduation, இதுான் பண்ணணுமே ஒழிய, அந்த polytechnic, professional இதுல அம்மா விருப்பப்படவே மாட்டாங்க. ... ஆனா அம்மா உடலை. படிச்சதே B.Com., M.Com.

43. Gem – E43, ஆனா அது சொன்ன மாதிரி நகைப் போட்டுக் கலியாணம் பண்ணிக்குடுக்கணுன்னற ஒரு point வாறதினால, ம், என்ன படிச்சதுனாலும் கூடப்படிக்க வைக்க முடியலை. அதோட நிறுத்திட்டாங்க, secondary grade-க்கு மேல்படிக்க வைக்க முடியலை. அதினால விட்டுட்டாங்க.

44. Swarna – E44, அப்புறம் நாங்க வளந்த பெறகு atleast எங்களுக்கு என்ன வேணாலும் படிக்கலான்னு, ஒரு இது என்ன, இப்பம் வந்து நான் இந்த theology படிக்கணுன்னு சொல்லி, அதில, அதைத் தவிர, அப்புறம் என்ன கேட்டிருந்தாலும் விட்டிருந்திருப்பாங்க. இப்பம் வேற என்ன செய்யணும். பேப்பர் இருக்குது. அது முடிஞ்சவுடனே M.Phil. பண்ணணும் Ph.D. பண்ணணும் அது பண்ணணும் அதெல்லாம் கேட்டிருப்பாங்க. அப்பாக்கு என்ன line-ல என்னதோ, actual-ஆ அவங்க பாதத்து அப்பா families எல்லாம் இந்த இது வந்தவங்கதான். ஐயர்மார் இதெல்லாம், அது என்னதோ அவங்களுக்கு இஷ்டம் இல்லை, என்னவோ சொல்லி அது கஷ்டம் அந்த மாதிரி சொல்லிக் குடுத்ததினால, அதில அவ்வளவு இஷ்டமா இல்லை.

45. Flora – E45, படிக்கிறதிலையும் ஒரு ஆர்வம் காட்டுறதில்லை. நாங்களா Government school-ல படிச்சோம். அதோட நிறுத்திட்டாங்க. Pass பண்ண பெறகு படிக்க வைக்கல. நான் நெனைச்சேன். பெண்ணனால என்னை அதுமாதிரி பண்ணாங்கன்னு. எனக்கு அடுத்தது தம்பிங்க. தம்பிங்களையும் படிக்க வைக்கல. அந்த மாதிரி எந்த ஒரு காரியத்திலேயும் ஒரு freedom குடுக்கல. எங்களுடைய வளர்ச்சிலும் அவங்க அக்கறை கொண்டவங்களா இல்லை.

46. Amar – E46, அடுத்தது education கூட ஒரேடியா பணம் குடுக்க வேண்டியதிருக்கு, engineering எல்லாம் போனா, thousands-ல குடுக்க வேண்டியதிருக்கே doctors எல்லாம் இப்பம் அந்த காலத்தில் 'ஒனக்கு doctor-க்குப் படிக்கணுமா போய் சேர்ந்துக்கோ'. எல்லாம் சேர்ந்து படிச்சிக்கலாம். இப்பம் அப்படி இல்லை. அதுக்கு ஒரு competition வருது. எங்க ஊர்ல எல்லாம் doctor -உ, engineer -உன்னாக்கா ஒரு exam எழுதணும். அது, அந்த exams-க்குப் படிக்கிறதற்கு அந்த fees is greater than the college fees. அப்படி, எவ்வளவோ fifty thousand, one lakh அப்படிக்குடுத்துப் படிக்கிறாங்க அது. அது படிச்சா, அதில pass-உம் ஆகலாம், fail-உம் ஆகலாம். அப்புறந்தான் அவங்களுக்கு admission கெடைக்கும். இப்பம் அதில என்ன ஒரு college-ல ஒரு 120-க்கு தான் admission இருக்கும். பரீட்சை எழுதுறவங்க பத்தாயிரம் பேர் எழுதுவாங்க. அதில 120-து தான் select பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்பம் அத்தனை செலவு பண்ணதும் waste. அந்த மாதிரி girls கூட, ம், கொஞ்சம் படிக்கணுன்னு ஆசைப்படுறதினால வீட்டு செலவுங்க இருக்கத்தான் செய்து. அம்மா, அப்பாங்க அது burden-ஆ தான் இருக்கிறாங்க. அதினால girls-க்கு வேற வழியே இல்லை. இது தான் ஆகணும்.

47. Flora – E47, அது மாதிரி நான் வாஞ்சித்த மாதிரி ஒரு Christian school- ல தான் சேக்கணும், அப்படின்னுட்டு அந்த மாதிரி ஒவ்வொரு காரியங்களும் தேவனுடைய பாதத்தில் வச்ச.... என்னுடைய குடும்பத்திலையும் கணவருடைய அன்பு பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் இல்லை. ஒரு ஒத்துழைப்பும் இல்லை. கர்த்தருடைய சித்தத்தின் படி, அவருடைய சித்தத்தின் படி நடத்திட்டு வர்றார்.

## APPENDIX 10

### Narratives about career (C) :

1. Joy – C(Career)1, So, we chose our career.... naturally what they want (chuckles) that like, because usually people nowadays, we think what we want to do, because if we learn we can be well, .... Career also
2. Joy – C2, Na, if I can't, if I'm working, say, if I'm doing a job, I think he has to share. I think he has to share. And like taking care of the children also, I think, mostly, most of the parents they do that because, if they are working, naturally they, we can understand that they have the feeling to take care of the children.
3. Melody – C3, She is a doctor and my father is manager in a company. .... Dad is not working here right now he is in the US, .... And career wise, I think, men and women both take, can take up the career if they want.
4. Melody – C4, Career also. They support me.
5. Priya – C5, And otherwise things like, if I want to work also I should be allowed to work. It's not simply for the point of money, but it's for job satisfaction. I wouldn't want a person telling me, 'Just because you're married, you shouldn't work'. I don't want that,.... Domestic responsibility if both of us are working, then I want equal participation. Then if one person isn't then, I don't mind putting in a little extra in it.
6. Priya – C6, Particularly I'll just leave it open to them what they want. Or I'll give them the pros and cons of everything. They can choose after that in, sometimes I mean. children on any day would look, if it sounds very good to them, the education or career, whatever they want to. But I would have more experience by then to tell them what it is. So, I would tell them, then if they really want to go to it, they can, then but afterwards their.
7. Gem – C7, வேலை பாக்கிறது hostel தான் இருந்து நான் வேலை பார்த்தேன் நான் அதினால. ... வேலைப் பாக்கிறது நான் school யே இருந்து வேலை பார்த்தேன். School-ல வேலை பாக்க. ... அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. அதெல்லாம் பாக்கலாம், வேலை பாக்கணும் அதெல்லாம் allow பண்ணுவாங்க. Hostel-ல இருந்து, அதாவது தனியா போய்ட்டுவாந்து மாதிரியெல்லாம் Independent-ஆ எல்லாம் இருக்கவிடமாட்டாங்க. Hostel-ல அங்கெயே இருந்தா safe-ஆ இருக்கிற மாதிரிதான், எப்பவும் இது பண்ணுவாங்க.
8. Ranjithamani – C8, அப்பறம் சின்ன பேக்கரி வச்சிருந்தாலும், ம், ரூபா விஷயங்கள்ல கூட எங்க அம்மா கிட்ட எந்த இதுவும் இல்ல. கேக்கிறதைக் குடுப்பாங்க. அப்படி bakery நம்ம வீட்ல கூட சொஞ்சம் செல ஆட்கள் ரோட்டுக்குப் போகாது. அந்தக் காலம் கொஞ்சம் அப்படியெல்லாம் உண்டில்ல, அது வெக்கப்பட்டுக்கிட்டு. ஒடனே வீட்ல கொஞ்சம் வச்சுவிக்க. அதெல்லாம் எங்க அப்பா எவ்வளவு வித்தன்னு கேக்க மாட்டாங்க. அது எங்க அம்மா, எப்படியும் பெண்களுக்கு நெறைய செலவு இருக்கும். அதெல்லாம் அப்படி வச்சிக்கிடுவாங்க.
9. Saguna – C9, வேலை பாக்கிறது கொஞ்ச நாள் OCP யத்தில் வேலை பார்த்தேன். ஆன், ருதனா வேலை பாக்கிறதைப் பற்றி அவங்களுக்கு வேண்டான்றது அப்படியில்லை.
10. Saral – C10, அப்படியெல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை. அவ என்னை அவங்க பிள்ளைங்க என்ன விருப்பப்படுறாங்களோ, அதான். அதினால அது ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை.
11. Sneha – C11, எனக்கு வந்து, அம்மா, அப்பா எனக்கு வந்து நெறையவே liberty யெல்லாம் குடுத்திருக்காங்க. அதில வந்து அந்த restrictions எல்லாம் இது வரைக்கும் எனக்கு வந்தது கெடையாது. நான் என் career, சரி, எனக்கு school life-லையோ, வந்து எனக்கு group என்ன field-ல நான் போனும், ன்றதும் சரி நான் எல்லாம் சேந்துதான். எனக்கு வந்து, எங்க அம்மா அப்பாவுக்கு வந்து எனக்கு என்ன புடிக்கும், என் taste என்னன்னு தெரியும். so, அதுக்கு ஏத்த மாதிரி தான். அவங்களும் என்னை guide பண்ணாங்க. so, எனக்கு புடிச்ச மாதிரி எங்க அப்பா அம்மா சொன்னதினால நானும் அதை வந்து ஒத்துக்கிட்டு, நானும் வந்து அம்மா சொன்னாங்க, 'Science field-ஐ' விட commerce field-ல போ, அதான் நெறைய ஒனக்கு நெறைய wide இது இருக்கு. you can come up', அப்படின்னு சொல்லி பண்ணாங்க. so, எங்க அம்மா அப்பா சொன்னதைக் கேட்டு தான் நான் இதுவரைக்கும் அந்த field சரி



எல்லாம், total, everyone's interest is there. So அது பண்ணினதினால இப்பம் நான் நல்லா இருக்கிறேன். I've got a very good job. May be நான் science field-ல எல்லாம் போயிட்டதினாலயா எனக்கு இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் job கெடைச்சிருக்குமானு சந்தேகந்தான்.

12. Sneha – C12, I enjoy being a working....Yes, of course. அம்மா இல்லையா. அம்மா தான். எனக்கு best example. அம்மா வீட்டு வேலையும் பாத்திட்டு, ம், இப்பம் வெளியவும், பாத்திட்டு, இப்பம், as a teacher, நாங்களாவது, நான்ல்லாம் வேலைக்கு office-க்குப் போறேன். வேலையை முடிச்சிட்டு வீட்டுக்கு வந்திருவேன். வீட்டுக்கு எனக்கு office வேலை எதுவும் கெடையாது. அம்மாக்கு corrections. ஒவ்வொரு நாளைக்கு பத்து கட்டு எடுத்துட்டு வருவாங்க. வீட்டுக்கு correct-உ அம்மா வேலை முடிச்சிட்டு அதுவும் பண்ணிட்டு, correct-உம் பண்ணிட்டு, she's to do everything. எல்லாம் பாத்திட்டு நெஜமாவே எனக்கு எதுவா இருக்கும், ஆனா அதை மனசிலேயே வச்சிப்பாங்க, நம்மெல்லாம் future-ல எப்படி இருக்கப் போறமோ, நமக்கு மொதல்ல வீட்டையே ஒழுங்கா பாக்க மாட்டேன்றம்ன்னு. But, ஆனா, once வந்து அந்த married life போய்ட்ட பெறகு, you are forced to do it. அது பண்ணமாட்டேன், நான் இப்படி பண்ணது கெடையாது. அம்மா வீட்ல அப்படிதான் இருந்தேன். அப்படியெல்லாம் சொல்றது. சொல்லக்கூடாது. so, ... . ஆன், பண்ணணும், ofcourse, But ஆனா, ன், I don't have any idea . . . . இல்லையே, நான் அப்படி தான் இருக்கிறேன். இவ்வளவு நாள் நான் அப்படிதான் இருக்கேன் (laughs) எங்க அம்மாகிட்ட நான் அப்படிதான் இருந்திருக்கேன். so, எங்க, எங்க அப்பாவும் ofcourse எங்க அப்பால்லாம் வந்து he is a good cook. எங்க அப்பாவும் sometimes பிரியாணி, அதெல்லாம் நல்லா செய்வாங்க, so, நான் அதெல்லாம் சொல்லிப் பாப்பேன். எங்க அப்பா இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் செய்வாங்கன்னு, அப்பம் (laughs) (Several voices) அப்பம் வரலைன்னா, இந்த மாதிரி ரொம்ப முடியலைன்னா, ofcourse அதில I'll say எனக்கு ரொம்ப முடியலை, வேற வழில you have to do it-ன்னு. அப்படி இல்லையென்னாலும் I will not mind I think. நானே எல்லாம் பண்ணிருவேன்....Yes, ofcourse....Yes, ofcourse, ஆமாமா....I'll give financial independence, இது, இந்த இதெல்லாம் வந்து என்கிட்ட இருக்கணும். ofcourse வேணுமா, வீட்டு வேலையும் பாத்துக்கிறேன். இதுவும் பாத்துக்கிறேன். ஆனா, என் என் வழிக்கு வந்து என்னை விட்டுடணும். போகக் கூடாது. இப்படி, சும்மா நச்சுநச்சுன்னு புடுங்கிட்டு இருக்கக் கூடாது (laughs) That's it. அதுக்குன்னு நானும் ரொம்ப liberty எடுத்துக்கிட்டு சும்மா இப்படி, இப்படி பண்ணதெல்லாம், பண்ணமாட்டேன். House work-ல housewife-ஆவும் இருக்க, I'll see that I'm a caring mother. A good house wife and a career woman, எல்லாமே balanced-ஆ I'll see that, ரொம்பவும் அதுக்குன்னு ஒருத்தரை ஒருத்தர் வந்து mutual understanding-ல இருக்கு understanding, cooperation.

13. Mallimalar – C13, எங்க அம்மாவுக்குக் கொறைஞ்ச கூலி தான். SPIC company-ல தான் வேலை செய்வாங்க. ஒரு நாள் சம்பளமே 1¼ ரூபா சம்பளம் தான். ... ரொம்ப கஷ்டத்தில, நான் எங்க வீட்ல இருந்த வரைக்கும், நான் நான் அறிஞ்ச வரைக்கும் எங்க வீட்ல ரொம்பகஷ்டமாதான் நான் இருந்த வளர்ந்தேன். பாத்துக்குங்க. ஆனா கர்த்தருடைய கிருபையினால, எங்க அம்மா வந்து வியாபாரத்துக்குன்னு, வர்றத்துக்குன்னு சொல்லி கௌம்பினாங்க. கௌம்பினப்போ, எங்களை கொஞ்சம், எங்க அம்மா தான் எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க.

14. Varam – C14, சிவகாசில கொஞ்ச நாள் இருந்தாங்க. அப்ப வந்து கட்டை அடுக்கிறது, இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் எங்க அம்மா கஷ்டப்பட்டு வளத்தாங்க.

15. Sweety – C15, இப்பம் எங்களுடைய குடும்பத்தில பாக்கும் போது ஏன், எங்க parents வந்து எங்க அப்பா ரொம்ப வீட்டுக் காரியம் ரொம்ப கவனிக்க மாட்டாங்க. அவங்களுக்கு ரொம்ப financial-ல ரொம்ப இது இல்லை. அப்படி எல்லாம் எங்க அம்மாவே தான் செய்தாங்க. அப்புறம் பணம்ல்லாம் பத்தலைன ஓடனே எங்க அம்மா வேலைக்குப் போனாங்க. அதினால இப்படி family-ல எங்க அம்மா full-ஆ எங்க அம்மா தான் எல்லாம் செய்வாங்க.

16. Jeyavathy – C16, ஏன்னா என்னுடைய husband-க்கு government job. அங்கங்க transfer ஆயிட்டே இருக்கும். அதினால பிற்பாடு மெட்ராஸில இருக்கும் வரைக்கும் கொஞ்சம் நல்லா இருந்துச்சு. அப்புறம் சேலத்துக்கு transfer ஆகி போன பிற்பாடு, 'இவ ஏன் இங்க வேலை செஞ்சுக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறா-வேலையை விட்டுட்டு இவ போக வேண்டியது தான். போக வேண்டியது தான்'னு சொல்லி எங்க மாமனார் ரொம்ப compel பண்ணாரு என்னை. ஆனா என்னுடைய sister வந்து 'ஐயோ government job. நீ வேலையை விட்டுற கூடாது. வேலையை விட்டுட்டா பெறகு வேலை கெடைக்காது'. sister - உடைய பெரிய ஒரு முயற்சியால தான் நான் continue பண்ணேன் அந்த வேலையில. அதற்கு பிற்பாடு என்னுடைய husband எப்படியாவது இங்க கொண்டு வந்திரலாம், அப்படின்னு சொல்லி, அதற்குப்பின்னு transfer பண்ணி இங்க மெட்ராஸுக்கு வந்த பிற்பாடு, அதுக்குப் பிற்பாடு நான் அந்த வேலையை தொடர்ந்து செய்தேன். இப்ப பாருங்க, நான், இரண்டு, நானு இவ்வளவு இதா செஞ்சதுனால தான். நாங்க வந்து இப்ப pension வாங்கிட்டு ரொம்ப நல்ல சந்தோஷமா நாங்க இருக்கிறோம். ஏன்ன அந்த வேலையை நான் விட்டிருந்தேனா எவ்வளவோ நம்ம income-க்கும் எவ்வளவோ கஷ்டமா, எவ்வளவோ சங்கடமா இருந்திருக்கும். Madras city-ல நம்ம வந்து பண்ணது ரொம்ப சங்கடமா இருக்கும். அவ்விதமா 33 வருஷமும் ஆண்டவார் வந்து வேலை செய்யும் படியாக எனக்குக் கிருபை செய்தார். நான் full pension வாங்குறேன். நான் ஆண்டவருடைய ஒரு பெரிய கிருபை அதே மாதிரி வேலை செய்றது இவர் ஒண்ணும் சொல்ல மாட்டாரு.



17. Saral – C17, நானு வந்து ஒரு வேலைக்கு 'நீங்கெல்லாம், நீங்கெல்லாம் உக்காந்திட்டு தண்டசோறெல்லாம் திங்கிற மாதிரி இங்க யாரும் இருக்கக் கூடாது. ஏதாவது வேலை பாக்கணும் அப்படி இப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டே இருந்தாங்க. அப்பம் நான் இந்த Vidhyodhaya-ல எனக்கு நானா போய் சம்மா application எடுத்துட்டுப் போய் குடுத்தேன். அவங்க என்ன பண்ணாங்க, 'இது vacancy இல்லை. இருந்தா குடுத்தனுப்புறே'ன்னு சொல்லி அனுப்புறே'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு ஒரு இரண்டே மாசத்தில் வீட்டுக்கு வந்திருச்சு ஒங்களைக் கூப்பிறாங்கன்னு. அப்புறம் அதுவும், அந்த வேலை கெடைச்சதும் கடவுளுடைய கிருபைதான். அப்புறம் எல்லாம் School-ல சொன்னாங்க, 'என்ன ஒனக்கு கலியாணம் ஆகலையா, ஆகலையா எனக்கு அப்பம் 28, 29 வயது ஆயிரிச்சு.

18. Jeyam – C18, படிக்கிற காலத்தில் வந்து எனக்கு வந்து, ன், teaching profession தான் ரொம்ப இஷ்டமா இஷ்டமா இருந்திச்சி நான் அதை வந்து ஒரு imagination-ல teaching தான் போணும்ன்னு சொல்ல ஒரு இதிலையே இருக்கும் போது, 11th standard வரும் போது, எங்க அப்பா என்கிட்ட பேசும் போது, 'நீ வந்து teaching போறதை விட, secretarial course போனன்னியா, office-ல இன்னும் ஒனக்கு employment இதில் வந்து, ரொம்ப, அ, நெறையா chances கெடைக்கும். Teaching-அ விட இது better-ன்னு எனக்குத் தோணுது', அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு நீ condition ஆ இது தான் பண்ணணும். அது தான் பண்ணணும். but நான் நல்லா படிப்பேன் அந்தக் காலத்தில், ன், அதினால அப்பா என்னை சொல்லிட்டாங்க, வீட்ல இருக்கிற எல்லா பிள்ளைகளையும் விடயும், நான் தான் நல்லா படிப்பேன். வீட்ல, அப்பம், சரி ஒன் இஷ்டப் படி நீ, பண்ணுன்னாங்க. ஆனா, அப்பா இப்படி சொன்னாங்களே, அந்த employment இது இப்படி இருக்குமே அப்படின்னு சொல்லி இரண்டு தடவை யோசித்து பாத்திட்டு, சரி இதே நான் பண்ணேன்னு சொல்லிட்டு secretarial course-ஏ படிக்கப் போனேன். அந்த நேரத்தில் எங்க அப்பா ஏறந்திட்டதினால, மேல்படிப்புக்கு எங்க வீட்ல அதை encourage பண்ணுதுக்கு ஆள் இருந்தாலும், எங்க அம்மா மட்டும் எங்க கூட இருந்தாங்க. எங்க brothers எல்லாம் வெளியூர் வந்திட்டாங்க. ஆனால் எங்களுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு support குடுக்க ஆள் இல்லாம இருந்ததினால, ன், நான் வந்து அந்த secretarial course-ஐ முடிச்சி முடிச்ச ஓடனே எனக்கு வேலை கெடைச்சிருச்சி

19. Amar - C19, அது bread ஆச்சும் குடுக்கிற நெலைமையில் அவன் இருக்கிறான். அது மாதிரி அவங்களுடைய அம்மாவுடைய பிள்ளைகள் கூட எந்தவிதமான ஒருத்தருக்கும் கொறைச்சல் இல்லை. அவனும் நல்லா படிச்சி, அவனும் முன்னுக்கு வந்து Airforce-ல நல்ல officer-ஆ இருந்து, அவனும் retire ஆயிற்றான். எல்லாருமே retire ஆயிற்றோம்.

20. Amar – C20, அப்பம் வந்து, 'நான் Air Force-ல சேரணும், நான் Air Force-ல சேரணுன்னு அம்மாவை கேட்டுக்கிண்ணே இருந்தான். அம்மாக்கு ஒரே மசுன்னதுனா அம்மா தயங்கிக்கிட்டு தான் இருந்தாங்க எப்படி Air Force-ன்னு அதை சொல்லல அம்மா ஆனா, 'சரிப்பா, ஒன் இஷ்டம் நீ போறதினா போன்னு சொல்லிட்டாங்க. அவனும் – interview-க்குப் போய் successful-ஆ வந்துட்டான். அவன் 18 வயசோ, 20 வயசோ அவன் Air Force-ல சேரும் பொழுதே. அப்பவே சேந்திட்டான் அவன். Air Force-லயே சேந்திட்டு அவன் விட்டுட்டுப் போயிட்டான் எங்களை விட்டுப் போயிட்டான் எங்கயோ மொதல்ல எங்கயோ. அப்புறம் வந்திட்டு அவனுக்கு அந்த Air Force-ல நல்ல அவனுக்கு சம்பளமா இருந்துச்சு. அவனும் ஓய்வா வந்திட்டான் அவன். ... அவனுக்கு Air Force-ல சோணுண்டு வாஞ்சை இருந்ததுனால அம்மா அவனை Air Force-ல சேத்திட்டாங்க.

21. Amar – C21, கல்யாணத்துக்கு முந்தியே teacher -ஆ இருந்திருக்காங்க. அவங்க teacher-ஆ இருந்ததுனால அவங்களுக்கு ஒரு தன்னால ஒரு அதிகாரம் உண்டு. அந்த அதிகாரத்தினால - அவங்களுக்கு வந்து யாரையும் நாடணுண்டு இல்லை. கை நெறைய பணம். தானே சம்பாதிக்கிறாங்க. பிள்ளைகளை அடக்குறாங்க. அந்த மாதிரில் ஒரு தைரியம். எங்க போனாலும் என்ன செய்தாலும் தைரியமா செய்வாங்க. ஒருத்தருடைய opinion நாடமாட்டாங்க. தன்னுடைய opinion தான் shall take decisions on her own. அவங்களுடைய decisions எல்லாம் standard decision. நாங்க இப்ப கூட சொல்லுவோம், 'How proud we are the children of my mother'. என்னா, அவங்க Headmistress ஆவும் இருந்திருக்கிறாங்க. அந்த Headmistress-ஆ இருந்ததுனால அந்த Parents கிட்ட இருந்து என்ன இவங்களைப் பற்றி சொல்றாங்களோ அது வந்து தான் நமக்கு Certificate. அது மாதிரி, 'அப்பா, அந்த அம்மா Headmistress-ஆ அம்மாவா', teachers களும் ஒழுங்கா தான் சொல்லித் தருவாங்க. பிள்ளைங்களும் அப்படி படிப்பாங்க. அப்படி discipline-உம் நேரத்துக்கு எப்படி punctual-ஆ அம்மா போவாங்கன்னா school-க்கு ஒரு நாள் late-ஆ போக மாட்டாங்க.

22. Amar – C22, இங்கயுமே women வந்து பெரிய high position-ல இருக்கிறாங்க இருந்தாலும் கூட அவங்களுக்கு backing இல்லாம அவங்க இருக்க முடியாது. அந்த backing வந்து menfolk ஆல்தான் இருக்கமுடியும். என்ன இருந்தாலும் women-க்கு ஒரு, ம், ஒரு delicacy இருக்கத்தான் செய்யுது. அவங்க ஆணவம் அவங்களுக்கு இல்லை. ஆண்கள் மாதிரி ஒரு இது இல்லை. ஒரு வேளை intelligence இருக்கலாம். அவங்களுக்கு அதைக் குறிச்சி, என்னென்ன development of their brains இருக்கலாம். அவங்க scientist-ஆ ஆகலாம். அவங்க வேணா rocket பண்ணி moon-க்குக் கூட போகலாம், எது எப்படி இருந்தாலும் கர்த்தர் ஆதிலே உண்டாக்கினது என்ன என்ன அந்த women வந்து கொஞ்சம் delicate தான். அவங்க கொஞ்சம் அவ்வளவு ஆம்பிளைங்க மாதிரி power இல்லை. ஒரு இராத்திரியில் தனியா போகச் சொல்லுங்க. Women போக முடியாது. அதே men எந்த ரோடில கூட எந்த இராத்திரியில்

கூட scooter- ஐ விட்டுட்டுப் போயி நடு இராத்திரி வீடு சேரலாம். பொம்பளைங்களெல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் நடு இராத்திரி தனியா விட்டுக்கு வர முடியாது. அதில் ஒரு எதோ ஒரு கொறை இருக்கத் தான் செய்யுது. எல்லாத்திலையும் ஆணும், பெண்ணும் சமன்னு சொன்னாலும், ஒரு செல எடத்தில பொண்ணுங்க கொஞ்சம் மட்டம்ன்ற மாதிரி தான் எனக்குப் படுது .... அப்புறம் இந்த industries-ல எல்லாம் அவங்க M.D-யா எல்லாம் இருக்கறாங்களே, அது எதுக்கு இருப்பாங்கன்னா, அவங்களுக்கு backing இருக்கும். ஒரு வேளை husband இருந்த எடத்திலயும் step-ன் பண்ணிருப்பாங்க. இல்லை, அப்பா, அம்மா இந்த பெரிய மனுஷரா இருந்து இந்த daughter அதிகாரம் எடுத்து அந்த மாதிரி cases-ல என்ன ஆகுன்னாக்கா, அந்த யார் யார் அவங்களுக்குக் கீழே வேலை பாக்கிறாங்களோ அவங்க வந்து மரியாதைகுடுப்பாங்க. அப்பாவுக்கு குடுக்க வேண்டிய மரியாதையோ, இல்லை husband-க்கு குடுக்க வேண்டிய மரியாதையோ, இந்த ladies-க்கு குடுக்கிறதினால தான் இவங்களுக்கு அதிகாரம். தன்னால அவங்க ஏறி வந்திறமாட்டாங்க. நீங்க இந்திரா காந்தியை நீங்க எடுத்தா கூட, அது அப்பான்னால வந்ததினல தான் இந்திராகாந்தி அங்க நின்னுச்சு. இது அதே மாதிரி வேற யாராச்சும் நிக்க சொன்னா, இருந்திருக்காது. இந்திரா காந்தி அப்பா அந்த position-ல இருந்திருக்காக்காட்டி, தனக்குக் கூட அவ்வளவு சக்தி இருந்திருக்காதுன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். இந்த backing இல்லாம எந்த lady-வும் cannot rule and take up the. இந்த institution-ல எல்லாம் college-ல எல்லாம் principal இருக்கிறாங்க. இதுக்கு வந்து manpower வேண்டாமே. intelligence-தான். புத்தியா நடத்துறது தான் வேணும் decision making-ல important என்ன decision எடுக்கிறாங்களோ இண்ணைக்கு college மூடலான்னு அவங்க decision எடுத்தா அது புத்தியுள்ள decision-ஆ இருக்கணும். மூடக்கூடாதின்னா கூட அதுவும் புத்தியுள்ள decision-ஆ இருக்கணும். அந்த மாதிரி, they must know to balance their opinions and decide which thing to அப்படியே அந்த மாதிரி intelligence இருக்குது. Ladies-க்கு இல்லைன்னு இல்லை. ஆனா அந்த பலனை உபயோகிச்சி அந்த செய்ய வேண்டிய அந்த நேரத்தில, it is impossible

23. Amar – C23, அந்த மாதிரி ஏன் நம்ப India-யால இருந்து கூட நம்ப செய்யக்கூடாது. எவ்வளவோ villages இருக்குதே, தானா ஒரு பள்ளிக்கூடம் ஆரம்பிச்சா, எல்லாம் அவங்களுக்கும் பிரயோஜனமா இருக்கும், படிச்ச நம்புங்குக்கும் ஒரு திருப்தி இருக்குமே, எதோ செய்றோன்ட்டு. அப்படி இருக்கக் கூடாது. ... அப்புறம் இந்த கலியாணம் ஆகாத பெண்களை encourage பண்ண ஜனங்க வேணும். இப்பம் அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை. அவங்களுக்கு ஒரு தையல் கத்துக்குடுத்தோ, missionaries பண்ண மாதிரி தையல் கத்துக்குடுத்தோ, இல்லை ஒரு எதோ ஒரு சின்ன, அ cottage industry மாதிரி இது செய்து கத்துக் குடுத்தோ, அது மாதிரி, பெரிய பெரிய machinery, machines-ஐ வச்சி, பெரிய பெரிய companies ஓ, industrial – அது மாதிரி எல்லாம் ஆக்கிறாங்களே ஒழிய, இந்த சின்ன cottage industry –யை encourage பண்ண ஒருத்தரும் இல்லை. அப்படி இருந்துச்சுன்னா பொம்பளைங்க தன்னால பொழைச்சிக்குவாங்க. ஆன், அப்படிண்டு எனக்கு ஒரு எண்ணம். ம், ம், சட்டைங்க வெட்டி, இதுங்களை சட்டைங்க தெச்சுக்கலாம். இப்பம் அப்படி இல்லையே. ஓ, எல்லாம் ready made-ன்று வச்சு, வாங்குறவங்க கூட அந்தக் காலத்தில ready made-ன்னு வாங்கின்னா இழிவா நெனைப்பாங்க. 'ஐயோ, ready made-ஐயா வாங்கிட்டான்'னு வாங்க. இப்பம் என்னன்னாக்கா அதில இருக்கிற attraction வீட்ல தெச்சு போட்டில இல்லாம, அப்படி மாறிப் போயிருக்கு. அப்படி ஒரு ladies-ன்ட்டு ஒரு சின்ன தொழில் கற்றுக் கொடுத்தால் நல்லா இருக்கும்.

24. Amar – C24, இப்பம் அவங்கவங்க நல்லா தான் இருக்காங்க. எந்த பிள்ளைக்கும் எந்த கொறைவும் இருக்கிற மாதிரி தெரியலை, கடவுளுடைய கிருபையினால. அவளும், இவ government servant – ஆயிட்டா. சின்ன மகளும் government servant ஆயிட்டா. மகன் வந்து private –ல இருக்கிறான். மொதல் மகன் அவன் தான். private –ல இருக்கிறான்.

25. Amar – C25, இப்பம் கூட அவங்க வந்து, ன், government job கெடைக்கனான்னு இவங்க ஆசைப்பட்டாங்க. பெரியவளுக்கு மொதல் கெடைக்கலை. சின்னவ எங்க போனாலும் successful ஆயிடுவா, இவளுக்குக் கெடைக்காது போச்சு, கொஞ்சம் வெசனப்பட்டாங்க. ஜெபத்திலேயே இருந்து, கடைசியா இவளுக்கும் அடுத்த வருஷமே கெடச்சிருச்சி.

26. Lila – C26, நான்லாம் M.A. Private-ஆ, earn and study learn. I learnt M.A. எல்லாம் Private-ஆதான் நான் பண்ணேன். என்னா எனக்கு வந்து வேலை கெடச்சிருச்சு. Teaching தான், கெடச்சிருச்சு. அப்பம் அம்மா சொன்னாங்க, 'நீ ...' ஆனா அம்மா என்ன stress பண்ணாங்கன்னா, அண்ணனுக்கு வந்து ஏதாவது பண்ணலாம். அது, அந்த word வரமாட்டேன்னு. ஆனா girls வந்து graduation பண்ணனும், graduation, postgraduation இதுதான் பண்ணனுமே ஒழிய, அந்த polytechnic, professional இதுல அம்மா விருப்பப்படவே மாட்டாங்க. 'இல்லை, நீங்கெல்லாம் girls. அந்த dignified வேலைதான். இந்த மாதிரி office-ல எல்லாம் நீங்க போகக்கூடாது. அதினால teacherதான் ஒங்களுக்கு'. என் தங்கைக்கெல்லாம் office-ல எல்லாம் வேலை செய்ய இஷ்டம். ஆனா அம்மா உடலை. படிச்சதே B.Com., M.Com.,-ம் ஆனா அம்மா சொன்னாங்க. 'நீ girls. அப்படியெல்லாம் பண்ண போகக் கூடாது. கம்பி இருந்தாலும் நீங்க வந்து teacher-ஆ தான் இருக்கணும்'. ஏன்னா, எங்க பாட்டி அம்மா சொன்ன மாதிரி, ரொம்ப disciplined lady அவங்க, ரொம்ப disciplined lady.

27. Saral – C27, அதுக்கப்பறம் இப்பம் ரொம்ப நல்லா இருக்கிறாங்க. நான் கூட நல்லா, நெலமையில், அவங்க கூட அப்படி promotion-ல்லாம் வரும் ல்லையா, அதே மாதிரி, government-தான் அவங்களும். இப்பம் நல்ல வீடெல்லாம் வாங்கி, இப்பம் நல்லா ரெண்டு பிள்ளைங்க, பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்க இருக்கிறாங்க. நல்லா படிக்கிறாங்க.

28. Saral – C28, இவளும் இப்பம் நல்ல, American Consulate General-ல வேலிருக்கிறதா, computer படிச்சிட்டு இவா

29. Lita – C29, நான் வேலை செய்தது வேற Boys School-லு (chuckles) Boy's school-ல seventy teachers. Only five of us were women. இல்ல retire ஆயிட்டேன். இருந்தாலும் அந்த காலத்தில,

30. Lita – C30, அதினால எல்லாரும் எங்க school-லயும் என்ன சொல்லுவாங்கன்னா, ஏதாவது problem-ன்னா ladies அவங்க வந்து என்னைப் பாப்பாங்க. அவங்க suppress, suppress-ஆ feel-பண்ணாங்களோ, அடிமைத்தனமா, இப்பம் ஒரு abortion-க்கே போணும், அந்த பொம்பளைக்கு இல்லைன்னா, அவங்க என்கிட்ட வருவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு இது நான் வச்சிருந்தேன் school-ல.

31. Lita – C31, அதே மாதிரி working-இதலையும் பார்த்தா 'பொம்பளைங்க நம்ம என்ன பேசறது, decision எடுக்கிறது. men-ஏ எடுத்திரட்டும், வேணா கையைத் தூக்கிட்டுப் பேசாம இருந்திருவோம்', அப்படின்னு ஒரு stage இருந்திச்சு. நான் அப்போம் Kellet High School-ல போம் போது, ஒண்ணுமே பேசாம இவங்க ஏதாவது கொழம்புக் கதையைப் பேசிட்டுருப்பாங்க. அங்க men decision எடுத்த பெறகு, அப்பறம் அங்க ஒரு நல்ல வாத்தியாருங்க ஐஞ்சாறு பேர் கைத்தூக்கினா, ஒடனே இவங்களும் தூக்குறது. அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு stage இருந்திச்சு. அப்பம் பார்த்தேன். 'இதென்னடா முட்டாள் மாதிரி இப்படி கையைத் தூக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறோம். நமக்குன்னு ஒண்ணு இல்லையா'. இன்னா அப்பறம் நாங்களே பேச ஆரம்பிச்சோம். அப்பறம் பேசவும் கத்துக்குடுத்தேன். அப்பறம் எல்லோரும் 'நீங்க வந்த பெறகு தான், ஒரு மாதிரி'இ நான் பெரிய revolutionist-ன்னு சொல்ல வரலை. ஆனா ஒரு மாதிரி ladies back அடிச்சு அடிச்சு அது. ஒரு சௌகரியமா போயிருது. ஏன்னா, இப்பம் நான் பேசினதினால எவ்வளவோ இடைஞ்சல் எனக்கு வந்திருக்கும். அதெல்லாம் வேற இருக்குன்னு வையுங்க. இந்த மாதிரி எழும்பி பேசின ஒடனே 'பொம்பளையா இவா,' அப்படி இப்படின்னு ஒவ்வொரு comment குடுப்பாங்க.

32. Lita – C32, என்னா அப்படி எல்லாரும் என்னை வந்து Mr.தனராஜ்-ன்னு போட்டு தான் எனக்கு circular வரும். 'என்ன கொழுப்பு இப்படி பண்ணீங்க'ன்னா, அவங்க வந்து, 'நீங்க தான் இங்க பெரிய dominating ஆ இருக்கிறீங்க. நாங்க எல்லாம் ஆம்பிளைங்க வாயைத் தொறக்காமல்ல உக்காந்திருக்கிறோம்,' அப்படின்னு அந்த அளவுக்கு வந்து எனக்கு வந்து அதில வித்தியாசமே ஒரு நாளும் எனக்குத் தெரியல. ஆனா, ஒரு வேளை, செல வேளைகல்ல இது மாதிரி பெண்கள் இது பண்ணி போகணுன்றது வந்து இல்லை. பெத்துக்க மாத்திரந்தான். அந்த மாதிரி வீட்டை, ஆன்னா, எந்த நாளையும் நான் அதுக்கு விடவே மாட்டேன்.

33. Lita – C33, மொதல்ல எனக்கு ரொம்ப கஷ்டமா தான் இருந்துது. இந்த மாதிரி அவ இந்த profession எடுக்கிறாளே, நான் என்ன view-லன்னா இப்பம் women இவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க Elisabeth Paul எல்லாம். அவங்க dedicated lady அவங்க தெரியுமா, ன், ரொம்ப நல்ல dedicated lady. I used to admire her. நல்லா இது பண்ணுவாங்க. ஏன்னா எங்களுக்கு வந்து teachers classes எல்லாம் எடுத்திருக்கிறாங்க. இந்த Bible-ஐப் பற்றி Synoptic Gospels அது இதுன்னு. ரொம்ப ஆசையாப் போவோம். நாங்க எந்த church அந்த எங்காயாவது ஒரு school-ல வச்சு எடுப்பாங்க அல்லது teachers we were asked to take that lessons- உ அங்க வந்து ரொம்ப நல்லா teach பண்ணுவாங்க. அதினால எனக்கு ரொம்ப நல்லா admire பண்ணுவேன். ஆனா ஒரு family-ல இருந்துக்குட்டு செய்றது, அது that's a million dollar question. அது தான் எனக்கு ஒரு பெரிய இது இருந்துச்சு. ஆனா, இப்பம் எவ்வளவு தூரம் எங்களால support பண்ண முடியுமோ, அவ்வளவு support பண்ணிக்கிட்டத்தான் இருக்கிறோம் still.

34. Lita – C34, நாங்க family-ஐ ஆரம்பிச்சப்போ, அவங்க வந்து factory worker-ஆ இருந்ததுனால, நானும் career woman-ஆ teacher-ஆ இருந்ததுனால எங்களுக்கு equal இது தான்.

35. Sweety – C35, நான் ரொம்ப கோழைந்தான் சொல்லணும். என் தங்கச்சி என்னை விட நல்ல கொஞ்சம், அவ. நல்லாவும் பாக்டருக்குப் படிச்சா. கொஞ்சம் bold-ஆ இருப்பா. நான் அவ்வளவு bold-ஆ இருக்க மாட்டேன். ரொம்ப பயப்படுவேன்.

36. Bina – C36, பெண்கள் வேலைக்குப் போணுன்றது கெடையாது. ஆனா படிக்கணும், Knowledgeable-ஆ இருக்கிறது. In case ஒரு necessity-ன்னு வரும் போது பெண்கள் தன் காலல் நிக்கறதுக்கு அந்த education ஒதவும்ன்றதுனால. ஏன்னா, எப்பவுமே, என்னுடைய இதில, ஆண் சம்பாதிக்கணும், பெண் வீட்டுக் காரியங்களை கவனிக்கணும்ன்றது தான் அப்படி இதைக் கடவுள் படைச்சாரு. அதை மீறி நம்ம செய்றதினால தான் இந்த hitch எல்லாம். இப்ப servant நான் வீடலேயே இருந்தேனா, இல்லைன்னா நான் வீட்டுக் காரியங்கள் எல்லாமே முழுசாப் பாத்துக்கலாம். யாரையும் தொந்தரவு பண்ண வேண்டியதில்லை. இல்லை, அப்பம் அந்த பிரச்சனை கூட வராது.

எப்படிமே அவங்க அவங்க வேலையைப் பாத்துட்டு வந்து tired-ஆ அவங்க இருக்கும் போது, நான் வந்து அவங்களைக் கவனிக்கணும்னு அவங்க எதிர்பார்த்தாலும் அதை நான் செய்ய முடியும். இதென்னமானா, இரண்டு பேருமே...ன் hospital duty அது மாதிரி முடிச்சிட்டே இருந்து tired-ஆ வந்து வீட்ல எறங்கிற மாதிரி இருக்கும். வீட்ல அப்பம் ஆள் இல்லைன்னா பிரச்சனையா இது மாதிரி இருக்கு. அதினாலே வேலைக்குப் போறது, பெண்கள் வேலைக்குப் போறது, இரண்டு பேருக்கும் இல்லை. unless it is a necessity, தான் husband இல்லாத நெலையில் சம்பாதிச்ச குடும்பத்தைக் காப்பாற்ற வேண்டியது தான். அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை. ஆணா education இருந்ததான். இந்த மாதிரி வரும். எப்படி வந்தாலும் செய்ய முடியும்ன்றது என்னுடைய opinion

37. Heera – C37, இப்பெல்லாம் இரண்டு பேரும் were interested. we wanted them to do, to become doctor. ஆணா மல்லிகா didn't get enough mark to become a doctor. We did not have that thing, இல்லை. அந்த பலரையும் பாத்து கீத்து பண்ண இதெல்ல, இவங்க இவ்வளவுத்துக்கும் doctors directorate-ல தான் இருந்தாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி பாத்து செய்யனுள்ளாம் வர்ல. அல்லாட்டா கெடச்சிருக்குன்னு யோசிக்கிறேன். எல்லாம் கடவுளுடைய சித்தம். ஆணா கடவுளுடைய சித்தத்தத்துக்கு உட்டிருவேன்.

38. Varam – C38, என் தங்கை படிச்சதுனால தான் இப்ப என் தங்கையுடைய husband நிம்மதியா இருக்கிறாரு. அவா சம்பாதிக்கலனா அவளை ஒரு கொடுமா அவர் வந்து அடிமையா நடத்துற அவரு .... இன்னைக்கு அவ்வளவு சம்பளம் வாங்குற HM-ஆ இருக்கா. அவ்வளவு சம்பளத்தையும் வாங்கிக்குவாரு. ஒன்றும் கெடையாது. அவங்க வீட்டு ஆளுங்களுக்கு செய்வாரு. இவ செஞ்சா கணக்கு கேப்பாரு. .... அதுனால படிக்கிறதுனாலயும் (chuckles) இந்த மாதிரி கஷ்டம் வருது (chuckles) படிக்காட்டியும் எனக்கு இந்த மாதிரி நிம்மதி இருக்கு.

39. Jeyavathy – C39, சரி ஒரு teacher ஆகணும். இது ஆகணுன்ற அப்படி ஒரு interest வந்துது. ... இவ்விதமா இருக்கும் போது என்னுடைய sister- க்கும் அதே மாதிரி தான் .... Teacher-ஆ இருக்கணும். நீ இருக்கணும்னு அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அதே விதமா, அது மாதிரி அதுவும் Secondary Grade Training எடுத்து - teacher-ஆ வந்து இது பண்ணா, கடைசி வரையிலும் அவளும், என்னுடைய sister -உம் வந்து நல்லா படிப்பு நல்லா, இது பண்ணி teacher-ஆஇருந்து இப்பம் government-உ வேலையில் இருந்து, இல்ல retire ஆயி retire ஆனது.

40. Saral – C40, வந்து நீங்க அப்பாவோட இருந்தீங்கன்னாதான் ஏதாவது செய்வாங்கன்னு. எனக்கு வேற அதை யோசித்து பாத்றேன். சரின்னு தோணிட்டு, நான் resign பண்ணிட்டு பூனால ஒரு teacher-ஆ இருந்தேன். அங்க resign பண்ணிட்டு இங்க வந்தேன். இங்க வந்தா அதைப்பற்றி அவங்க பாக்கிறதாவே இல்லை. அப்புறம் எதோ, அதான் சொல்றேன், என் வாழ்க்கையில் நெறையா கடவுளுடைய கிருபையினால, நான் பூனால இருந்தப்பே, எவ்வளவோ கெட்ட வழி போறதுக்கு chances ஏன்னா தனியா இருந்தோம். ஒரு hostel-ல எங்கெங்கயோ எப்படியெல்லாமோ சுத்தி, எப்படியெல்லாமோ சீரழிந்திருக்கலாம். ஆணா, அந்த நேரத்தில கடவுள் எங்களைக் காப்பாத்தி அந்த மாதிரி எதிலையும் involve ஆகல. எப்படியோ நாங்க ரெண்டு பேரும் Madras வந்து சேந்திட்டோம். அப்பம் அப்பா வந்து அப்பவும் பேசாமயே இருந்தாங்க.

41. Mariam – C41, ஆணா அது வந்து, ஆண்டவர் சித்தம் என்னன்னா, இப்பதான். M.Sc., என்ன பண்ண work பண்ணும் போது, ன், teacher-ஆ work பண்ணிட்டு இருக்கும் போது, உ கூட வேலைபாக்கிறவங்கள்லாம் சேந்து, ம், நம்ம, Mary நம்ம, அவங்கெல்லாம் B.Ed. பண்ணவங்க. படிச்ச, வேலை பாத்துக்கிட்டு, பண்ணலாமன்னு கேட்டுக்கிட்டு, ன், சரி சொன்னேன். அப்புறம் applyயெல்லாம் பண்ணிட்டு, அப்புறம் interview வந்திருச்சி எங்க இரண்டுபேர்ல, மூணுபேர்ல இரண்டு பேருக்கு வந்திருச்சு. ... அப்பம் ஆணா கலியாணத்துக்கு அப்புறம் இது, ன், கலியாணத்துக்கு அப்புறந்தான் நான் வேலைபாக்கும் போது தான். M.Sc. படிக்கிறதுக்கு ஆண்டவர் ஒதவி செய்தாரு. ... ஆணா course ஆரம்பிக்கிறதுக்கு காரணமே பிள்ளை இல்லாம இருந்துச்சு மொதல்ல எனக்கு. அப்பம் நம்ம mind divert ஆரதுக்கு இப்படி ஒரு இது நம்ம work பண்ணிட்டு இப்படி பண்ணலாம் அப்படின்னு நெனைச்சிட்டு, ஆணா, அது ஓடனே, அப்படி சேர்ந்த ஓடனே, conceive ஆயிட்டேன். என்னடா இது இப்படி இருக்கிதே ஆண்டவருடைய சித்தம், எனக்கு எவ்வளவு burden-ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு ரொம்ப feel பண்ணேன். ஏன்னா, ரொம்ப school-ல நெறையா வேலை இருக்கும். அப்புறம் வீட்ல, அப்படி, இப்படின்னும் போதும். அப்புறம் என்ன பண்ணேன் எப்படியாது நம்ம ஆரம்பிச்சிட்டோம். ஓடனே, எனக்குள்ள அந்த ஆண்டவருடைய உற்சாகம் இருந்துது, ஒண்ணை start பண்ணா அது முடிச்சிறணும், அப்படின்றதினால, அப்படி இருக்கிறதினால, M.Sc., ஒரு paper தான் இருக்கு, ன், எல்லாத்தையும் ஆண்டவர் முடிக்க எனக்கு ஒதவி செய்தாரு,

42. Jeyam – C42, அதுக்கப்புறமா என்னுடைய, ன், பள்ளி வாழ்க்கை முடிஞ்சி, நான் அந்த வந்து, வேலையில் join வண்ண பெறகு வேற வேற எங்களுக்கு try பண்ணிகிட்டே இருந்தேன். ஆணா நான் join பண்ண எடம் வந்து, நம்ம synod office தான். அந்த seventies-லயும் நான் synod office-ல join பண்ணிட்டேன். ஆணாலும் எனக்கு வந்து வேற எடத்துக்குப் போனா, ம், நம்ம salary ஜாஸ்தி இருக்கும். அந்த மாதிரி எல்லாருக்கும் அந்த மாதிரி, future நல்லா இருக்கணுன்ற நெனைப்பாங்களேன்னு, அந்த இது தான் எனக்கும் இருந்திச்சி. But, ஒரு கடவுளுடைய ஊழியம் செய்ற எடத்தில நம்ம வேலை செய்றோன்ற அந்த எண்ணம் எனக்கு இருந்ததே இல்லை. நான் வந்து வெளில தான் try-பண்ணிருக்கிறேன். நெறையா. இப்படி try பண்ணும் போது நெறையா failure ஆயிருக்கு failure இந்த sense நான்

வந்து Tourism and Development Corporation-ல் எனக்கு வேலை கெடைச்சிது. select எல்லாம் பண்ணிட்டாங்க. அம்மா சொன்னாங்க six months vacancy இது அதுக்கு அப்புறமா நாங்க ஓங்களை அங்க இருந்து permanent பண்ணிருவோன்னு சொன்னாங்க. இது வந்து through employment exchange போனது. ஆனா இந்த permanent பன்ற அந்த இது வந்து அவங்க security குடுக்காததினால நான் வந்தேன். join பண்ணல. இது பற்றி நான் நெறையா commercial field போயிருக்கிறேன். ஆனா அதை வந்து எங்க அண்ணன், ன், எங்க அப்பாவுடைய death-க்குப் பிறகு எங்க elder brother தான் எல்லாம் செய்து நவரத்தன், ஓங்களுக்குத் தெரிஞ்சிருக்கும். அவங்க தான் எங்களை ஒரு guidance எல்லாம் குடுத்திட்டு இருந்தது. அந்த அண்ணனுக்கு இஷ்டமே கெடையாது. ஏன்னா, 'commercial field-க்கு நீ போறதை விட, இது நம்ம church office இங்க எல்லாரும் தெரிஞ்சுவங்க. Christians, நீ இங்க இருக்கணுன்னு சொல்லிட்டாங்க. அதே மாதிரி நான் try பண்ணிருக்கிறேன். ஆனா நான் வந்து எங்க போனாலும், வேலை கெடைக்கும். ஆனா எதாவது ஒரு dissatisfaction இல்லாததினால நான் join பண்ணமாட்டேன். இது நாலு தடவை try பண்ணேன். அஞ்சாவது தடவை இனிம பாத்திட்டு, அந்த நேரத்தான் எனக்கு வந்து, இங்க வந்து நான் '76ல் இருந்தே Sunday class எடுக்க ஆரம்பிச்சேன். ஆரம்பக் காலத்தில நிச்சயமா நான் கடவுளுக்குள்ள இருந்து தான் வந்தேன்னு நான் சொல்லவே மாட்டேன். ன், ரொம்ப வருஷம் கழிச்சி தான் எனக்கு அந்த எண்ணமே வந்தது, ரொம்ப உண்மையாகவே கடவுளுக்குள்ள இருக்கணும் அப்படின்ற இடெல்லாம் வந்தது.

43. Saral – C43, Poona-ல். Poona-ல் எனக்கு கடைசி five years நான் இருந்தேன் அப்பாவோட. அங்க ஒரு school-ல் வேலை கெடச்சிது, BT படிச்ச பெறகு BT கூட எப்படின்னா என்னையைப் படிக்கவே வைக்கல. என்னைப் படிக்க வைங்க, நான் சம்பாதிச்சி ஓங்களுக்கு காசு குடுத்திர்றேன் ன்னு சொன்ன பெறகு அப்பா சரின்னு என்னை BT-க்கு அனுப்பினாங்க. Christopher-ல் BT பண்ணிட்டு first சும்மா கூடதான் இருக்கணும் வேற வழியே இல்லை. அதுவரைக்கும் hostel-ல் இருந்தோம். அப்புறம் முடிச்சபெறகு வேற எங்க இருக்கிறது? அவங்க கூட தான் இருக்கணும். வேற வழியே இல்லாம அவங்ககிட்ட அங்க போய் ஒரு school-ல் வேலை செய்ய full-ஆ சம்பாதிச்சி அவங்க கையில்தான் குடித்திருவேன், எங்க அம்மா கையில் அப்பாவுக்கும் அப்பவும் என்னன்னா அவங்ககிட்ட எல்லா அதிகாரம் குடுத்திட்டினால, அவங்க வந்து ஒரு dummy மாதிரிதான். அவங்களே அவங்க என்ன சொல்றாங்களோ அதான் செய்வாங்க. அதினால நாங்களும் ஒண்ணுமே ஒரு மாதிரி helpless.

44. Heera – C44, அப்பெல்லாம் I was not in the Lord. இன்னும் salvation க்குள்ள வரலை. இன்னும் late ஆ head of the department, Stella Maris-ல் ஆன பெறகு தான் அப்புறம் I had salvation experience .... எனக்கு மட்டும் அடிக்கடி சொகம் இல்லாமப் போயிடும். B.P. heart problem அந்த மாதிரி வந்திருக்கு. ஏன்னா, I was worked in Stella. Stella-ல் வேலை பாத்தா, உண்மையா சொல்றேன். you'll, they'll really work you. Night எல்லாம் one O' clock ஆகும் நான் படுக்கிறதாக்கு. அதினால வேலைபார்த்து over work .... எல்லாம் பண்ணா எப்படி, ம், how can you manage இல்லை? manage பண்ண முடியாம எனக்கு, ம், heart problem வந்திருச்சு. அப்புறம் அதினால I had to be careful. Sisters எல்லாம் College-ல் ரொம்ப considerate-ஆ இருப்பாங்க. In spite of knowing that they made me head of the department, English-க்கு பண்ணிட்டு அதுக்கு மேல இன்னுங் கொஞ்சம் வேலை. ஆனாலும் it was not bad.

45. Heera – C45, So I used to feel very angry for the sake of women மாதிரி ஏன்னா என் நெலமை அப்படி இல்லை. எனக்கு எல்லாம் convenience-உம் அதெல்லாம் இருந்துச்சு. So, அந்த மாதிரி நான் girls-கிட்டகூட ரொம்ப warn பண்ணுவேன். எப்படி நான் warn பண்ணுவேன். 'நீங்க கல்யாணம் கட்டிப் போனைங்கிண்ண வேலை பாக்காதீங்க. வேலை பாத்தீங்கண்ண be careful that you see that your husband shares your work. மொதல் கலியாணங்கட்டின புதிசில இருந்தே சொல்லிக் குடுத்திருங்க. அல்லாட்டி நீங்க you will be duped.. நம்ம, ஓங்க health நீங்க முப்பது வயது முப்பத்தைஞ்சு வயசிலேயே செத்துப் போயிருவீங்க. ஏன்னா அவ்வளவு வேலை இருக்கும் ஓங்களுக்கு அதினால வீட்டுக்கு வந்தா,

46. Sweety – C46, வேலைக்கு இரண்டு பேரும் போறதினால கஷ்டம்.

47. Joy – C47, Career in the sense, they have to follow the culture. And culturally studies or something like that. Not. .... Certain career means not it's against .... Not at all. No, no. They can go for that .... Modelling .... Yeah .... May be, I, they get spoiled. .... No, actually it's like, usually people nowadays, at present the Christians are attracted to those fashion and everything till they go out of track. If they have self control also, may be they are attracted. .... Attracted in the sense, they have known their route. But to people. .... Yeah, yeah. .... Exactly .... I can't understand, sorry. .... Studio I think it's O.K. .... Yeah, yeah .... Yeah,

48. Amar – C48, என்னைல்லாம் 'நீ teacher ஆனா போதும்', ஆன் சொல்லிட்டாங்க. 'சரி'ன்னு ஒத்துக்கிட்டேன். எனக்கு வந்து college-ல் பெரிய lecturer-ஆ ஆகணுன்ற இடெல்லாம் இருந்துச்சு அப்பம் எனக்கு. ஆனா அம்மா வந்து, 'இல்லைம்மா, நம்ம தன்மைக்கு இவ்வளவு தூரத்துக்கு முடியாது. தம்பி படிக்க வைக்கணும் இல்லையா', ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, .... நான் teacher –ஆ .... அப்ப நானும் Bentinck school teacher-ஆ இருந்தேன்.



49. Amar – C49, அதே போல சின்னவளும் அவ, 'ஆன், நீங்கள்ல்லாம் teacher ஆயிட்டீங்க. எனக்கு teacher வேண்டியதில்லப்பா. நான் bank officer –ஆ தான் போகணும்' சொல்லிட்டு, அவா சும்மா இருக்கும் போது என்ன பண்ணா, ஆன், B.Com-க்கு apply பண்ணி, B.Com படிச்சா. B.Com படிச்சி முடிச்சி, அந்த முடிச்ச கையோட அவளுக்கு, ம், apply பண்ணி இன்னும் அந்த service பண்றதுக்காக, 'applications இன்னும் குடுக்கல, இன்னும் ஆறு மாசத்துக்குப் பெறகுதான் குடுப்பாங்க, publish பண்ணுவோம். அப்பம் பாத்து எங்களுக்கு apply பண்ணுங்க'ன்னாங்க. அப்பம் ஆறு மாசம் எப்படி சும்மா இருக்கிறதுன்னு தெரியாம, அப்பம் என்ன பண்ணா வீட்டுக்குப் பக்கத்தில இருக்கிற ஒரு school-ல teacher-க்கா கூப்டாங்க. எதோ ஒரு vacancy இருந்துச்சு, 'நீ short term வா'ன்ட்டு. சரி, வீட்ல bore அடிக்கிதுன்ட்டு வேலைக்கு போயிட்டா. அவ வேலைக்குப் போன பெறகு அவளுக்கு அது ஒரு interesting-ஆ இருந்திருக்குது. அப்புறம் அவ என்ன சொன்னா, 'சரி, நான் இதிலையே இருந்துட்டேன். என்னா பண்றது, teaching வேலை தான் கெடைக்குது'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு. அப்புறம் என்னவாச்சு, இந்த tenure of service முடிஞ்ச பெறகு, government –ல அவளைக் கூப்பிட்டாங்க, 'வா, வேலைக்கு'ன்னு அவங்க போனவுடனே அந்த fathers-உ, catholic Institution. அவங்கெல்லாம் அந்த honest-ஆ ஒரு talented-ஆ அவ சொல்லிக்குடுக்கிறதைப் பாத்து, அவளை வந்து, 'நீ இங்கேயே இரு'ன்னு கேட்டுக்கிட்டாங்க. அவ வந்து அங்கேயே ஒரு வருஷம் continue பண்ணா.

50. Tiny – C50, அதே மாதிரி எங்க அப்பா வந்து பெண்கள் வந்து, 'நீ படிச்சா கொஞ்சம், சும்மா நீ வேலைக்குப் போணுன்னு ஒண்ணும் ஒன்னைக் காலேஜுக்கு அனுப்பலை. ஒரு knowledge improvement-க்கு, general knowledge இருக்கணும்றதுக்காகத் தான் ஒன்னை collegeக்கு அனுப்புறேன்னு (chuckles) சொல்லிட்டு.

51. Sweety – C51, அப்ப சம்பளம் ஒண்ணும் ஜாஸ்தி கெடையாது. நான், ன் என் husband மட்டுந்தான். இவங்களுக்கென்னா வேலை women பாக்ககூடாது. அப்பம் மொதல்ல கூட வேலை பாக்கிறது, 'நீ வேலை பாக்கிறதுன்னா நான் YMCA போயிருவேன். நான் ஏன் எதுக்கு இருக்கணும்' அப்படின்னு சொல்லுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி வேலை பாக்கிறது அவங்களுக்குப் பிடிக்காது. அதினால ஒரே ஆளுடைய சம்பளந்தான், ஆனா அந்த timeல இப்ப நெனைச்சு பாத்ரா, இத்தனை பேருக்கு சாப்பாடு இருந்திருக்கு

52. Gem – C52, ஏன்னா ஒருத்தர் தான் சம்பளம், அதுக்கு நான் கலியாணம் பண்ண பெறகு வேலை பாக்கல. அதினால வடக்கே இருந்ததினால இவங்களுக்கு இஷ்டம் இல்லை.

## APPENDIX 11

### Narratives used for the religious discourse:

#### Section One. Narratives about women's general involvement in church (IC):

1. Amar – IC (Involvement in Church)1, அப்புறம் எங்களுக்கு ஞாயிற்றுக் கெழமை போறது தவறாது. அதையும் கூட ஒழுங்கா ஒரு ஞாயி school-க்கு வேணா போகாம இருக்குதுன்னு வீட்ல இருந்து லீவு எடுத்துக்கிட்டு, கோயிலுக்கு மாத்திரம் எந்த excuse-உம் இல்லை. கட்டாயம் அந்த ஒரு ஞாயிற்றுக் கெழமை போலன்னாச்சா அந்த full week 'கோயிலுக்குப் போலையே', 'கோயிலுக்குப் போலையே', 'கோயிலுக்குப் போலையே'ன் தான் அடிச்சிக்கிட்டு இருக்குமே ஒழிய, கோயிலு skip பண்ணலன்றது கெடையாது, அது அப்புறம் Sunday School போறதையும் encourage பண்ணுவாங்க. எதாச்சும் young girls meeting-க்கெல்லாம் போணுன்னா, வேண்டான்னு சொல்ல மாட்டாங்க.

2. Varam – IC2, ஆணா கடவுள் இந்த மாதிரி, இப்ப வந்து நான் வந்து ஊழியத்தில் வந்து வற்றினா, இப்ப என்னன்னா husband இப்ப ஏத்துக்கிட்டினால, ஊழியன்னா ரொம்ப ஆசைப்படுறாங்க. 'நீ போ. என்னால போக சந்தர்ப்பம் கெடைக்கலன்னா, நீ மட்டும் போ. நீ சமைச்சிட்டு போக முடியலைன்னா பரவால, நான் வந்து சாப்பாடு பண்ணிக்கிறேன். அதினால நீ எங்கன்னாலும் போ. சொல்லிட்டு போயிரு. என்னா இப்ப எங்க போயிருக்கன்னு தெரியாது. ஆணா சொல்லிட்டன்னா நான் பாட்டுக்கு இருந்துக்குவேன். அப்படி வச்சிட்டுப் போயிரு'. அதுனால எங்க ஊழியத்தில் அவரு இருந்தாருன்னா, நாங்க இரண்டு பேரும் ரொம்ப அருமையா, night இரண்டு பேரும் பாட்டு பாடி, காலையில் நான் சோம்பேறித்தனமா படுத்திருக்கிறேன். அவர் பாட்டு பாடி, 'நீ உனக்கு சொந்தமல்லவே'ன்னு (chuckles) நான் படுத்துக்கிட்டே இருக்கிறேன். அப்புறம் எனக்கே மனசு வரல. ஏன்னா நான் மொதல்லான் இருந்தேன். இப்ப இவங்க ஒருவாரமாதான், காலையில் பாட்டு பாடுறாங்க. நாலு பாட்டுப் பாடி, இது வசனம் வாசித்து ஜெபம் பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்புறம் நான் எத்திரிச்சு. ஏன்னா இப்படி இருக்குன்னா புருஷனும் பொண்டாட்டியும் நான் கஷ்டப்பட்டு ஆணா இரண்டு பேரும் இப்படியே இருந்து, இரண்டு பேரும் பகிர்ந்துகிட்டு இந்த மாதிரி சந்தோஷமா ஆண்டவர்கிட்டே நம்ம நெருங்குறது போல சந்தோஷம் வேறு எதுவும் இல்லை. இங்கேயும்தான். 'அதாவது நீயும் நானும் ஒரே இதில இருக்கிற மாதிரி வேலை கெடைக்கணும். அதுனால ஜெபம் பண்ணேன். அதுக்காக ஜெபம் பண்ணு. ரொம்ப சந்தோஷமா இருக்கும்'. ஆண்டவர் கிருபையில் எங்களுக்கு வந்து, இல்லைன்னும் கெடையாது, இருக்குன்னும் கெடையாது. ஆணா மனசில மட்டும் ரொம்ப சந்தோஷம் ஆண்டவர் குடுத்திருக்காரு. நல்லா ஊழியத்துக்கு என்னால முடிஞ்சவரையும்,

3. Udhaya – IC3, ஊழியங்களல் பெண்கள் பங்கு பெறலாம். அது ஒண்ணும் தப்பு கெடையாது. குடும்ப, இந்த ஜெபக் கூட்டங்களுக்கு வந்து, prayer பண்ணது, அப்புறம் வீட்டுல தனி ஜெபம் பண்ணது. ஊழியங்கள், சிலர் ஜெபிக்கக் கேட்டவங்களுக்காக, அவங்களுக்காக ஊக்கமா ஜெபம் பண்ணுவேன் வீட்டுல மற்றபடி வெளியே போயெல்லாம் என்னால பண்ண முடியாது. ஏன்னா, சின்னக் கொழந்தை இருக்கிறதினால, குடும்ப வேலைகள் எல்லாம் இல்லை, but-உ என்னால முடிஞ்ச அளவு church attend பண்ணுவேன். மற்றபடி பெண்கள் ஐக்கிய சங்கங்கூட நான் இருக்கிறதில்லை. நான் போய் cook பண்ணணும். அப்புறம் இந்த மாதிரி, அவனை school-க்கு அனுப்பிட்டு வந்து என்ன செய்ய முடியுமோ, அந்த மாதிரி meetings timings-ல வந்து attend பண்ணது. தனி ஜெபத்தில் கொஞ்சம் ஊழியங்களுக்காக ஜெபம் பண்ணுவேன். அவ்வளவு தான் நான் செய்றது. வேற ரொம்ப பெரிய அந்த மாதிரி கூட நான் போனதில்... ம், ம்..

4. Tiny – IC4, எல்லாம் church-ல பெண்களோட சேர்ந்து அந்த women fellowship-ல அவங்க போரற ministry-ல அதிலெல்லாம் கூடப் போவேன். எனக்கு பிரசங்கம் பண்ணதுக்கெல்லாம் ரொம்ப ஓடாது (chuckles) ஆணா, ஜெபம் பண்ணி, அந்த மற்றவங்களுக்கு மற்ற help எல்லாம் செய்வேன். மற்ற இதுகளெல்லாம் participate பண்ணேன். அதுனால அவ்வளவு தான்.

5. Flora – IC5, நான் என்னுடைய சபையில் சிறுவர் ஊழியம் செய்றேன். மற்றபடி ஒருத்தருக்காக பாரமா ஜெபிப்பேன். யான்னு சொல்லமாட்டாங்க, எனக்கு அவங்க face-ஐ பார்த்தவுடனே அந்த ஒரு ஏவுதல்ல ஜெபிப்பேன். அப்புறம் என்னால முடிஞ்சி எனக்கு ஊழியம் செய்யுன்னு ரொம்ப ஆர்வம். ஆணா நான் சபைகளை பாக்கல. இன்னைக்கு சபைகள்ல ரொம்ப பாடுபாடு இருக்கு. அதினால இப்ப நான் போறது ஒரு சபை. நான் pentecost போறேன். ஆணா இங்க வந்து எனக்கு ரொம்ப பிடிச்சிருக்கு. இந்த உழியம் எங்களுக்கு. இதில பல கொறைகள் சொல்லுவாங்க. ஆனாலும் சில நன்மைகள் இருக்கு. அந்த மாதிரி எல்லா சபைகளும் குறைகள் இருக்கு. அதை நம்ம பெரிசு படுத்தாம, எங்க நன்மை இருக்கோ அதை எடுத்துக்கணும். இப்ப எங்க சபை ஒரு சின்ன சபை. அதில இந்த மாதிரி ஊழியம் எல்லாம் இல்லை. அப்பம் என்னுடைய தாலந்து வீணா போது. நான் வந்து இங்க வந்த பங்கு பெறதினால அதை நான் புரிஞ்சிக்கிறேன்.

அதினால சபையை நான் ஒரு பொருட்டா எண்ணலை. ... Pentecost people விட்டுப் போகக் கூடாது. பெரிய ஒரு pastor-ங்க கூட public-ஆ பிரசங்கம் பண்ணாங்க. அப்புறம் அடுத்த சபை மக்களை நேசிக்கணும் ஒரு உள்ளம் இல்லை. எனக்கு இதெல்லாம் பிடிக்கல (chuckles) ஏன்னா இங்கேயே தான் பிள்ளைகளை நேசிக்க முடியலன்னா பெறகு புற ஜாதிகளை இவங்க எப்படி நேசிப்பாங்க? தான் சபையில் உள்ளவங்க கிறிஸ்தவங்க நேசிக்க முடியல. எனக்கு அது ரொம்ப பிடிக்காம இருக்கு, ஏன்னா இது pastors கிட்டதான் இருக்கு. ... பொதுவானனா, பொதுவா பெண்கள் ஊழியம் ரொம்ப useful -ஆ இருக்கு. ஏன்னா குடும்பத்தில் பெண்கள் நெறையா பிரச்சனை இருக்கு. பெண்கள் கிட்ட தான் நம்ம open-ஆ சொல்ல முடியும். இப்ப pastors-கிட்டெல்லாம் நம்ம சொல்ல முடியாது. அவங்க கர்த்தர் மகிமையா நடத்துறாரு. அதை நான் கொறை சொல்லல்ல பெண்களா இருக்கிற நம்ம பெண்கள் ஊழியத்தில் தான் எல்லா காரியங்களையும் மனந்திறந்து சொல்ல முடியும். ஜெபிக்க முடியும். அதன் மூலம் சில விடுதலையும் நன்மையும் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளோம்.

6. Bina – IC6, நான் வந்து like all of us இங்க இருக்கிற நாங்க எல்லாருமே usual-ஆ இந்த மாதிரி இப்பம் விசேஷமா எனக்கு ரொம்ப interest-ஆ இருக்கிறது வந்து இந்துக்கள் மத்தில் செய்ற ஊழியம். ஆது Hindu women உடைய, அவங்களுடைய ..... தைப் பாக்கும்போது ரொம்ப உற்சாகமா இருக்கு. அவங்க சாட்சி சொல்லும் போது ரொம்ப... இருக்கு ஏன்னா 'ஆண்டவரிடத்தில் இதுக்காக ஜெபம் பண்ணினேன்' அப்படின்னு எல்லாம் சொல்லும் போது, எனக்கு ரொம்ப கொஞ்சங்கூட இதை இருக்கு. நான்... அதினால I tend to get depressed sometimes. இது ஒரு மாதிரி தனியா உக்காந்திருக்கும்போது ஏதாவது கவலை, பிரச்சனை பற்றி எனக்கே தோணிச்சின்னா கவலையாயிருக்கும். இதெல்லாம் பாக்கும் போது ரொம்ப இதை ஒரு உற்சாகமா இருக்கிறதினால ..... மற்றபடி முன்னாலயும் இந்த வேப்பேடு கிராமம் எல்லாம் போவோம். அதில medical இது, இது பண்ணிட்டு இருந்தேன் நானு. அந்த விதமா ஊழியத்தில் நல்லா இருக்கேன், பெண்கள் வந்து நல்லா ஊழியம் செய்யலாம், ஊழியம் செய்றதுக்கு பெண்களுக்குத்தான் இன்னும் கொஞ்சங்கூட அதுக்கான chance Auntie சொன்னமாதிரி, நல்லா women-ஆ women கிட்ட free-ஆ இருக்கலாம். பெண்களுக்குத்தான் நெறைய, easy-ஆ வர்றாங்க. men வர்றதைவிட women easy-ஆ ஆண்டவரிடத்தில் வர்றாங்க. ஏன்னா அவங்களுக்கு நெறைய அந்த வீடு கஷ்டங்கள் அது இது பற்றி நம்ம share பண்ணும்போது நம்ம அவங்க கிட்ட அன்பா அதைப்பற்றி பேசி, அவங்களுக்கு ஜெபம் பண்ணி 'ஆண்டவர்கிட்ட சொல்லுவாங்க, அவர் செய்வாருன்னு சொல்லும்போது, அவங்க ஜெபம்பண்ணி அதில ஒரு விடுதலையைக் காணும்போது அவங்க அந்த ஆண்டவருடைய அன்பை புரிஞ்சுக்கிறது easy-ஆ இருக்கு. Much more easier. அதனால பெண்களுக்கு பெண்கள்கிட்ட ஊழியஞ் செய்றதுக்கு நல்ல chance. அதினால பெண்கள் நல்லா ஊழியஞ் செய்யலாம். அப்புறம் அடுத்தது சொல்லுங்க.

7. Mariam – IC7, எனக்குக் குடுக்கப்பட்ட husband கூட தடை சொல்ல மாட்டாங்க. But அவங்க வந்து ஊழியத்தில் அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் எதுவுமே, அதாவது அவங்க usual-ஆ dominating character கெடையாது. அதினால அவங்க என்ன பண்ணுவாங்க கடவுள் செய்றதை வந்து அவங்க ஒரு நாளும் தடை பண்ணது கெடையாது. ன், அதினால எனக்கு ஆண்டவர் அது சிலாக்கியந்தான் சபையில் ஒரு ஊழியஞ் ... மொதலையே வசனம் சொன்ன மாதிரி கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள் ஆனென்றும் பெண் என்றும் இல்லை. ஆனா கர்த்தருடைய இராஜ்ய விரிவுக்காக எல்லாரும் பாடுபடவேணும், எல்லாருக்காகவும் ஆண்டவர் இரத்தத்ததை சிந்தியிருக்கிறார். ஆண்களுக்காகவும் பெண்களுக்காகவும் இரத்தஞ்சிந்தினார். அதினால கட்டாயம், கட்டாயமா எல்லாருமே இதில பங்கு பெறணும் அப்படிதான் என்னுடைய கருத்து.

8. Lovely – IC8, திருச்சபையில் ஊழியன்னு பாக்கும் போது நான் சின்ன பிள்ளையா இருக்கும் போதே I was coming to Sunday class. So என்னுடைய Sunday Class teachers specially Marykka, Bernard Thomas உடைய daughter, அவங்களும் என்னை ரொம்ப influence பண்ணிருக்காங்க. இது மாதிரி, நாங்க வேற family friends, in fact related also. So அவங்க family-ல எல்லாமே இப்படி, .. ல இருந்து எங்களையும் நெறையா எட்டத்தில் வழி நடத்தியிருக்காங்க. So Sunday class தான் அவங்க எடுக்கும் போது எனக்கு always I had a feeling இவ்வளவு தூரத்துக்கு ஒருத்தர், ஒருத்தவங்க Sunday class teacher வந்து ஒரு வாலிப பெண், பையனுடைய வாழ்க்கையோ, ஒரு பொண்ணுடைய வாழ்க்கையோ இவ்வளவு தூரத்துக்கு influence பண்ண முடியுன்றதை ஒரு strong feeling என்னுடைய மனசில இருந்துது. அப்பம் எனக்கும் அந்த மாதிரி பண்ணணானு ஆசையும் இருந்துது. So, நான் teenage முடிஞ்சு பெறகு அதினால continuous-ஆ Sunday class எடுக்க ஆரம்பிச்சிட்டேன் நானு. And of course நெறையா competitions . . . Esther எல்லாம்பண்ணுவாங்க as a group எங்களாலும் போறதுண்டு. So அது மூலமா நாங்க வந்து Bible-ஐ படிச்சதினால என்ன பண்ணணாம் என்னென்ன காரியங்கள் முக்கியமானதென்று தெரிய வந்தது. So, அதினால we were very clear. எது right, உ எது. இப்பம் அந்த மாதிரி காரியங்கள் எங்களுக்கு ரொம்ப தெளிவா தெரிஞ்சது. கர்த்தருக்காக இன்னும் செய்ய வேணானு, செய்ய வேணான்றது தெரிஞ்சது, எப்படி செய்ணான்றதும் கொஞ்ச கொஞ்சமா அப்படி we were learning. So அதினால கடவுளுக்காக கட்டாயம் ஏதாவது பண்ணணான்ற வாஞ்சை வந்து எப்பவுமே என் மனசில இருந்திட்டதான் இருக்குது. So continuous-ஆ Sunday Class எடுக்கிறது is the thing I was doing. அதை எடுத்திட்டே இருந்தேன் until, ஆன், marriage. Marriage இல்லை, until my குட்டி was born. அதுக்கு முந்தினமாசம் வரைக்குங்கூட Sunday class வந்து எடுத்துட்டு தான் இருந்தேன். அப்பம் baby பெறந்த பெறகு வந்து எனக்கு I had lot of problems. So அதினால physical-ஆ I became very. இது ceasarean வேற, அப்புறம் office-லயும் ரொம்ப tight schedule-ன்றதினால என்னையால முடியாதுன்னு அப்படின்ற ஒரு conclusion-க்கு வந்திட்டேன். So, ன், முடியாதுன்றதினா, ன், again Marykka சொன்ன மாதிரி எது பண்ணாலும் கொஞ்சம் நல்லா பண்ணணானு



ஒரு thing எப்படி மே உண்டு. இப்பம் நம்ம ஒரு வாரம் வந்திட்டு அப்புறம் கஷ்டமாயிருன்னு I stopped, Jeyakka, இப்பம் Jeyakka கேட்டுக்கிட்டே இருப்பாங்க, எப்படிமே அக்கா சொன்ன மாதிரி, 'வா, திருப்பி வந்து எடு' அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டே இருந்தாங்க. இந்த interim period-ல எப்படி நம்ம, என்னுடைய husband, அவங்க five years Bombay-ல, ஆன், இருந்தப்போது அவங்களுடைய way of contributing to church duties வந்து totally different அவங்க இந்த மாதிரி ஒரு Sunday Class எடுக்கவோ இல்லை அந்த மாதிரி involvement-ஏ, very silent person. But அவங்களுடைய இது வந்து totally different எப்படின்னா அவங்க four and a half years அங்க இருக்கும் போது, different எந்த ministries உண்டு, நம்ம கேள்விப்பட்டிராத, இப்பம் ordinary ministry people - ஒடெல்லாம் contact வச்சிருந்தாங்க. And still now I don't know how he had developed those contacts. அந்த மாதிரி, அவங்களுக்கெல்லாம் எழுதிப் போடுவாங்க, எப்ப பாத்ராலும் ஒரு set of post cards வச்சிருப்பாங்க. Ministry people-க்கு எழுதிப் போட அவங்களுடைய books வந்து ஏகப்பட்ட books எங்களுக்கும், நாங்க கலியாணம் ஆன போது எல்லாம் change of address குடுத்து, பாத்தீங்கன்னா ஒரு twenty, twenty .... books every month வரும். அது, அதுக்கு, சுமமா வாங்கி மட்டும் வச்சிருக்க மாட்டாங்க. He'll read through it also. First நான் வந்து ரொம்ப interest, எனக்கும் read, ரொம்ப கொஞ்சம் அவ்வளவு இஷ்டம் கெடையாது. சில வாட்டி பண்ணமாட்டேன். But செல magazines எல்லாம் it was very good. So, அதினால அப்படி வாசித்து, அப்புறம் ஜெபக் குறிப்பும் naturally வருன்னல்லையா, magazine வரும் போது அதில ஜெபக் குறிப்புகள் நெறையா வரும். So, அதினால நாங்க குடும்ப ஜெபம் பண்ணும் போது அதை we used to keep that and அதைப் pray பண்ணிட்டு, வச்ச pray பண்ணுவோம். So, அதினால அந்த மாதிரி சில காரியத்தை அந்த இந்த period ஒரு three years வந்து, சில காரியங்களை நான் வந்து படிக்க முடிஞ்சது. Even though I was not directly involved, physically involved with some class or, but ஜெபத்தை மூலமா வந்து நம்ம காரியங்களைக் குறித்து இது பண்ண முடிஞ்சது. அப்புறம் இப்பம் Sunday class-ல இருந்து இரண்டு மூணு teachers எல்லாம் போறாங்க, கலியாணம் ஆயி போறாங்க, இங்க வந்துன்ன ஒடனே, இங்க திருப்பி ஒரு இது வந்துது. சரி நம்மனால முடியும், இப்பம் அவளும் கொஞ்சம் பெரிய girl-ஆ ஆயிட்டா. சரி நம்ம contribute பண்ண முடியுமென்றதினால I have come back. இதை விட்டுட்டு அங்கயே நான் அந்த three house-ல வந்து என்னுடைய husband வந்து, Vishwani யுடைய area course, ஸ்தானாதிபதிண்டு வாங்க. அதை அவங்க join பண்ணாங்க. So அதினால Vishwani meetings வந்து நாங்க இரண்டு மூணு வந்து என்னமோ regular-ஆ போய்டு இருந்தோம். ஒரு every first Saturday, third Saturday we used to go. so அந்த activity கொஞ்சம் involve-ஆ இருந்தேன். சில ஏன்னா இந்த area-ல நெறையா people-ட்ட collection-ன்னு போக வேண்டியது இருந்துது. அப்பம் என் husband-க்கு அவங்களைத் தெரியாது. So, எனக்கு முக்காவாசிப் பேரை Kodambakkam church-ல தெரியும். So, அவங்களை கூட்டிட்டுப் போவாங்க. So, அந்த மாதிரி கொஞ்சங் கொஞ்சம் நல்லா although fully ஒண்ணுமே நான் பண்ணாம இல்லை. But ஜெபத்தின் மூலமாகவும் Vishwani-ல கொஞ்சங் கொஞ்சம் பண்ணிட்டு இருந்தோம். இப்பம் I have come back, சரி, சரி, திருப்பியும் அவா சின்னவா கொஞ்சம் பெரிசா ஒடனே, அவளை வைச்சி manage பண்ண முடியுன்ற situation வந்த ஒடனே, பெறகு, திருப்பி Sunday class எடுக்க ஆரம்பிச்சேன். This my involvement.

9. Jeyam – IC9, நான் வந்து மொதலாவது எனக்கு எங்க அண்ணேன்தான் Class-ல கொண்டு வந்து விட்டாங்க. Class எடுத்திருக்கு teachers விட்டிருந்தாங்க. அப்பம் இந்த Church-ல மூணு teachers நாலு teachers-க்கு மேல கெடையாது. Service நடக்கிற time லேயே Class, service முடிஞ்ச பெறகு Sunday class நடக்கும். அப்பம் என்னையைக் கொண்டு வந்து விட்டாங்க. அப்போம், ம், ன், கூட எடுத்துக்கிட்டு அவங்கள்லாம் அந்த Frederick William uncle-உடைய daughter தான் எனக்கு seniors அவங்க எடுத்துக்கிட்டு இருந்தாங்க. அப்புறமா, ன், இன்னொரு அண்ணேன் எடுத்துக்கிட்டு Vincent அண்ணேன்னு ஒரு அண்ணேன். அப்பமா கொஞ்சநாள் கழிச்சி இந்த பியூலாக்கா எடுக்க வந்தாங்க. Mr.Rhenius, aunty அப்பம் class எடுத்துக்கிட்டு இருப்போம், ஆன், அப்புறமான வரவர எனக்கு அந்த Bible-ல interest வர ஆரம்பிச்சது. மொதல்ல அதை நான் ஏற்கெனவே நான் சொன்ன பிரகாரம் நான் வந்து true Christian-னு நான் சொல்லவே மாட்டேன். அந்த மாதிரி இருந்தேன். ஆனா Bible-ஐ நெறையா படிச்சிருந்தேன். நெறையா by heart பண்ணிருக்கிறேன் எங்க parents -உடைய compulsion-அ. But true Christian அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு இரட்சிப்படைந்த ஒரு வாழ்க்கை நானு அந்த நேரத்தில் எல்லாம், ன், இங்க Sunday Class எடுக்க ஆரம்பிச்சப்போ ஆரம்பிக்கல. எடுக்க ஆரம்பிக்க ஆரம்பிக்க அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்களோட நம்ம வந்து Bible-ஐ பற்றி share பண்ணும்போது அவங்க கிட்ட இருந்து கத்துகிட்டதுதான் நான் நெறையா அதிகம், பிள்ளைகள்ட்டு இருந்து நான் கத்துகிட்டது ரொம்ப அதிகமென்னு நான் சொல்லுவேன். ஏன்னா நம்ம அவங்களுக்கு இந்த Bible-ஐ பற்றி சொல்லிக்குடுத்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கும்போதே அவங்க கேக்கிற கேள்வி. அந்தக் கேள்வில இருந்தே நான் நெறைய கத்துக்கிட்டு இருந்திருக்கிறேன். அதினால அப்பம் ஒவ்வொருவாரமும் நான் பண்ணேன். நல்ல preparation இல்லாம வரவேமாட்டேன். ஒவ்வொரு நாளும் நம்மளுக்கு இரட்சிப்பு அந்த வாழ்க்கை நமக்குக் கெடையாது. ஆனா நம்ம வந்து கடவுள்பற்றி பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு சொல்லப் போறோம். அப்படி இருக்கும் போது அவங்க கேக்கிற கேள்விகளுக்கு பதில் சொல்லுனான்னா நம்ம உண்மையாவே கடவுளை நெருங்கிக் சேராம அவங்களுடைய இது இல்லாம நம்ம கேள்விகளுக்குப் பதில் சொல்ல முடியாது. அப்பம் நான் கொஞ்ச கொஞ்சமா think பண்ண ஆரம்பிச்சேன் நான் அதை வச்ச, அப்பம் என்னுடைய வாழ்க்கையும் நான் அந்த பிள்ளைகள்ட்ட அதை எடுத்து, உண்மையாவே சொல்லப் போனா Sunday class ministry-க்குள்ள நான் வரலைன்னா எப்படி எப்படியோ போயிருந்திருப்போன். ன், அதுக்குள்ள நான் வந்தது நான் நெறையா காரியங்கள் இருந்து என்னை வந்து விலக்கிக்கிட்டேன்.

10. Jeyam – IC10, இந்த உலகப்பிரகாரமான சோதனைகள் இருந்து நான் விலக்கிக்கிட்ட காரணமே இந்த, ஏன்னா அப்பம் நான் வந்து இந்த வாரம், ன், நான் ஏதாவது தப்பு செய்தேன்னா பிள்ளைங்க என்னையைப் பாப்பாங்க. எங்க இருந்துன்னாலும் என்னையைப் பாப்பாங்கன்ற எனக்கு ஒரு பயமும் இருந்துச்சு. ன், அதினால நான் வந்து தவறான வழிகள்ல போகுறதை நான் போறதில இருந்து விடுதலை ஆன காரணமே இந்த ministry-க்குள்ள நான் வந்ததுதான். அதுக்குப் பெறகு ரொம்ப careful-ஆ நடக்க ஆரம்பிக்கேன். ஒவ்வொரு பிள்ளையும் எங்க போனாலும் நம்மை watch பண்ணுறாங்கன்னு எனக்குத் தெரியும். அதுக்குப்பெறகு வரவர அப்புறம் கடவுளுக்குள்ள ரொம்ப வர ஆரம்பிச்சிட்டேன். ரொம்ப ஜெபத்தில் ஈடுபட்டேன், என்னுடைய வாழ்க்கையில் நெறையா காரியங்களை நான் ஜெபத்தினாலே பெற்றுக் கொண்டேன்னு கொன்னாக்கி அது, ன், நிச்சயமா மறுக்க முடியாது. அந்த மாதிரி, ஒரு உண்மை. அப்புறமா Sunday class எடுத்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கும்போது பியூலாக்காட்ட இருந்ததுனால அந்த incharge பொறுப்பை என்கிட்ட ஒப்படைக்கிட்டாங்க அந்த, ன், அப்பம் நான் David Uncle இருக்கும்போது, ஐயரா இருக்கும் போது. அதுக்கப்புறமா நான் யோசித்தேன் ஒவ்வொரு வாரமும் நான் யோசிப்பேன். இதில் இருந்து நம்ம வெற்றி பெறணும். ஏன்னா காலையில் correct-ஆ கெளம்பி வர வேண்டியதிருக்கு. ஒவ்வொரு வாரமும் நான் வந்து presentஆகணும். ஒண்ணு கையில் குடுக்கப் பட்ட காரியத்தை ஒழுங்கா செய்யணுன்ற ஒரு இது உண்டு. இப்பம் நான் ஒழுங்கா வரலைன்னா அதை செய்யவே முடியாது. ஒழுங்கா வரணுன்னா எண்ணைக்காது ஒரு நாள், சோம் பேறித்தனமெல்லாம் எனக்கு உண்டு. அதினால ஞாயிற்றுக் கெழமை ஆயிற்றின்னா everyday வேலைக்குப் போயிட்டு வர்றோம், திருப்பி day இந்த Sunday ஒரு நாள் அடிச்சிறபாமே அப்படியெல்லாம் யோசித்தேன். சாத்தான் அந்த இதெல்லாம் அப்பப்பம் எனக்குத் தருவான். அந்த நேரத்தில் நான் நெனைப்பேன் Sunday class-ஐ உட்டு வெலக்கிலாம். ன், இருந்து எடுத்துக்கிட்டே இருந்தா, இதெல்லாம் ஒழுங்காச் செய்யலன்னா எடுக்க முடியாது. எல்லாம் யோசிப்பேன். நெறையா நேரம் நான் அப்படி சோர்ந்து போயிருக்கேன், ஆனாலும் அதில இருந்து திருப்பி திருப்பி நான் ஜெபத்தில், ஐயோ நான் இந்த மாதிரி செய்யவே கூடாது. ஆண்டவர்கிட்ட இருந்து வழிவிலகிப் போயிருவேன்ற அந்த பயம் எனக்கு வந்திரும். அப்படி வரும். அ, அதே மாதிரி நடந்து கிட்டு இருந்தா

11. Jeyam – IC11, அப்புறமா கல்யாணம் வந்தப்போ நான் யோசிப்பேன். வேற எந்த ஊர்லயாது கல்யாணம் ஆனா நிச்சயமா நான் இந்த church-ஐ உட்டு வெளில போயிருவேன்னு தெரியும். போனா திருப்பி அந்த ministry-க்கு வருவனான்னு எனக்கு ரொம்ப சந்தேகம். ஏற்கெனவே எனக்கு இந்த சோம்பேறித் தனமெல்லாம் இருந்ததினால. அதெல்லாம் ரொம்ப யோசித்துக்கிட்டு இருப்பேன். ன், கடவுள் கடைசில எனக்கு இந்த ஊர்லயே ஒரு, வந்து, கணவனைக்குடுத்தது மாத்திரமல்ல, இந்த church-க்கே வரும்படியாகவும் இருந்துச்சு அப்பவும் நான் மொதல்ல கொஞ்சம் யோசிச்சேன், இவங்க என்ன சொல்லுவாங்களோன்னு, ஆனா என் husband வந்து 'நீ எவ்வளவு வேணாலும் நீ வீட்ல, church இதில activities-ல போ. என்னை மட்டும் நீ இதுக்கு இழுக்காத' அப்படின்னு சொல்லிருக்காங்க. ஆனா ஏற்கெனவே சொல்லிருக்கேன். அவங்க ஒழுங்கா கோயிலுக்குப் போன ஆள் கெடையாது. அப்பம், ஆன் -ஆ கோயிலுக்கு வாராங்கன்னு அந்த மாதிரி அப்புறமா அவங்களும் regular-ஆ வர ஆரம்பிச்சாங்க. நான் இது, இந்த ministry-ல இருந்ததுனால. நடுல, நடுல எனக்கு ரொம்ப சோர்வு வந்திரும்.

12. Jeyam – IC12, பெறகு நானு ஆரம்பிச்சு, அப்புறம், பிள்ளை இல்லாம இருக்கும்போது ரொம்ப சோர்வு அடைந்தேன். இந்த ministry-ல நம்ம இவ்வளவு செஞ்சு என்னத்துக்கு அப்படின்னு, ஒரு மாதிரி கடவுள் மேல வெறுப்பெல்லாங்கூட எனக்கு வந்திருக்கு. ஆனாலும் திரும்பியும் போகாம திருப்பித் திருப்பி, ய், அவர்கிட்டயே நான் ஜெபத்திலேயே அந்தப் பிள்ளையையும் பத்துவருஷங்கழிச்சி கடவுள் எனக்கு ஆசீர்வாதமாக் குடுத்தாரு, அப்புறமா எனக்கு ரொம்ப ஜாஸ்தி, ன், சுவிசேஷ ஊழியம் நல்லா செய்யணும் அப்படின்ற மாதிரி ஒரு இது வந்துச்சி.

13. Jeyam – IC13, இதுக்கெடையில நான் வேலை செய்ற எடம் ஒரு கிறிஸ்தவ office synod office எனக்கு நெறையா opportunities கெடச்சிச்சு. இப்பெல்லாம் எப்படின்னா எப்பமாதா நீ வந்து every month கூட ஏதாவது ஒரு preaching குடுக்கலாம், அந்த staff முன்னாடி காலையு prayer நடக்கும் போது ஒரு சின்ன meditation குடுக்கணுன்னா குடுக்கலாம். அப்படி யெல்லாம் கேக்கும்போது reading-க்கு மட்டுந்தான் எல்லாரும் பண்ணுவோம். அந்த preaching-க்கு பண்ண மாட்டோம். ஏன்னா அங்க most of them are reverends. Work பன்ற directors reverends, most of the bishops will used to come to office. அவங்க முன்னாலல்லாம் நம்ம அதெல்லாம் பாக்கும்போது நம்ம ரொம்ப, என்ன ஒரு இது அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு இது தோணும், அந்த பயம் இருக்கும் அதினால செய்யமாட்டோம். But ஆனா எனக்கு இப்பம் ஒரு வருஷத்துக்கு முன்னாடி இருந்து கொஞ்சம் தைரியம் ஜாஸ்தி வந்து நான் மொதலாது நான் accept பண்ணேன். பரவால, என்னால எனக்குத் தெரிஞ்சு இதை நான் share பன்றேன் அப்படிண்டு, சொல்லி accept பண்ணி, அதுக்கப்புறமா அந்த மாதிரி, messages வரும்போது turn வரும்போது அந்த மாதிரி நான் செய்றேன்னு accept பண்ணி, அதை செய்ய ஆரம்பிச்சேன். இப்பம் ஒரு one year -ஆ அந்த இதிலையும் நானு, என்னை இது என்னைப் பாத்து என் கூட சேந்த ஒரு சில, ன், staff கூட பிரியமா அந்த இதில ஆயிட்டாங்க இப்பம் ஒரு நாளெஞ்சு பேராது staff -ல இந்த மாதிரி Bible வசனத்திலிருந்து அந்த மாதிரி meditation குடுக்கிறதற்கு ready-ஆ இருக்கிறாங்க, நாங்க, அந்த தைரியம் எல்லாருக்கும், வந்திருச்சி. இப்பம் நெறையா office activities நாங்க வந்து ஒரு மாதிரி different type of ஊழியத்தில நாங்க ஈடுபட்டுறோம். அப்புறமா இந்த Bible studies எழுதுறது, அந்த மாதிரி இதெல்லாம் இதில directors பண்ணுவாங்க. எங்களுடைய helps, help கேக்கும்போது நாங்க கூட அதில suggestions குடுப்போம், இந்த மாதிரி. அந்த மாதிரி இதிலெல்லாம் எங்களை பண்ணிக்கிட்டோம். அந்த மாதிரி இப்போ நான் நல்லா செய்றேன். அதா,



அது செய்றதுன்டா எனக்கு நெறையா nights தூக்கம் இல்லாம் இருக்கும். நானே தான் night உக்காந்து செய்ய முடியும். பிள்ளையை தூங்கவச்சிட்டு அதுக்கு அப்புறமா வேலையெல்லாம் முடிச்சிட்டு முடியும். ஆனாலும் நெறையா books எல்லாம் read பண்ணுதுக்கு எனக்கு opportunities கெடைக்குது இந்த மாதிரி அதான் அதினால நான் எந்த எடத்தில் எந்த எடத்தில் அந்த ஊழியத்தை எந்த வகையில் செய்யணும், Just only preach-ணா மட்டும் இல்லாம், இந்த மாதிரி சில காரியங்ளெல்லாம் நான் செய்றதுக்கு ரொம்ப இன்னமும் என் மனசில இருக்கிறதெல்லாம் நம்ம இருக்கிறவரைக்கும் கடவுளுடைய ஊழியத்தை செய்யணும் நல்லா செய்ணுன்னு அப்படி அந்த Sunday Class ஊழியத்தை கூட நடுவில் நடுவில் எனக்கு சோர்வு வரும். என்னன்னா நல்லா எடுக்கிற teachers சிலர் sudden ஆ நின்னு போயிட்டாங்க. அது மட்டுமில்ல செலருக்கும் கலியாணம் fix பண்ணாங்கன்னா அவங்க போயிருவாங்க. அந்த எடத்தை fill பண்ணுதுக்கு நான் சின்ன பிள்ளைங்களைதான் எடுத்து உள்ள போட முடியும். அப்பம் திருப்பி ஒரு இது வரும். அந்த மாதிரி பிரச்சனைகள் இருந்துகிட்டே இருந்ததுனால கடைசில் நான் என்ன decide பண்ணேன்னா, இங்கே இருந்து வெளில போற பிள்ளைங்க கொஞ்சம் நல்லா talented பிள்ளைங்க படிச்சி இங்க இருந்து Senior Group இருந்து வெளில போற பிள்ளைங்களே நம்ம வந்து பிள்ளைங்களைப் பற்றி நமக்கு நல்லா தெரிஞ்சிருக்கும், parentsஐப் பற்றி நல்லா தெரிஞ்சிருக்கும், அவங்களையே உள்ள எடுத்தாச்சி அந்த உள்ள சிறப்பா செய்ய முடியுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு அந்த மாதிரி செய்ய ஆரம்பிச்சேன். இங்க இருந்து வெளில போறவங்களைதான் திருப்பி Beginner, Primary எடுத்துப் போட்டேன். இந்தப் பிள்ளைகளை அப்படியே promote பண்ணி பெரிய classக்கு கொண்டு வருவேன். அப்படி இருந்தும் Senior Teachers ஒரு எப்படியும் ஒரு ஐந்து பேராவது Senior Teachers இருக்கணும் அப்படின்றதினால்தான், கலியாணம் ஆகி வெளிய போயிருந்தாகூட அவங்களை திருப்பி உள்ள return எடுக்கணுன்றதுக்காக அப்படி சொல்லிச் சொல்லிச் சொல்லி Lovely சரி, Mariam சரி திரும்ப உள்ள, அவங்க ஒரு gap விட்டு திரும்ப உள்ள வந்தாங்க. அக்காமார் கூட திருப்பிச் செல்லுவாங்க, 'நாங்க retire ஆயிரோம்' அப்படின்னுவாங்க. ஆனா நான் இல்லை கட்டாயம் நீங்க இருக்கணும், செய்யணும். மற்ற பிள்ளைங்க உள்ள வாராங்க, கலியாணம் ஆன ஓடனே வெலகிருவாங்க. அப்பம் full ஆ set சின்ன பிள்ளைங்களா இருந்தா அவங்களுக்கு வந்து ஒரு இது experience நெறையா இருக்காது. அதினால நம்ம அந்த ஊழியத்தை சிறப்பான முறையில் செய்யணுன்னா நல்ல அந்த experienced teachers இருக்கணும் அப்படினட்டு சொல்லுவேன். அப்புறம் அந்த மாதிரி இருந்து இப்பம் எல்லா காரியத்திலையும் கடவுளுடைய ஊழியத்தை எந்தெந்த வகையில் செய்ய முடியுமோ செய்யணுன்ற ஆர்வம் இப்பம் எனக்கு இருக்கு. Opportunity கெடைக்கும் போது நான் விடுறேதே கெடையாது. அது மாதிரி பாடல்களை கூட எழுதும் போது செல tune குடுப்பாங்க பாடல்களை எழுதணும் இந்த linesல எங்களுக்கு இந்தப்பாட்டு இருந்தா நல்லா இருக்கும். இந்த theme நாங்க இந்த workக்கு வச்சிருக்கோம். இந்த theme நாங்க இந்த Pastors Meetingக்கு வச்சிருக்கோம். Pastors Meeting எல்லாம் conduct பண்ணுவாங்க. Retreat pastors meeting எல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரி அதுக்கு இந்த theme வச்சிருக்கோம். அதுகேற்ற மாதிரி நீங்க எழுதினீங்கன்னா நல்லா இருக்கும் அப்படியெல்லாம் சொல்லுவாங்க. அப்பம் நான் இரண்டு மூணு staffஐ சேத்துகிட்டு உக்காந்து நாங்க வேலையெல்லாம் செய்வோம், இந்த lunch periodல, மற்ற time கெடைக்கிற நேரத்தில் அந்த வேலைலாம் செய்வோம். அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் செய்வோம்.

14.Saral - PC 14, என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரைக்கும், ஆண், பெண்கள் வந்து கண்டிப்பா church activities-ல தங்களை ஈடுபடுத்திக் கொள்ளணுந்தான். ஆனா அந்த மாதிரி ஈடுபடுத்திக் கொள்ளினால குடும்பத்தில் எத்தனையோ வகையான பிரச்சனைகளை வந்து, ன், அதைத் தீக்கிறதுக்கு, ன், உண்மையாகவே அது helpful-ஆ இருக்கு. நான் வந்து எல்லாம் இதுவரைக்கும் செஞ்சது கலியாணத்துக்கு அப்புறம் தான் எனக்கு இந்த ஊழியத்தை செய்றதுக்கு எனக்கு ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பம் கெடைச்சிது. ஏன்னா கலியாணத்துக்கு முன்னால நான் சொன்ன stepmother கோயிலுக்குப் போயி நாங்க யார்கிட்ட யாது ஆம்பளைப் பசங்ககிட்ட பேசினா கூட 'இதுக்கு தான் கோயிலுக்கு வந்தையா'-ன்னு கேப்பாங்க. ஒரு மாதிரி அப்படி பண்ணிட்டா எங்களுக்கு வந்து பயம். கோயிலுக்குள்ள போய் உக்காந்து யாட்டையும் பேசுறதுக்கே பயம். ம், செல சமயத்தில் அவங்க கோயிலில் இருந்து வருவாங்க. நாங்க கொஞ்சம் late-ஆ போனா, கோயிலில் முடிஞ்சி கொஞ்சம் late-ஆ போனா யார்கிட்ட நின்னு பேசி சொன்னீங்க, ஓங்களுக்கு என்ன interest இதில, அப்படி இப்படின்னு ஒரு மாதிரி பேசினதினால நாங்க வந்து கோயிலில் எந்த activity-லவோ கலந்துக்கிட்டதே கெடையாது அப்புறம். அதே இதில அப்படியே ஒரு இதில கலியாணம் ஆன பெறகு, ன், எனக்கு வந்து ஆசை, இப்படின்கு அந்த நாள் தான் நமக்கு முடியலை. இப்பவாது இங்கயும் முடியணும். நான் எதாவது செய்யணுன்னு. அப்புறம் கலியாணம் ஆகி இந்தக் கோயிலுடைய என் husband மூலமாதான் நான் இதை first இந்த church-க்கு வந்தப்போ எனக்கு இங்க யாரும் தெரியலை. தெரியாததினால, ன், வந்து நான் ஒன்றிலயும், எதிலையும் சேர ஈடுபாடு, I mean, அந்த ஊழியத்தில் செய்றதுக்கு chance கெடைக்கல. ஆனா நான், nature-ஏ என் நான் ரொம்ப வந்து ஒரு மாதிரி கூச்சல்வாபம் உள்ள நானு. எனக்கு வந்து யார்கிட்டயும் பேசுவோ ரொம்ப நாளை போயி யார்கிட்டயும் பேசினது கெடையாது. அதினால எனக்கு வந்து எழுதிக் குடுக்கணும், இது வந்து, இந்த lay, ஓங்களுக்கெல்லாம் என்ன duties செய்றதுக்கு இஷ்டன்னு. செலர் Bible படிக்கிறதுக்கு எழுதிக் குடுப்பாங்க, செலவங்க காணிக்கை எடுக்கிறதுக்கு. அந்த ஒரு தைரியங் கெடையாது. இவ்வளவு பேருக்கு முன்னால நான் எப்படி Bible படிப்பேன், எனக்கு ரொம்ப பயமா இருக்குன்னு. அதே மாதிரி காணிக்கை எடுக்கும் போது கூட நம்ம நடக்கணும், எல்லார் முன்னாலயும் நடந்து போய் (chuckles) எடுக்கணும். அதெல்லாம் நெனைச்சி ஐயோ நான் என்னத்தில் விதத்தில் ஊழியஞ் செய்றதுன்னு யோசித்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கும் போதுதான் இவங்க எனக்கு வந்து அப்ப வந்து Sneha-யெல்லாம் ரொம்ப சின்னவ. ஏழு வயசில அவா அப்பதான் Beginners-உ, அதுக்கப்புறம் Primary-ல இருந்தா. அப்பம் இவங்க என்னைக்



கூப்பிட்டாங்க. 'அக்கா நீங்க வந்து கொஞ்சம் Sunday class எடுக்கிறீங்களா' எனக்கு ரொம்ப சந்தோஷமாயிருச்சி, ஏன்னா அது ஒண்ணுதான் நம்ம வந்து நம்ம என்னால செய்ய முடியும். ஏன்னா நான் வந்து, எல்லாரையும் பாத்து நின்னு, அந்த தைரியம் இல்லை.

15. Saral – IC15, சரி, நான்னா ஒரு already teacher-ஆ இருந்ததினால எங்களுக்கு எடுக்கிறது நமக்கு easy-ஆ இருக்கும். அதும் இல்லாம என் பிள்ளைங்களுக்கும் இருக்குன்றதினால, சரி அவங்களுக்கும், ம், நல்லா இருக்கும், எனக்கும் அவங்களுக்கு சொல்லிக்குடுக்கவோ எதோ தெரிய, இவங்க என்ன expect பண்ணாங்க. எப்படினாலன் தெரியுன்ட்டு. ஓடனே நான் சரின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, வந்து இப்பம் continuous ஆ நான் வந்து இதுக்கு ஊழியஞ்செஞ்சுட்டே இருக்கிறேன். நான் இப்பவும் சொல்வேன் 'இவங்ககிட்ட பிள்ளைங்கன்லாம் என் Sneha-ஏ இங்கயே படிச்சி அவளும் வெளில வந்து அவளும் ஒரு teacher-ஆயிற்றா. என்னை இன்னும் நீங்க உடமாட்டேன்றீங்களே (laughs) என்னை விட்டிருங்க' அப்படின்னுவேன். (chuckles) ஆனா 'இல்லை நீங்க, ஒங்களை மாதிரி பெரியவங்கன்லாம் வேணும்' அப்படின்னு. But, நான் இவங்களோட என்னோட கூட ரொம்ப சின்னவங்களா இருந்தாலும் இவங்களோட ஊழியம் செய்றதில்ல நான் ரொம்ப ரொம்ப சந்தோஷமா தான் இருக்கு. எதோ பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு செய்றது எதோ ஊழியம் செய்ய முடியுதே அப்படின்னு. இந்த இதில இருந்ததுனால என் பிள்ளைங்களுக்கும் நான் வந்து, ம், அவங்க படிக்கும் போதே இந்த மாதிரி எல்லாம் இருந்தா எனக்குத் தெரியும் இல்லையா. இவங்களெல்லாம் என்ன expect பண்ணாங்க. இன்னைக்கு contents தெரிஞ்சிச்சி. இப்பம் நாங்க எங்ககிட்ட படிக்கிற பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு எவ்வளவுனாலும் parents எங்களுக்கு பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு சொல்லிக்குடுக்கிறதே இல்லை. ஓ, இந்த மாதிரி ஒரு test இருக்கு. இவங்கன்லாம் அனுப்புவாங்க. போனவாரம், போனவாரம் பத்து பிள்ளைங்க வந்தாங்க. இந்த வாரம் exam-ன்னு சொல்லி அவங்களுக்கு அனுப்பி, இந்த வாரம் நாலுபேர் தான். ஆனா அந்தச் parents-க்கு வந்து அதுடைய importance தெரியவே இல்லை. பிள்ளைங்க வந்து கடவுளைப் பற்றி அறியனுன்ற importance ஏ தெரியலை. ஆனா நான் ஒரு Sunday class teacher-ஆ இருந்ததினால, எனக்கு பிள்ளைங்க வந்து, ன், இது இதெல்லாம் except பண்ணு, பண்ணாங்க teachers-உம் நம்பரும் பிள்ளைங்க கடவுடைய இது தெரியணும்ன்னு சொல்லி அதைதை prepare பண்ணி பண்ணி நான் அனுப்பிச்சு உட்டுருவேன். Sneha யெல்லாம் நெறையா prize வாங்கி, அவதான் first வருவா Sunday class-ல இங்க அவ இருந்தப்போ. அவளை நான் 'கண்டிப்பா படிச்சிரணும்மா நீ, கண்டிப்பா எனக்கு, நீ, நீ இன்னைக்கு போகாம இருக்கக் கூடாது, பாட்டு தெரியணும். இதில நீ இப்படி பண்ணணும். அதில participate பண்ணணும், ன்னு பிள்ளைங்களை பண்ண வச்சிருவேன். ன், அந்த இது வந்து இங்க நான் teacher-ஆ இருக்கிறதினால எனக்கு அந்த ஒரு இது கெடச்சிதுன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். நான் சும்மா ஒரு ordinary parent-ஆ இருந்தா எனக்கு அந்த ஒரு தெரிஞ்சிருக்காது. இந்த மாதிரி பிள்ளைங்களை வழி நடத்த. என் பிள்ளைங்க அதினால, ஏன்னா இப்ப feel பண்றது ஒவ்வொருத்தரும் கடவுளுடைய இதில நல்ல பிள்ளைகளா இருக்கிறாங்க. கோயில்ல participate பண்றது, மற்ற விதத்தில கூட நான் மற்ற பிள்ளைங்களோட ஒத்துப்பாக்கும் போது அவங்க friends எல்லாம் இருக்கிறாங்கல்ல. Christians-ஏ, இவங்க கொஞ்சம் வித்தியாசமா இருக்கிற மாதிரி, தோணும். அது கூடவே இருந்ததினால. ஏன் husband-உம் கலியாணத்துக்கு முன்னால எல்லாம், நான் கலியாணத்தப்போ சொல்லுவாங்க, ஒரு நல்லா ஆர்மோனியம் போடுவாங்க. அவங்க இந்த போவாங்கல்ல, இந்த ஊர் ஊராப் போயி அவங்க preach பண்றதோட இவங்க எப்ப சொல்லுவாங்க 'என்னை யாரும் விடமாட்டாங்க, நானும் போய் நல்லா ஆர்மோனியம் போடுவேன்' நல்லா street preaching அப்படியெல்லாம் போனவங்க தான். அப்புறம் கலியாணத்துக்கு அப்புறம், ன், ஒரு வேளை நீ பண்றதுதான் நான் வேண்டான்னு (chuckles) நெனைச்சி (laughs) stop பண்ணிட்டாங்களோ தெரியலை. அவங்க ரொம்ப போறதில்ல. But, இந்த, இந்த மாதிரி, சும்மா போய் Jesus calls pray பண்ணிட்டு வருவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி may be அவங்க வந்து ரொம்ப எப்பமும் துருதுருன்னு வீட்ல ஒரு நிமிஷம் உக்காரமாட்டாங்க. வந்து, வருவோம் நானே நெனைச்சி எங்க இவ்வளவு energy, வருவாங்க ஒரு இரண்டு நிமிஷத்தில திருப்பியும் 'அங்க போயிட்டு வர்றே'ன்னு போவாங்க, திருப்பி வருவாங்க, 'அதோ அங்க போயிட்டு வர்றேன்' இவ்வளவு energetic-ஆ இருக்கிறதினால அவங்களுக்கு கோயில்ல அந்த continuous-ஆ ஒண்டரை மணி நேரம் உக்கார முடியலையோ என்னவோ 'அதான் அப்பா, அப்பாக்கு உக்கார முடியலைமா, அதினால தான் எங்கையாது இப்படி நடந்துக்குட்டு, போயிட்டு வந்திக்கிட்டு இருக்கணும், அதான் வரமாட்டேன்றாங்க போல இருக்கு'ன்னு வாங்க. மற்றபடி அவங்களுக்கு இது இல்லாம இல்லை. என்னை, என்னை அந்த ஊழியஞ் செய்தா இல்ல கூட 'நான் late ஆகும். நான் teachers exam இருக்குன்னு ஒண்ணுமே சொல்லமாட்டாங்க. என்னை என்ன ஒரு நாளும் தடை சொன்னதில்லை. அவங்க pray பண்ணும்போது கூட, ன், Sneha சொல்லுவா, 'ஏம்மா, அப்பா பண்றது எவ்வளவு different-ஆ இருக்கு, நம்மெல்லாம் வந்து எப்போதும் 'அன்புள்ள ஆண்டவரே, எனக்கு இதைக் குடுக்கணும், எல்லாரையும் ஆசீர்வதியும்' அப்படிதான் பண்ணுவோம். அப்பாவுடைய prayer கொஞ்சம் different. அந்த மாதிரியே கேக்கவே மாட்டாங்க. எனக்கு இதைக்குடுக்கணும் அதைக் குடுக்கணும், இந்தக் கஷ்டம் இருக்கு, அவங்க prayer கொஞ்சம் வித்தியாசமா இருக்கும். 'அப்பா இவ்வளவு நல்லா pray பண்றாங்க, ஏன்மா அப்பா கோயிலுக்கு மட்டும்தான் வந்தா எவ்வளவு நல்ல இருக்கும்' ன் லாம் சொல்வா. அதுக்கு நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணிக்கிட்டு இருக்கேன், வரணான்னு.

16. Arunavathy - IC16, நான் ஆஸ்டல்லையே இருந்ததுனால அதிகமா gents-ஓட இது பண்ணதில்லை. ஆனா marriage ஆன பெறகு தான் கொஞ்சம், gents-ங்க ஓட பேச ஆரம்பிச்சதே. Marriage ஆயி கூட அவ்வளவு பேச மாட்டேன். ஆனா இப்பம் கொஞ்சம் ஊழியன்னு போகும் போது கொஞ்சம் தைரியமா எல்லாரோட பேசறது சுவிசேஷம் போய், இப்பம் அதிகமா, இப்படி, என் husband-ஏ கேப்பாங்க, 'ரொம்ப தைரியமாய் போச்சு, ஒனக்கு.

ரோட்ல குடிசாரன்கிட்டெல்லாம் போய் சொல்லி' அப்படி. அதனால் அவங்க வந்து கொஞ்சம் தெரிஞ்சவங்களா இருக்கிறதினால் அவங்க கிட்டெல்லாம் ஆண்டவரைப் பற்றி எடுத்து சொல்றதுக்கு கொஞ்சம் தைரியம். இப்பம் அந்த பயம் இல்லாம போச்சு.

17. Ester - YMW – IC17, இந்த மாதிரி வீடுகள்ல நடக்கிற prayer-க்கு நான் attend பண்ணுவேன். அப்பம் பாரத்தோட ஜெபிப்பாங்க. தேசத்துக்காக, வியாதியஸ்தருக்காக. அதில பங்கு பெற்றுக்குவேன். இது வர்றதினால் நம்பனைக்கு ஒரு தைரியம் வருது.

18. Lita – IC18, வர சந்தேகங்கள்லாம் தீத்துட்டு ஒரு தெளிவா ஒரு அபிப்பிராயமோ ஒரு இதுவோ, சத்தியத்துக்குள்ள நம்ம இருந்தோன்னா we can do something for the lord,

19. Jeyavathy – IC19, அதே மாதிரி சபையினுடைய காரியத்தில் எந்தவிதமான ஒரு இதுவும் சபையில் அது எல்லோருக்குமே தெரியும். எத்தனையோ வருஷங்களாக இந்த சபையில் அவர் ஒழைச்சிருக்கிறார் அவரு. அந்த ஒரு ஈடுபாட்டில தான் நாங்களும் இந்த இதில நாங்க join பண்ணது. நான் அப்ப இருந்தே, வாலிப்பிராயத்தில் இருக்கும் போதே பல கூட்டங்களைப் போய் attend பண்ணுவேன் நான். எந்தக் கூட்டங்கூட, ஒரு கூட்டங்கூட நான் miss பண்ணதே கெடையாது. அவ்விதமாகப் பல கூட்டங்களுக்கு நான் பண்ணுவேன். அப்பக் கூட என்னுடைய அப்பா கொஞ்ச இதா இன்னும் posters-ஐப் பாத்துக் கிட்டே வருவாரு. 'என்ன போயிட்டாளா, அவ? meeting போயிட்டாளா' ன்னு அவர் கேப்பாரு அவரு. 'என்ன meeting தான் அவ போயிருக்கா. நீங்க அதைப்பற்றி ஏன் நீங்க worry பண்ணீங்க' ன்னு அம்மா வந்து எனக்காக plead பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்ப night 8½ மணிக்குத் தான் எல்லாம் முடிச்சிட்டு இது பண்ணிட்டு நான் night வருவேன். அந்த மாதிரி வாலிப் பிராயத்தில் இருக்கும் போதே நான் ரொம்ப ஈடுபாடுடையவளானேன். இருந்தேன் நானு. அதற்குப் பிறகு லாரியினுடைய கூட்டத்திலயும் கொஞ்சம் சேர்ந்து, அப்புறம் கொஞ்சம் சேர்ந்து, அப்புறம் கொஞ்சம் சேர்ந்து, அப்புறம் கொஞ்சம் ஆண்டவருடைய செய்ய ஆரம்பித்தா. அதற்குப் பெறகு தான் அந்த ஊழியஞ்செய்யனுன்ற அந்த ஒரு இது வந்து அப்புறம் Jesus calls evangelist ஆவும் நான் மாறுனேன். நானு தேவன் ஆவி, புது விதமா, அப்புறம் ஆலயத்தில், ஆலயப்பணி எல்லோரும் சொல்லுவாங்க, 'ஏன் நீங்க இந்த ஆலயத்தில் இருக்கிறீங்க நீங்க? எத்தனையோ எழுப்புதலான ஆலயங்கள் இருக்கிறதே. அந்த ஆலயத்தில் நீங்க பங்களாரா இருந்து செய்யலாமே-' நான் என்ன சொல்லுவேன், 'இந்த ஆலயத்தில் இருந்து தான், இருக்கிறவங்களை நம்ம எழுப்புதலுக்கு நம்ம உண்டு பண்ணணும். அவர்களை நம்ம கொண்டு வரணும். நமக்கு, அவர்களை வந்து உற்சாகப்படுத்தி, அவர்களை பிரசங்கம் பண்ணவோ, எல்லா செய்தி கொடுக்கவோ, அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய எது, எல்லா இதையும் நம்ம செய்யணும்' ன்று அந்த விதமான ஒரு நோக்கத்தோடு, அது கூட சபையை விட்டு, சபையினுடைய காரியங்கள் எல்லாவற்றிலையும் woman's fellowship-ல ரொம்ப ஈடுபட்டுக் கொண்டு, எல்லாரையும் ஆண்டவருக்குள்ள கிருபையினால நான் நடத்திக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன். தேவன் தாமே இந்த ஊழியத்தை இன்னும் அதிகமாக, பல இடங்கள்ல இந்துக்கள் மத்தில் நாங்க, அதிகமா நாங்க செய்றோம். இப்ப women's fellowship-ஆகவும் இந்துக்கள் மத்தில் நாங்க ஊழியஞ் செய்றோம். அது தொடர்ந்து இப்ப சின்னப்பிள்ளைங்களுடைய, பிள்ளைங்க, வாலிப்பிள்ளைங்க எல்லாவற்றிலும் நாங்க வந்து பங்குகொண்டு அவ்விதமாக எந்த இதிலையும் நாங்க women's fellowship இப்ப வந்து எல்லாத்திலயும் நாங்க கொண்டு நாங்க செய்றோம். எல்லாரும் உற்சாகத்தோட செய்றாங்க. உற்சாகத்தோட, தேவனுடைய ஒரு கிருபையினால அவர்கள் செய்து கொண்டு சபையுடைய ஊழியத்தில் செய்றாங்க.

20. Jeyavathy – IC20, ஊழியத்தில் எனக்கு வந்து வாலிப் பிராயத்தில் இருந்தே ரொம்ப வாஞ்சை எனக்கு. நம்ம ஆண்டவருடைய ஊழியத்தை செய்யணும்பு பல பிரசங்கங்களைப் போய் கேட்பேன் நான், பல எழுப்புதலான பிரசங்கங்கள், எந்த எந்த இடத்தில் grounds – லயோ, அல்லது எந்தெந்த எடத்தில் நடக்குதோ, நான் வந்து, அங்க போயி பிரசங்கங்கள் கேட்கிறதோ, அப்படி அந்த மாதிரி கேக்கும் போது Bro.லாரியுடைய பிரசங்கம் எனக்கு அதிகமா teaching-ஆ இருந்துதோ. எனக் என்னுடைய உள்ளத்தில் ஒரு வல்லமையான ஒரு பிரசங்கம். அந்த மாதிரி எல்லா. அநேக ஊழியக்காரர் கூட சொல்லுவாங்க. அவருடைய பிரசங்கம் அவ்வளவு வல்லமையான பிரசங்கம். ஆனா கூடயே நான் இருந்தேன். அவரோட, என்னா, ஒருதரவை அவர் வந்து altar-ல சொல்லும் போது, அவர் பிரசங்கிக்கும் போது, 'யாராவது ஒருத்தர் வந்து help பண்ணதுக்கு, letters-உ இந்த பத்திரிக்கையெல்லாம் வருது. அதுக்கு யாராவது ஒருத்தர் வந்து help பண்ணதுக்கு யாராவது வந்தீங்கன்னா எனக்கு நல்லா இருக்கும். கொஞ்சம் நேரம் வந்து ஓதவி செய்துட்டுப் போலான்னு அவர் வந்து சொல்லும் பொழுது, அப்புறம் நான் பாத்ரா, என் வீடு பக்கத்திலேயே, நான் புரசைவாக்கத்தில் இருந்தேன் அப்பம் அப்பம் பக்கத்தில் அடுத்த street-லேயே அவங்க வந்து அங்க தங்கியிருந்தாங்க அவங்க. அப்பம் நான் volunteer-ஆ போயி, காலையில் ஏழு மணிக்கெல்லாம் அதே தெருவில் இதில வேலை செஞ்சிட்டிருந்தேன் நான், school-ல வேல செஞ்சிட்டிருந்தேன். teacher-ஆ நானு. காலையில் early morning six-க்கு, seven-க்கு எல்லாம் போயிருவேன் நான். போயிட்டு அங்க ஒரு two hours வந்து, அந்த letters – எல்லாம் கொஞ்சம் பாத்ரா, அந்த காணிக்கையெல்லாம், எல்லாத்தையும் எண்ணி எண்ணி வச்சிட்டு, அந்த மாதிரி, from the beginning எனக்கு கொஞ்சம் அப்பப்போம், ஊழியத்தின் மேல எனக்கு ஒரு பற்றுதல் ஏற்பட்டுச்சு எனக்கு அப்புறம் அதே மாதிரி ஒரு வல்லமையாக ஊழியஞ் செய்யனுன்ற ஒரு வாஞ்சை என்னுடைய உள்ளத்தில் இருந்தது. அப்புறம் இந்த பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகத்தைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்ள பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகம் இல்லம் இந்த ஊழியத்தைப் பண்ண முடியாது. அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு stress பண்ணி சொல்லும் போது, இந்தப் பரிசுத்த



ஆவியின் அபிஷேகத்தையும் அவருடைய கூட்டத்தின் மூலமாகவே பெற்றுக் கொண்டேன் நான் church-ல் night prayer வச்சிருந்தாரு. அப்போது என் கிட்ட கேட்டாரு, 'நீங்க பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகத்தைப் பெற்றுக் கொண்டீங்களா'ன்னு கேட்டாரு. அப்ப நான் 'எனக்கு அப்படின்னா என்னன்னே தெரியாது'ன்னு, அப்படி சொன்ன உடனே எனக்காக கொஞ்சம் நேரம் ஜெபம் பண்ணாரு. அவர் ஜெபம் பண்ண பெறகு, என்னை night prayer-க்கு வரச் சொன்னாரு அப்ப எனக்குப் போகும் போது, எனக்கு ஒரே இது போலாமா, வேண்டா என்ன என்னவோ பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகம்-ன்றாங்களே, நமக்கு அதைப் பற்றி ஒண்ணுமே தெரியாம இருக்குதே நம்மளுக்கு, அப்படிச் சொல்லிட்டு ரொம்ப இது ஆனா அது பெற்றுக் கொள்ளுனா ஒரு வாஞ்சை எனக்கு இருந்துச்சு. அந்த இதிலேயே பல புஸ்தகங்களை எடுத்து வாசிப்பேன். அந்த பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அது புஸ்தகம் இருக்கும் போது, அந்த புஸ்தகத்தை ஒடனே வாங்கிப் படிக்கிறது உண்டு அந்த மாதிரி அவ்விதமா இருக்கும் போது, ஒரு வாஞ்சை இருந்துச்சு எனக்கு. ஆனா ஒரு பயமாவும் இருந்துச்சு எனக்கு. அந்த ஒரு பயம், ஒரு fear தான் எனக்கு இருந்துச்சு எனக்கு. Church-க்கு நான் போயி attend பண்ணும் போது All night Prayer, attend பண்ணும் போது, ஒரு பத்தே நிமிஷத்தில போய் எல்லாரோடையும் கூட சேர்ந்து உக்காந்திருந்தேன் நான். அப்பம் பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அக்கினி எறங்கினதை நான் பார்த்தேன். என் கண்கூடா எறங்கி, என்னை அறியாம நான் என்னவோ பேசுறேன். நான் ஸ்தோத்ரம், ஸ்தோத்ரம், அப்படின்னு என்னவோ நானு கத்துறேன். அங்க என்ன நடந்துதுன்னு எனக்குத் தெரியலை. எனக்கு அவ்வளவா பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகத்தை நானு அந்த நாளையிலிருந்து நான் பெற்றுக் கொண்டேன். ஆனா அதற்குப் பிற்பாடு அந்த பரிசுத்த ஆவியை அபிஷேகத்தைப் பெற்றுக் கொண்ட பிற்பாடு, அதை பன்றதாக்கு நம்ம் church-ல் எல்லாம் ஒண்ணும் ஒரு அதே கெடையாது. எந்த விதமான revival-உம் இல்லை. ஒரு, நானும் சாதாரணமான நம்ம் CSI churches-ஏதான் attend பண்ணிட்டு வந்தேன். CSI church-ஐ attend பண்ணுவேன். அதே நேரத்தில போய் அங்க போய் புரசைவாக்கத்தில நாங்க இருந்ததுனால, Pastor சுந்தரம் assembly நேரா 10.30-க்கு அங்க போய் உக்காந்திருவேன். அங்க போய் உக்காந்திட்டு அங்க speech கேட்டுட்டு வருவேன். நானு அதைக் குறித்து என் husband கிட்ட கேக்கும் போது அவர் பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகம்னா அவருக்கு ஒண்ணுமே தெரியாது, அவர் CSI ரொம்ப staunch அவர் என்ன சொல்லிட்டாரு, 'நீ வேணா நீ போ. எனக்கு அதைப் பற்றி நான் ஒண்ணும் தடங்கல் பண்ண மாட்டேன். ஆனா என்னை மாத்திரம் அப்புறம் என்னைக் கூப்பிடாத'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டாரு. அவ்விதமா இருந்தது. ஆனா அவருக்காக நான் ஜெபிச்சுக்கிட்டு இருந்தேன். அவரையும் அபிஷேகத்தில பரிசுத்த ஆவியின் அபிஷேகத்தை தந்து, ஆண்டவர் வல்லமையாக ஊழியஞ் செய்யும்படியாக உதவி செய்தார். திடப்படுத்தினார். அதோடு இவர் சகோதரன் தினகானுடைய Power Ministry யில நாங்க பங்குகொண்டு, இப்படி அதிலையும் training எடுத்தோம் நாங்க. அப்புறம் 15 நாள் training குடுத்தாங்க எங்களுக்கு. அப்பம் அதுக்கு இந்த பரிசுத்த ஆவியுடைய வரங்களைப் பற்றி எவ்வளவோ அழகா அவர் பேசுவாரு. அந்த, அந்த வரங்களைக் கொடுக்கும் போது, நாமும் அந்த வரங்களைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளணும் அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அந்த ஒரு வாஞ்சையும் உள்ளத்தில இருந்துச்சு, இந்த மாதிரி கடைசில அவர் எல்லாருக்கும் தலையில கை வச்ச ஜெபம் பண்ணும் போது, 'இன்னின்ன வரங்கள் உங்களுக்கு.. உங்களை இவ்வளவு வல்லமையாக உபயோகப்படுத்துவார்' அப்படியெல்லாம் எல்லாருக்கும் தீர்க்கதரிசனமா அதுவும் என் வாழ்க்கையில கொஞ்சங் கொஞ்சமா நிறைவேறிற்றே வருது. ஆனா church -ஐ விட்டு நான் போகவே மாட்டேன் சிலர் கேட்பாங்க, 'நீங்க இவ்ளோ இதா ஊழியஞ் செய்றீங்க. church -ல் என்ன இருக்கு ஒங்களுக்கு, CSI church-ல் என்ன இருக்கு? ஏன் நீங்க மற்ற churches-ஐ இது பண்ணலாமே?'ன்னு இப்படி சொல்லுவாங்க. 'மற்ற churches எல்லாம் எழுப்புதல் நெறையா இருக்குது. இந்த church-ல் தான் எழுப்புதல் இல்லை. இங்க தான் நம்ம் செய்யணும் ஊழியத்தை', அப்படின்னு நான் எப்போதும், 'நான் church-ஐ விட்டு ஒரு போதும் நான் போகமாட்டேன் ன்றதே கெடையாது நான் இதே church-ல் இருந்து'. எப்படியும் அங்க புரசைவாக்கத்தில London Mission church CSI church நான் attend பண்ணிட்டு இருந்தேன் மொதல்ல. அங்க இருக்கிறவங்களுக்கு எழுப்புதலா பிரசங்கம் பண்ணிச் செய்றது, படுத்துறது. அதே மாதிரி இங்கயும் வந்து நான் அநேகம் பெண்கள் ஐக்கிய சங்கத்து மூலமா, பெண்கள் செய்ற எல்லா ஊழியத்திலையும் பங்கு கொண்டு அவங்களையும் உற்சாகப்படுத்தி, நல்லா பிரசங்கம் பண்ணுங்க, இது பண்ணுங்கன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அதிகமா உற்சாகப்படுத்திக் கொண்டு வருகின்றேன் நானு. அவ்விதமாக என்னுடைய ஊழியம் சிறப்பாக நடைபெற்றுக் கொண்டு வருகிறது. அவ்வளவு தான்.

21. Jeyavathy – IC21, அது கண்டிப்பா பெண்கள் தான் செய்யணும். ஏன்னா பெண்களால தான் அந்தப் பெண்களுடைய, அவர்களுடைய என்ன அவங்களுக்கு என்ன விதமான தேவைகள், அவர்களுடைய என்ன விதமான குறைகள் என்பதை நமக்கு சொல்லக்கூடும். இப்பம் பாருங்க, அந்த குடிசை ஜனங்க மத்தில நாங்க போய் இந்த tracts ஊழியம் செய்றோம் இப்பம். ஆண்கள் இருந்தா உள்ள போகவே முடியாது. உள்ள போகவே முடியாது. வீட்டுக்குள்ள போய் நம்ம் இது பண்ணவே முடியாது. பெண்களா இருந்தா, அவங்க ஆண்களா இருந்தா கூட 'வாங்கம்மா, உள்ள வாங்க, வந்து ஜெபம் நீங்க வந்து செய்ங்க'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு. ஆனா ஆண்களைக் காட்டிலும் பெண்கள் வந்து நம்ம் ஊழியஞ் செய்யும் போது தான் நமக்கு எல்லா எடத்திலயும் ஒரு வரவேற்பு இருக்கு நமக்கு. நமக்கு இன்னும் அவர்களுடைய கொறைகளை, ஏன்னா பெண்களுடைய சமுதாயந்தான் ரொம்ப எல்லா விதத்திலயும் need இருக்குது. எல்லா விதத்திலயும் ஒங்களுக்கு இன்ன வேணும். அந்த மாதிரி பிரச்சனைகள் நெறையா ஒரு வாழ்க்கையா, குடும்பமா இருக்குது. அவங்களுட பிரச்சனைகளை நம்ம் கேக்கும் போது ரொம்ப வருத்தமா இருக்கும். அதே Jesus Calls-லயும் நாங்க போய் Reception-ல் போய் நாங்க இரண்டு நாள் வாரத்துக்கு இரண்டு நாள் போய் செய்றோம். அங்க இருக்கிற வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகள் வாராங்க, வயோதிபர் வாராங்க, இந்துக்கள் வாராங்க. நெறைய பேர் இந்துக்கள் தான் வாராங்க. அவங்க பிரச்சனைகள்லாம் பாக்கும் போது எவ்வளவோ வருத்தமா இருக்கு தெரியுங்களா, நம்ம் பாரத்தோடு நமக்காக

பார்த்தோடு ஜெப்பிக்கிற ஒரு சகோதரி இருக்கிறார்களே என்று சொல்லி அவ்வளவு ஒரு சந்தோஷம் அவங்களுக்கு. அதனால் அவங்க அடிக்கடி அவங்க வாராங்க. வந்து அவங்க பிரச்சனைகள்ல இருந்து நிச்சயமா தேவன் ஒரு விடுதலையை அவங்களுக்கு குடுக்கிறார். அடிக்கடி வந்து அவங்க ஜெபித்து விட்டு அவங்க செல்லும் போது அவங்க அந்த அவங்களையும் நாங்க வழிநடத்துறோம். வேதத்தை வாசிக்கணும். ஜெபிக்கணும், ஆலயத்துக்குச் செல்லணும் அப்படியெல்லாம் நாங்க சொல்லி நாங்க இது பண்ணோம். செய்யும் போது இன்னும் அதிகமாக பெண்கள் வந்து ஆண்டவரை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளும்படியாக பெண்கள் கண்டிப்பாக இந்த ஊழியத்தை கண்டிப்பா இதைச் செய்யணும் செய்யத்தான் வேணும்.

22. Tiny – IC22, மற்றபடி இங்க வந்து கல்யாணம் பண்ணுதுக்குப் பெறகு church activities-ல இவங்க ரொம்ப encourage பண்ணுவாங்க. எதுனாலும் என்னையைப் போக சொல்லிருவாங்க. ஒண்ணும் . . . ம், ம், Women's fellowship-ல எல்லாம் நானு miss பண்ணுவேன். கல்யாணம் பண்ணி வந்த புதிசில கூட எல்லோரும் கூப்பிடுவாங்க.

‘என்ன aunty இரண்டு பிள்ளைங்க’ எனக்கு இரண்டு பேரும் 1¼ வயசில வித்தியாசம். Twins மாதிரி தான் இருப்பாங்க. ‘So, இதுகளை வச்சிக்கிட்டு அங்க வந்து இதுங்க குறும்புதான் பண்ணுங்க’ அப்படின்னுவேன். ‘பரவல்லம்மா, நாங்க பாத்துக்குவோம். நீ வா’ன்னு கூட்டிக்கிட்டு போயிருவாங்க. அது ‘போயிரு’ன்னுருவாங்க. அப்புறம் மம் இங்க வந்த பெறகு மெட்ராஸ் வந்த பெறகு இங்க aunty கூட சேர்ந்து, aunty தான். எனக்கு அவ்வளவு தைரியம் கெடையாது. ஆள், சட்டுன்னு யாரோடையும் பேசவும் மாட்டேன். ஒரு மாதிரி டக்குன்னு ஒரு தைரியம் கெடையாது. அது... Baliah aunty தான் அதை encourage பண்ணி ‘வா வா’ன்னு கூட்டிட்டுப் போயி, எல்லாம் Women's fellowship secretary treasurer-ஆ இருக்கிறதெல்லாம் இது பண்ணாங்க. பெறகு நான் இப்ப கொஞ்சம் ஒரு தைரியம் வந்து, பெறகு இப்பவும் அந்த church activities போறதுக்கு ஒரு நாளும் தடை சொல்றதில்லை. ‘என்னத்தையும் சமைச்சு வச்சிட்டுப் போனன்னா, என்னத்தை யாது’, Coffee எல்லாம் அவங்க போட்டுக் கிடுவாங்க. எல்லாம் எல்லா காரியமும் செய்யத் தெரியாது. Coffee மட்டும் போடுவாங்க. மற்றதெல்லாம் சமச்சு வச்சிட்டேன்னா, அவங்களா சாப்பிட்டு பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் போட்டு எல்லாம் manage பண்ணிருவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் பண்ணி help பண்ணுவாங்க. ஒரு இதுக்கு போணும், இது பண்ணணும்னா அதுக்கெல்லாம் சொல்லிட்டு, இந்த மாதிரி எனக்கு help பண்ணுவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி எல்லாம் உண்டு. அதினால spiritual இதுல நாங்க நல்லா வளர்ந்துக்கு கடவுள் கிருபை செய்தார். குடும்பமா வளர்ந்துக்கு கடவுள் கிருபை செய்தார்.

23. Amar – IC23, அந்த மாதிரி எங்களுடைய branch பேரு canon Prayer House-ண்டு. அது எப்படி உண்டாச்சுதுன்னாக்கா மொதல்ல நாங்க இருந்த அந்த area பூரா undeveloped land-ஆ இருந்திச்சி. நான் முப்பது வருஷத்துக்கு முந்தி அந்த எடத்தில போனோம். அங்க ஒரு எடம் பாத்து ஒரு வீடு கட்டிக்கிட்டோம். அப்பம் அங்க prayer house-க்கு ஜெபத்துக்குப் போகணுன்னாக்கா ரொம்ப தூரம் போகணும். அப்பம் நாங்க என்ன பண்ணோம் நம்ப வீட்டப் பக்கத்திலேயே, இராத்திரி எல்லாம், மழை எல்லாம் பேஞ்சாக்கா, சாய்... evening service க்குப் போகமுடியாது. Morning service எப்படியாச்சு கொடை பிடிச்சு செஞ்சிட்டு போயிட்டு வெளிச்சத்தோட வந்திருவோம். Evening போனாக்கா conveyance கூட இருக்காது. அதினாலும், எங்க வீடலயே ஜெபம் ஆரம்பிச்சி, Gospel service-ண்டு sunday evenings-ல வைப்போம்.

24. Amar – IC24, Sunday, every Sunday morning, Sunday school children-ண்டு சின்ன பசங்களெல்லாம் வந்து Sunday School, Hebron-ல இருந்து வந்து, Hebron-ல இருந்து வந்து இரண்டு sisters வந்து Sunday school நடத்துவாங்க.ம், அவங்க வந்து, அக்கம் பக்கத்தில இருக்கிற Hindus-ஓ, Muslims-ஓ அந்த சின்னப் பிள்ளைங்களல்லாம் வருவாங்க. இந்த Sisters வந்து Flannel graph வச்சு குடுப்பாங்க, அப்புறம் வந்து, action songs எல்லாம் சொல்லிக்குடுப்பாங்க. அப்புறம் பெரிய, பெரிய pictures வெச்சு, அந்த மாதிரி attract பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்புறம்,ம், books-ல இருக்கிற Sunday school lessons எல்லாம் எடுத்து அவங்களுக்கு ரொம்ப interesting-ஆ பண்ணுவாங்க. அதினால children காத்துக் கிட்டே இருப்பாங்க. அவ, after every sunday school-ல நாங்க வந்து பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு ஒரு chocolate that's another attraction to the children. சின்னக் குட்டிங்களெல்லாம் வரும். அதுவும் இது one hour, one and a half hours-ல முடிஞ்சிரதுனால, they don't mind staying there-ம், sunday school முடிஞ்சபெறகு, ம், போயிருவாங்க. நாங்க church க்குப் போயிருவோம். எங்க church கூட 10.30 அப்படி, eleven-க்கு நாங்க போனாலும் பரவாயில்லை, ம் போயி சேந்திருவோம். அதுக்குள்ள sunday school முடிஞ்சிரும். அப்புறம் இந்த Gospel Sunday evenings-ல Gospel meeting வைப்போம். அப்போம் பக்கத்தில இருக்கிற Christian families மாத்திரம் வைக்கமாட்டாங்க. இந்த Christian-ல வந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணி. இந்த எங்க எடம் area develop ஆக ஆரம்பிச்சிருச்சு. கொஞ்ச கொஞ்சமா குடும்பம் ஜாஸ்தியாக, கொஞ்சம் வருஷம் ஜாஸ்தி ஆயிட்டாங்க. அவங்களுக்கு வந்து இந்த வீட்ல பத்தாது போயிட்டு அப்பம் எங்காச்சும் வேற plot பாத்து church-ன்னு சொல்லி ஒரு பெரிய plot பாத்து அங்க church கட்டிட்டாங்க. அது church ன்னு கட்டின பெறகு, weekly services கூட ஆரம்பிச்சுட்டாங்க.

25. Amar – IC25, sisters' meeting-s youth-meeting-s all night prayer, fasting prayers-உ அந்த மாதிரி week days-ல ஆரம்பிச்சிட்டாங்க. இப்படி ஆரம்பிக்கவே, Tuesdays are meant for sisters' meeting. அந்த sister's meeting-ல working day Tuesday அதினால college போறவங்களோ, படிக்கிறவங்களோ, வேலை பாக்கிறவங்களால வர முடியாது. படிக்காது, படிக்காத இல்லை, வேலை செய்யாத housewives தான் வருவாங்க. அவங்க மடமடன்னு வீட்ல



சமையல் எல்லாம் முடிச்சிட்டு பத்து மணிக்கு மேல வருவாங்க. sisters' meeting கூட பத்து மணிக்கு மேல தான் தொடங்கும். அப்புறம் எல்லாம் sister-ங்க எல்லாம் அப்படியோ 25,30 பேர் வருவாங்க. ஒவ்வொரு சமயம் நாப்பது பேர் வருவாங்க. Holidays-இருந்தாக்கா, இப்பம் summer vacation அந்த மாதிரி இருந்தாக்கா young girls கூட வந்திருவாங்க, college எல்லாம் மூடிருன்னு அவங்களும் வந்திருவாங்க. அப்படி நெறைய பேர் இருப்பாங்க. ஹெப்ரோன்ல இருந்து two sisters வருவாங்க. ஒரு சமயம் அவங்க என்ன பண்ணுவாங்க, யாரும் கொஞ்சம் sick-கா இருக்கிறாங்கன்ட்டு எதாச்சும் news வந்திச்சின்னா இங்க வந்துக்கு முந்தி, prayer வந்துக்கு முந்தி ஒரு nine O' clock அப்படியே visiting முடிச்சிட்டு, அப்புறம் prayer பண்ணுவாங்க. ஒவ்வொரு சமயம் அந்த house visiting-ல delay ஆச்சின்னாக்கா நான் takeover பண்ணி என்ன பண்ணுவேன், ன், ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு பாட்டு சொன்னாக்கா, நான் பாடிட்ட இருப்போம். எல்லாரும் பாடிட்டு இருப்போம். அது Telugu ஊரா இருந்ததுனால Telugu படிச்சி பாட்டு number சொல்லிட்டு எல்லார் சேர்ந்து பாட்டுப் பாடுவோம். இதான் பாட்டுப் பாடிக்கிட்டு இருக்கும் போது, அவங்க sisters வருவாங்க. அப்பம் அவங்களுக்கு அந்த time saving-ஆகும், அப்புறம் nearly 1.30 to 2 ஆயிரும், by the time they finish, ம், இது. அதுக்கப்புறம் தான் வீட்டுக்குப் போணும் நாங்க. அது வந்து, ன், month அது first Tuesday of the month fast பண்ணி ஜெபம் பண்ணுவோம். எல்லாரும் உபவாசத்தில் வருவாங்க. என்னென்ன பாரம் இருக்குன்னாக்கா, மொத்தல்லாவது நம்ப church development பற்றி எல்லாரும் ஜெபிக்கனுன்னு சொல்லுவாங்க. அடுத்தது கல்யாணம் ஆகாத பெண் பிள்ளைகளுக்கும், முக்காவாசி பிள்ளைகதான் அதிகமாக இருக்கு கல்யாணம் ஆகாம. Boys அவ்வளவு இல்லை, ன், அந்த மாதிரி family-ல சரியான மாப்பிள்ளை இல்லாம, ம், அப்படி பிள்ளைகளுக்காக ஜெபிக்கலானு சொல்லிட்டு, அது பாரப்பட்டு ஜெபிப்போம். அடுத்தது வியாதியா இருக்கிறவங்களுக்காக வேண்டி, அடுத்தது வந்து, ம், நெறைய பேருடைய children-ஓ இல்லாட்டி husbands-ஓ warfront-ல இருப்பாங்க, military காரங்க, அந்த நாங்க இப்பம் இருக்கிற அந்த canon prayer house-றே military area சுற்றி military people-தான் இருப்பாங்க. அதினால அந்த wives--ஓ, இல்லை, sons தாய் military ஆட்களா இருப்பாங்க. அவங்களுக்காக பாரப்பட்டு ஜெபிக்கிறது. இப்படி நாங்க sisters ஒருத்தருடைய ஒருத்தர் பாரத்தை சுமந்து வச்ச ஜெபிப்போம் நாங்க. அப்படி ஜெபிக்கும் போது அது பதிலும் இருக்கும் அங்க. என்ன, அந்த அம்மாமார் வந்து, 'என் மகன் பத்திரமா இருக்கிறான். அவங்க unit-இலேயே அந்த Kargil-ல எல்லாம் இத்தனை பேருக்கு அடிபட்டு கால், கை ஒடைஞ்சு வீட்டுக்கு, இரண்டு பேர் மரிச்சுக்கூட போயிட்டாங்க. ஆனா கர்த்தர் என் மகனைக் காப்பாத்தினான். அப்புறம் இன்னொரு அம்மா வந்து என்ன சொன்னாங்க. அவன் leave போவாரு சமயத்தில், இப்படி suitcase-ல வச்சிட்டு ticket- வாங்க போனாக்கா, வந்து பார்த்தா suitcase இல்லை. அதில அவனுடைய identity, pass, அது இருந்தாதான் இவன் military காரன்னு prove பண்ண முடியும். அதை எல்லாம் போயிருக்கே. அதுவும் அவன் இரண்டு மாசம் லீவில் வருவான். அந்த இரண்டு மாசத்தில் அவன் வருஷம் பூரா பணம் சேத்துவச்சி, அம்மாக்கு கொண்டு வரனுன்னு, இவ்வளவு ஆயிரங்க, இருபதாயிரமோ இருபத்திராயிரமோ வச்சிருந்தானாம். எல்லாம் waste. ஆனா அவன் பத்திரமா வந்து சேந்தான். எனக்கு போதும், சொகமா இருக்கிறதே போதும். பணம் அதான் இல்லை,ன்ட்டு கண்ல தண்ணீர் வந்து, என், ஒரு திருப்தியோட ஜெபிச்சாங்க. 'இந்த, ஒங்க ஜெபம் நீங்க பண்ணதினால கர்த்தர் அவனை காப்பாத்தித்தந்தான்'ன்னு, அப்படியெல்லாம் சாட்சி சொல்றவங்களும் இருக்கிறாங்க. அப்புறம் என்ன பண்ணுவாங்க, நாங்க வந்து, இப்பம் இந்த மாசம் பிப்ரவரி மாசம், ஜனவரி ஒண்ணாந்தேதி, watchnight service-ல அப்பம் அந்த church-ல இந்த Jehovah Shamma-ஓ, இந்த Hebron-ஆ அதுல ஒரு வழக்கம் என்னன்னா, promises of God எல்லாம் சின்ன சின்ன bookmark மாதிரி அதில, எழுதி, எல்லாரும் பாட்டுபாடி ஒவ்வொண்ணா எடுத்துகிட்டு வருவோம். இதில என்ன இருக்கும், 'இந்த promise நீங்க, ம், கர்த்தர் கிட்ட claim பண்ணி பெற்றுக் கொள்ளுங்க-ன்டு எங்களுக்கு சொல்லுவாங்க. அப்பம் அதில என்ன promise வருதோ, அந்த promise பிரகாரம் நம்ம கர்த்தரை கேட்டுக்கிட்டே இருந்தோமென்னா நமக்கு அது பலிக்கும். அது மாதிரி அந்த promise-ஆ 'உனக்குப் போன வருஷம் எடுத்த promise அது உனக்கு எப்படி பலிச்சிச்சி சொல்லு'ன்னு சாட்சி ஒவ்வொருத்தரா ஒரு few within a few sentences' நீ அதைப் பற்றி சொல்லுன்னுவாங்க. அப்பம் ஒவ்வொருத்தரா வந்து சொல்லுவாங்க. ஒவ்வொருத்தருடைய சாட்சியும் ஒவ்வொரு மாதிரி இருக்கும். Two people will not say the same type of witness about the promise cards. ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கும் ஒவ்வொரு மாதிரி இருக்கும். அப்படியே promising cards-ஐ எடுத்து நாங்க சொல்லுவோம்.

26. Swarna – IC26, நான் சின்னபிள்ளையா இருக்கும் போது ரொம்ப பயந்த சுவாபம் எனக்கு ரொம்ப பயப்படுவேன் இப்படி ஒரு Sunday School இந்த examination எழுதான்னாக்கூட, ம் வந்து எழுத்துப் பரீட்சை அங்க வந்து நாங்க படிச்ச அந்த ஊர்ல வாய்ப்பரீட்சைன்னு ஒண்ணு. அதாவது இந்த இது மாதிரி இந்த Beginners இதுக்கு மாதிரி நான் எப்பவுமே எழுத்துப்பரீட்சைக்கே போகமாட்டேன். Fifth standard எல்லாம் வந்தபெறும் இந்தப் பரீட்சைதான் எழுதனுன்னு நான் யோசிப்பேன். இது அப்படி ஒரு பயம். எனக்கு நல்லா ஞாபகம் இருக்கு நானு சின்னப்பிள்ளையாட்டு Sunday Schoolல எனக்கு Christmas-க்கு வசனம் எல்லாம் சொல்லித் தருவாங்கல்ல எனக்கு ஒரு வசனம் சொல்லித்தருவாங்க . அதை stage-ல போய் சொல்லணும் அப்பம் stage க்குப் போகும் போதே நான் பயந்துக்கிட்டே, எனக்கு பயம் வேற அங்க இருந்த wire-ல வேற தட்டிக் கீழ விழுந்து, அங்க போய் ஒரு முழு வசனத்தை ஒழுங்கா சொல்லுத்க்கு உள்ள ஒரு . . . பண்ண வசனத்தையே பாதி சொல்லிட்டு நான் வந்திட்டேன். அவ்வளவு ஒரு பயந்து தான் இருப்பேன். அப்பம், ம், junior படிக்கும் போது எங்களுக்கு ஒரு அண்ணன் class எடுத்துக்கிட்டு இருந்தாங்க. அவங்க சொன்னாங்க, 'இல்லை நீ examination எழுதலாம்'. இன்னும் என்னன்னா, மற்ற வீடலையும் எல்லாரும் அந்த மாதிரி force-உம் பண்ணலை. மற்ற teachers அதுவரையும் ஒரு teacher 'இல்லை, நீ இது உனக்கு எழுத முடியும். நீ



எழுது'ன்னு அந்த மாதிரி சொல்லல. இப்பம் ஆணா சொன்னாங்க 'இல்லை, எழுத முடியும், நீ எழுதினா நல்ல mark எல்லாம் கெடைக்கும். ஒண்ணா முடியுஞ் சொல்லிட்டு அந்த அண்ணன் 'இல்லை நீ எழுதணும். கண்டிப்பா எழுத்துப் பரீட்சைதான் எழுதணு'ன்னு சொல்லி, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு தைரியம், நாங்கெல்லாம் இங்கதான் நின்னுக்கிட்டு இருப்போம்ன்னு சொல்லி, அப்பம் அப்பம் வந்து, உள்ளுக்கு அதிகம் கூடாது. வெளில இருந்துதான் examination வந்து examination வந்து வாங்க. ன், வந்து, அப்பப்பம் வந்து தலையைக் காட்டிக்கிடுவாங்க. நாங்கெல்லாம் இருக்கோம், நீ எழுதுன்னு சொல்ற மாதிரி அப்படி ஒரு, ன், தைரியம் தந்திருந்தங்க. அந்த பரீட்சையும் நான் எழுதிட்டேன். அப்புறமா நான் என்ன Sunday School-க்கு போவேன். அதுக்கு இது சின்ன class-ல வந்து, அதாவது senior வரைக்கும் அம்மா, அப்பா வேற எடத்தில் இருப்பாங்க, லீவுக்கு அங்க போவோம். சில பாட்டி வீட்ல நிப்போம். அந்த church-ல உள்ள Sunday school-க்குப் போனோம். அதினால, அந்த மாதிரி அங்க கேட்டுப் போனதினால எனக்கு சின்னக் class-ல எவ்வளவு படிப்பேன்னு உள்ள ஒரு ரூபகமே இல்லை. ஆணா, Primary-ல ஒரு அக்கா சொல்லித் தந்த ரூபகம் இருக்கு. Ruth-க்கு husband இரண்டாவது வந்து, ன், போவாஸ். அது எப்பவுமே அந்த அவங்க சொல்லிக் குடுத்தது அப்படி ரூபகம் இருக்கும். அப்புறம் VBS-க்குப் போகும் போது ஒரு இருபத்தி நாலாஞ் சங்கீதத்தை படிச்சி ஒரு group, ஒவ்வொரு வசனமா மாத்தி, இந்த group ஒண்ணு, அப்படிச் சொல்றதுக்கு, அப்பம் அதை படிச்சி stage-ல sixth standard படிக்கும் போது பிரியமா அதை சொல்லிட்டு, ஆணாலும் எனக்கு stage இதுன்னு ஒரு பயம். அப்படி இருக்கும் போது எங்க அம்மா வந்து அவங்க சின்ன வயசில படிச்ச Sunday schoolலாம் எடுத்தவங்க. Stage-ல தான் பயப்படுவேனே தவிர, மற்றபடி நான் வந்து கொஞ்சம், எங்க அண்ணன் கொஞ்சம் அமைதியா இருப்பாங்க, நான் கொஞ்சம் வாயாடிதான் வீட்ல வெளில எல்லாம் அங்க இங்க நல்லா வாயாடிப்பேன். ன், school-லயும் நல்லா வாத்தியார்ட்ட வாயாடிப்பேன், teacherட்ட நல்லா வாயாடினேதான் என்னை சொல்லுவாங்க. அப்படி வாயாடிதான். ஆணா அந்த stage-க்குன்னு சொல்லும் போது அது ஒரு பயந்த ஒரு இதுதான் இருந்தது.

27. Swarna - IC27, அப்புறம் எங்க அம்மா வந்து Sunday school teacher-ஆ மொதல்ல எல்லாம் இருந்திருக்கிறாங்க. நாங்க Sunday school senior-லாம் போகும் போது அவங்க teacher-ஆ இல்லை. அப்படி இருக்கும் போது எங்க church-ல Endeavour-ன்னு அந்த இதைத் தொடங்கினாங்க. தொடங்கினபோது Senior Endeavour அந்த இதில பெண்கள் பக்கம் உள்ளதை பாத்துக்கிறதற்கு எங்க அம்மாவைதான், ஒரு நான் night-உ pastor uncle வந்து கூப்பிட்டாங்க. சரின்னு சொல்லி, அம்மாவும் accept பண்ணி, அம்மா போவாங்க. அப்பம் Endeavour, நான் வந்து Senior Endeavour, அப்பம் Eleventh standard படிச்சிட்டிருந்தேன். Senior Endeavour, ஐயா சொன்னாரு, ன், அதாவது ஒவ்வொரு portion ஒவ்வொருத்தர் நடத்தணும். Endeavour-ல்ல actual-ஆ இந்த, அந்த lead பண்பவங்க தான் எல்லாம் நடத்தணும், நடத்தறது கெடையாது. அவங்க வந்து மொதல் ஜெபத்தை மாத்திரம் பண்ணிட்டு இருந்திருவாங்க. ஆயத்த ஜெபன்னு ஒண்ணு. அது ஒரு girl நடத்தணான், அப்பம் portion ஒருத்தர் வாசிக்கணும், ஒரு செய்திக் குறிப்பு ஒருத்தர் வாசிக்கணும். ஒருத்தர் ஒரு பிரசங்கத்தை இது பண்ணணும். சாட்சி சொல்லணும். அந்த மாதிரி ஒவ்வொருத்தரும் அங்க இருக்கிற பிள்ளைகள் தான் அது எல்லாத்தையும் செய்யணும். அப்பம் என்கிட்ட சொன்னாங்க நீ ஒனக்கு சாட்சியைச் சொல்லணும்ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு சொன்னாங்க, eleventh படிக்கும் போது என்ன ஆண்டவரை நான் ஏற்றிருக்கிறேன், நான் இப்படி அந்த மாதிரி சொல்லணான்னு சொன்னாங்க. அது எனக்கு ரொம்ப பயமா இருந்தது. என்னடா அது வேற, முப்பது, நாப்பது பேருக்கு மேல இருப்பாங்க. அங்க போய் நின்னுக்கிட்டு நம்ம எப்படி சாட்சி சொல்றதுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு நான் கொஞ்சம் பயந்துட்டேதான் இருந்தேன். 'இல்லை நீ சொல்ல முடியும், நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டே இருப்பேன்'. ஐயா வேற வந்து uncle வேற வந்து உக்காந்திருக்காங்க. நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணிக்கிட்டே இருப்பேன், நீ சொல்லு அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு அவங்க இது பண்ணாங்க. நான் இரண்டு, மூணு நிமிஷம் சொல்லி, வந்து பண்ணிட்டேன். பெறகு அது ஐயாவும் explain பண்ணி, இது பண்ணி சொன்னாங்க. அதுக்குப் பெறகு இந்த பிரசங்கம் பண்றதில, ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கும் தருவாங்கல்ல. அப்பம் கண்டிப்பா செய்ய வேண்டியதிருந்துது, read பண்ண வேண்டியது. அதினால போய் செய்து. பெறகு பிரசங்கம். பிரசங்கத்துக்கு மொதல்ல எல்லாம் எனக்கே அந்தப் பிரசங்க குறிப்பெல்லாம் எடுக்க தெரியாது books எல்லாம் வாசித்திட்டு, இது பண்ணி போய் கொஞ்சம் அதை எழுதி அதைப் போய் கொஞ்சம் அந்த மாதிரி போய் பிரசங்கம் பண்ணிட்டு வந்திருவேன். ன், அப்படித்தான் இருந்தது. அப்படி இருக்கும் போது அந்த anniversary வந்தது. அப்பம் பட்டிமன்றம் வைக்கணாம் அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு சொன்னாங்க. அப்பம் பட்டிமன்றத்தில பேசணும். அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு நீணும் பேசணுன்னு சொல்லிட்டாங்க. ன் skirt and blouse தான் நான் அப்பம் போட்டிருப்பேன். நீ பேசுன்னா நான் வந்து சரின்னு சொல்லிட்டு வந்து வீட்ல யார்கிட்டயுமே கேக்கல. ன், ஜெபம் பண்றது, Bible வாசிக்கிறது அது சின்ன பிள்ளையில இருக்கே. அப்படியே அம்மா பழக்கதினால வேற மாதிரி இது ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. அது எனக்கு தெரியல, நான் அவ்வளவு தைரியமா இப்படி கையெல்லாம் வச்ச வச்ச பெறகு வந்து எல்லாரும் கேட்டாங்க, 'உனக்கு யார் இதெல்லாம் சொல்லித் தந்தா எங்கயாவது practice பண்ணயா நான் ஒரு எடமும் practice பண்ணல, யாரும் சொல்லித்தரல, ஆணா அவ்வளவு தைரியமா நான் அண்ணைக்கு வந்து அந்த பட்டிமன்றத்தில வந்து பேசியிருக்கிறேன். அப்பந்தான் அதுக்குப் பெறகு தான் கொஞ்சம், இப்பமும் stage-னா Bible வாசிக்க reading தந்தாகூட எங்க ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு 'ஆண்டவரே என்கூட வாங்க நீங்க எனக்கு வேண்டிய என்கிட்ட வந்து நின்னுக்கிடுங்க' - இப்படிதான் Bible reading ஒரு fear ஒடதான் போவேன். ஆணாலும் அங்க போயி நின்னா நடுங்கி விழுந்திடுவேன். அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு பயம் என்னை வந்து ஆட்கொள்ளாது.

28. Swarna - IC28, அப்புறம் வந்து PUC படிக்கும் போது hostel-ல சேத்திட்டாங்க. Hostel-ல சேத்த ஒடனே, ன், சாயந்தரம் girls-ஐக் கூட்டிட்டு நம்ம Christians ஒரு ஜெபம் பண்ணலாம், prayer அப்பதான் Women's Fellowship,

இந்த college அங்க தொடங்கிருந்தாங்க. PUC பிள்ளைகளும் B.Sc., first year பிள்ளைகளும் உண்டு. B.Sc., first year PUC பிள்ளைகள் கூட வந்து join பண்ண மாட்டாங்க. கொஞ்சம் student தான். அப்பம் நானும் இன்னொரு girl இருந்தா. அவளும் நம்ம வந்து சேந்து கொஞ்சம் பிள்ளைகளை வச்சு பாட்டு பாடுவோம். அது வந்து தடை கெடையாது. Christian college ஆனதினால ஒரு class room-ஐ, கீழ class room எல்லாம் தெறந்து விட்டிருப்பாங்க, பிள்ளைகள் உக்காந்து படிக்கன்னு அந்த hostel பிள்ளைகள். அப்பம் அங்க ஒரு எடத்தில் போயி கொஞ்சம், பிள்ளைகள் சேத்துவச்சிட்டு இப்படிதான், சும்மா பாட்டுபாடி Bible வாசித்துட்டு, நாங்களை இங்க வந்து explain பண்ணது. எவ்வளவு தெரியுமோ அந்த மாதிரி பண்ணது. அதுக்குப் பெறகு Hindu girl வந்து கேக்கும் போது எங்களோட நல்லா ஞாபகம் இருக்கு, எனக்கு கல்விமான் ஒரு பிள்ளைக்கு வந்து நான் ஆண்டவரைப்பற்றி சொல்லிக் குடுத்தது. அப்படி சும்மா free ஆ இருக்கும் போது ஆண்டவரைப் பற்றியாருக்காது சொல்றது. அப்பறம் B.Sc.யும் hostel-ல தான் இருந்தேன். அது இன்னொரு catholic college-உ ஏற்கனவே அங்க வந்து அந்த UG இதில இருந்தெல்லாம் அக்காமார் வந்து இது பண்ணிட்டு இருந்திட்டாங்க. ன், senior-ல அக்காமார், இருந்தாங்க. அப்பம் அவங்க அந்த prayer காலையில கொஞ்சம் நேரம், சாயந்தரம், எல்லா நாளும் சாயந்தரம் PUC பிள்ளைகளும் வந்து, ஒரு hall தந்திருந்தாங்க. அதில கண்டிப்பா அவங்க போய் catholic ஒரு எடத்திலையும் CSI ஒரு எடத்திலையும் வந்து கண்டிப்பா பாட்டு பாடி ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு வரணும். அது ஒரு இது இருந்தது. அதுக்குப் போயி, அந்த third year வரைக்கும், third year தான் நடத்துவாங்க. Third year படிக்கும் போது volunteer-ஆ நானும் இன்னும் இரண்டு மூன்று girls. அப்படி அதை அப்படி, ன், நடத்துவோம், ன், அப்படி hostel-ல வந்து second, third year second term, அதாவது sixth semester-ல வந்து, நான் வந்து days scholar-ஆ போயிட்டிருந்தேன்.

29. Swarna – IC29, அப்பறம் M.Sc.-க்கு வந்து அது hostel-ல காரைக்குடி படிச்சிட்டிருந்தேன். அங்க போன ஓடனையும் Seniors இருந்தாங்க. ஒரு நாலஞ்சு Seniors இருந்தாங்க, அவங்க ஒரு prayer meeting சாயந்தரம், சாயந்தரம் சேந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணுவாங்க. So, நான் Christian-ன உடனே நான் போன அடுத்த நாள்லயே நான், இப்படி நீ வறயான்னு கேட்டாங்க. சரின்னு சொல்லிட்டு நானும் போனேன். அந்த, ன், கொஞ்ச நாள்லயே அவங்க கூட எல்லாம் பழகிட்டு அப்பம் அங்கயும் அந்த message குடுக்கிறமா மாத்தி மாத்தி அக்காமார் குடுப்பாங்க. வெளில இருந்து ஒரு aunty எல்லாம் வந்து குடுப்பாங்க. Actual-ஆ இப்ப யாரு இந்த சுனிதா சங்கர், சங்கர் எறந்து போன, சுனிதாவுடைய அம்மா வருவாங்க. அங்க, ன், அவளுடைய அக்கா வந்து leave-ல வரும் போது செலவேனை எங்க prayer - என்னா எங்க age group அவங்க அக்கா. இது எங்களுடைய set. So அவளும் வந்து ம், message குடுப்பா அதினால ஆவிக்குரிய வாழ்க்கையில் வளர்ப்பதற்கும் எனக்கு ஒரு இது எல்லாம் ஒரு இது இருந்தது. Bible-ஐ நான் கொஞ்சங்கூட Bible-ல இந்த message எல்லாம் குடுக்கணும், இதெல்லாம் குடுக்கணும், இதெல்லாம் Bible-ஐ வாசிக்கும் போதே ஆண்டவர் சொல்லித்தாரதை கொஞ்சம் அப்படி ஞாபகம் வச்சிக்கிடுவேன். பெறகு அதை, அதினால அந்த இதில வளர்ப்பதற்கும் அந்த ஜெபம் கூடுகைகளெல்லாம் எனக்கு கொஞ்சம் உதவியாகவும் இருந்தது.

30. Swarna – IC30, அதுக்குள்ளயும் CEF ஓட எனக்கு வந்து, நாங்க எங்க leave-க்கு வரும் போதெல்லாம் எங்க Sunday school-ல என்னை நல்லா use பண்ணிக்கிடுவாங்க. ம், அப்பம் CEF-ல இருந்து எனக்கு ஒருக்கா church மூலமா training ஒரு அஞ்சு நாள் training தந்தாங்க. அதுக்கப்பறம் நான் days scholar-ஆ போனதினால, Good News Club-ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு நடத்துவாங்க. வீட்டுக்கிட்ட உள்ள பிள்ளைகள் எல்லாம் சேத்து வச்சு, Hindus-க்கு, அவங்க, இந்த aids எல்லாம் நானே தான் prepare பண்ணுவேன். ன், எல்லா Sundays-உம் அந்த பக்கத்தில் உள்ள பிள்ளைகளும் சேத்து வச்சு, நான் வந்து ஆண்டவர் பத்தி அவங்களுக்கு சொல்லுவேன். Aids எல்லாம் நானே இது பண்ணிக்கிடுவேன். அப்பறம் வந்து எங்க church actual-ஆ நாங்க இருந்த எடத்தில் இருந்து ஒரு மைல் தூரம் போன மாதிரி நடந்து தான் போணும். Village-க்கு bus எல்லாம் கிடையாது. Auto ஒன்றுமே கிடையாது. நடக்கணும். எங்க family-யும் எங்க உடைய அப்பா உடைய ஒரு cousin, எங்க அந்த ஒரு family-யும் இங்க இருந்து அந்த church-க்கு ஆசையா காலையில இருந்து, என்னா எங்க தாத்தா காலத்தில தாத்தா எல்லாமாம் கட்டின church. இங்கதான் கட்டிருந்திருக்காங்க. பெறகு இங்க நெறைய பேர் இல்லைன்னு, அடுத்த set வந்து church எடம் மாத்திருக்காங்க. அவ்வளவு தூரம். ஆனா நாங்க வந்து அங்க போயிருவோம். இந்த village-ஓட village-ல உள்ளவங்க இரண்டு மூணு பேரு ஆம்பிளைங்க வருவாங்க. பொம்பளைங்க வருவாங்க. வராம இருப்பாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி. இவங்களுக்கு அப்பம் இங்க ஒரு சின்ன கூடுகை இருந்துதுன்னா அது அந்த ஞாயிற்றுக் கெழமையா இது பண்ணிடுவாங்க. அந்த village உள்ளவங்களே எல்லாம் சேந்து ஒரு சின்ன shed மாதிரி கட்டி ஞாயிற்றுக் கெழமை சாயந்தரம் அங்க ஒரு ஆராதனை வச்சிருப்பாங்க. church-ல இருந்து அதுக்கு permission உண்டு. இங்க காணிக்கையெல்லாம் பிரிச்சி அது church அப்படியே போயிரும். ன், actual-ஆ அங்க இருந்து யாரும் நடத்த மாட்டாங்க. எங்களுக்கு ஒரு PC member இங்க உண்டு. அவரு தான் இங்க நடத்தணும். இதில நான் சின்ன பிள்ளையா இருக்கும் போது அதுக்கு சாயந்தரம் அங்க போவேன். அப்பறம் B.Sc. படிக்கும் போது அதைக் கொஞ்சம் பெரிசாகக் கட்டிட்டாங்க. நெறைய பேர் வருவாங்க. நான் அதை இந்த Hindu இதுக்கெல்லாம் நடத்திட்டிருந்தேனா, ன், என்னை அதினால அதில message குடுக்கிறதுக்கு என்னை மொதல்ல, இரண்டு, மூணு நாள் message என்னை குடுக்க சொன்னாங்க. நான் அப்பம் தைரியமா, ன், message குடுத்திட்டேன். அப்பறம் அந்த PC member அப்பறம் அங்க 'நீன்னே இதை நடத்திருன்னு' சொல்லிட்டு அந்த ஒரு, PG-க்குப் போறது வரைக்கும் அந்த அங்க இருந்த அவ்வளவு நாளும் மற்ற நான் ஆராதனை மாதிரி அதை வந்து நானே தான் நடத்தினேன். அந்த மொதல்ல ஜெபம் பண்ணி பாட்டு பாடி, இதைப் பாடுவோன்னு சொல்றது, இங்க இருந்து prepare பண்ணிட்டு, என்ன பாட்டு பாடலாம், இதை எழுதி வச்சு கொண்டு போயிருவேன். போயிட்டு,



என்ன class mate, SSLC வரையும் என்னோட படிச்ச ஒரு பையன் இருந்தான். அவன் காணிக்கை எடுக்கிறது. ன், காணிக்கை சமயம் நான் ஞானப்பட்டு கீர்த்தனை பாடாம, சம்மா நம்ம இந்த ஜெபத்துக்கு வா, இந்த prayer meeting-ல பாடுவோம். அந்தப்பாட்டல் ஒரு பாட்டு பாடுவோம். அப்பம் drum இதெல்லாம் போடுவாங்க. அது எல்லாம் அவன் எனக்கு help பண்ணுவான். அதே மாதிரி இந்த Hindu பிள்ளைகளையும் கூட்டுறதுக்கும் வந்து மொதல்ல நானும் அவனுந்தான் மொதல்ல போய் நின்று அங்க அவன் drum-மை இதுபண்ணி இரண்டுபேருமா பாடின ஒடனேதான் பிள்ளைகள் ஓடி வரும், அதுக்கு help பண்ணுவான். அப்படி அந்த முழு இடம் காணிக்கை எல்லாம் அவன் வாங்கி அதில்லாம் எண்ணி எடுத்திருவான். இதை நடத்துறது, பெரியவங்கள்லாம் வருவாங்க. வயசான அம்மாமாரெல்லாம் நான்தான் எங்கயும் அப்பெல்லாம் எங்கயாவது book-ஐப் படிச்சி prepare பண்ணணும். அந்த அறிவெல்லாம் எனக்குக் கிடையாது. வசனத்தைப் படிக்கும் போது இந்த வசனத்துக்குள்ள இருந்து ஆண்டவர் என்ன சொல்லி தாராரோ, அதில இருந்து என்ன எனக்கு அப்படி வருதோ, ஆனா அதைப் போயி சொல்லுவேன். அதே மாதிரி Womens Fellowship-ல உள்ளவர்களும் Sunday தான் இருந்தா, அது என்னு் எனக்குத் தெரியல, Sunday தான் இருந்தா இந்த பரிசுத்த ஆவியைப் பெறுதல் அதெல்லாம் அந்தக் காலத்தில் வந்து ஒரு சந்தேகம் அது என்னது, என்ன அன்னிய பாவை பேசுறது, சிலர் பேசுவே கூடாதுன்னு வாங்க, அதில எல்லாம் சந்தேகம் ஏதாவது வந்துதுன்னா யாராவது என்னதாவது சொன்னா சந்தேகம் வந்ததுன்னா என்னை வந்து சந்தேகம், Aunty மாரெல்லாம் கேப்பாங்க. அது என்னு் எனக்கு வெளங்கல. நான் அப்பம் சின்னப்பிள்ளையா இருக்கும் போது B.Sc., M.Sc., யெல்லாம் படிக்கும் போது அவங்க வந்து என்னையைக் கேப்பாங்க. எனக்கு என்ன explain பண்ணமுடியுமோ நான் அதை வந்து பண்ணுவேன். இதில எல்லாத்தையையும் ன், என்னு் தெரியல, நான் ஆனா சின்னப் பிள்ளையிலேயே ஒரு நாள், யாரோ கேக்கும் போது, நான் ஊழியத்துக்கு தான் போவேன்னு ஊழியத்துக்குதான் போவேன் அந்த மாதிரி சொல்லுவேன். ஆனா அப்பம் ஏனோ அந்த இது படிக்கதுக்கு, அப்புறம், ம், அந்த CEF-ல கூட Nasik-ல போய் மூணுமாசம் training எடுத்தா அங்க full-time-ஆ எதோ போலாம். Nasik வரைக்கும் விட்டுறதுக்கும் யாரும், ன், சம்மதிக்கல. ஒருவேளை நான் வந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணேன். இப்படி ஜெபம் பண்ணுவேன் ஆண்டவர்கிட்ட, எப்படினா, நம்ம வந்து மனுஷர்கள் என்னவோ ஆசைப்படுவோம், இல்லையா. நமக்கு அது நல்லதா கெட்டதானு தெரியாமலேயே நம்ம அதுக்காக ஆசைப்படுவோம். அப்பம் கெட்ட ஒண்ணு நமக்கு வந்திட்டிடுன்னு சொன்னா, நம்ம ஆசைப்பட்டதினால ஆண்டவர் நமக்கு அதை தந்திட்டாருன்னு வைங்க. அதுக்குப்பெறகு அதில உள்ள தீமையை நம்மதான் அனுபவிக்கணும். So, நான் ஆண்டவர்கிட்ட சொல்லுவேன், 'எனக்கு வந்து அந்த தூரப்பார்வை, இந்த வழில போய்ச்சுன்னு சொன்னா, கடைசில என்ன இருக்குன்ன எனக்கு தெரியாது. இந்த பாதை எங்க போய் முடியுதுன்னு எனக்குத் தெரியாது. ஆனா ஒங்களுக்குத் தெரியும். அதினால நான் ஆசைப்பட்டுக் கேட்டாலும், ஒங்களுக்கு இஷ்டம் இல்லைன்னா எனக்குத் தரவேண்டாம். அது நான் மனுஷி, கேக்க தான் செய்வேன். என்னுடைய கொணம் அப்படிதான் இருக்கும். நான் கேப்பேன். ஒருவேளை அமுது பொரளுவேனா இருக்கும். கண்டிப்பா வேணுன்னு முட்டி மோதி அமுவேனா இருக்கும். அப்பம் கூட ஒங்களுக்கு இஷ்டம் இல்லைன்னா நீங்க தரவே கூடாது, நான் எவ்வளவு அமுது கெஞ்சினாலும் ஒங்களுக்கு சித்தம் இல்லாத ஒண்ணை வந்து நான் கெஞ்சினேன்னேன்னு என் மூஞ்சியைப் பாத்து எனக்கு தரவே கூடாது', அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு ஜெபம் பண்ணுவேன். அதினால நான் நெனைக்கிறேன் ஒருவேளை இந்த இதுக்கெல்லாம் நான் ஆசைப்பட்டதெல்லாம் ஆண்டவர் நடத்தாத ஒரு வழியாகூட இருக்கலாம், இல்லையா. அதினால நான் வந்து பெறகு, மொதல்ல எல்லாம் இப்படி விட்டிருந்தா. நான் இப்பம் M.Sc.-ல வந்து paper இருக்கு, ஒரு வேளை அங்க போயிருந்தா நான் pass பண்ணிருப்பேன். ஒரு வேளை வந்து, நான் வந்து யோசித்துக்கிடுவேன். ஒரு வேளை அண்ணைக்கு ஒரு meeting போனா ஐயரம்மாமார் எல்லாம் நின்றுக்கிட்டு இருந்தாங்க. (laughs) நான் படிச்சிருந்தேனா நானும் இந்த கூட்டத்தில் நின்றுருப்பேன்ல. அப்படி ஒரு யோசித்துக்கிட்டேன். ஆனா ஆண்டவர் அதை வந்து எதோ அந்த மாதிரி நடத்தல. அது ஆண்டவருடைய சித்தமில்லன்னு நம்ம எடுத்துக்கணும். அப்படிதான் நான் வந்து எடுத்துக்கிட்டேன். இப்ப வந்து M.Sc., படிக்கும் போது இந்த மாதிரி prayer group நடத்துறது, இதெல்லாம் இருந்தது. படிச்சிட்டு வந்த பெறகும் இன்னொரு church-க்கு நாங்க போக வேண்டியதிலிருந்தது. அந்த church-ல வந்து நீ 'secretary-ஆ என்னைப் போட்டுறதுக்கு, B.Sc., third year, படிக்கும் போது, Secretary-ஆ போட்டுறோம்' அப்படின்னாங்க. நான் 'ஐயய அதுக்குள்ள வயசு நமக்கில்லை. ஒரு அக்காலலாம் என்னையும் விட பெரியவங்க இருக்காங்க, கலியாணம் ஆன அக்கா இருந்தாங்க. அவங்களைப் போட்டுக்கிடுங்க. அவங்களுக்கு தெரியமா எல்லாம் நடத்தி அந்த செய்கை எல்லாம் வச்ச பாட்டு சொல்லிக் குடுக்க, அதுக்கெல்லாம் அவங்க கஷ்டப் பட்டாங்க. 'அது எல்லாத்தையும் நான் செய்திர்றேன். இந்த Secretary வேலை மட்டும் பொறுப்பு மட்டும் எனக்கு வேண்டாம். நான் எல்லாம் ஒங்களுக்கு செய்துதர்றேன்.' ன்னு அந்த மாதிரி அடுத்த PG முடிச்சிட்டு வந்த பெறகு இன்னொரு Church-க்கு போக வேண்டியதிலிருந்தது. நாங்க வேற எடுத்துக்கு போயிட்டோம். அங்க போனாலும் அது மாதிரி தான் இந்த இவங்களுக்கெல்லாம் help எல்லாம் பண்ணுவேன். எங்க அத்தையான் அப்பம் மொதல்ல அங்க இதுவா இருந்தாங்க. அங்க போன ஒடனையும் அங்கயும் அப்படித்தான் அங்க வந்து கடைசில Endeavour, Endeavour -ல Senior ஒரு முப்பது, நாப்பது பிள்ளைகள் வரும். அவங்கள் எல்லாம் இது பொறுப்பு மொத்தமே நான் போன ஒடனே என்கிட்டயே தந்திட்டாங்க. Senior Endeavour அப்பம் CE-ல எல்லாம் வரும், அதுக்கெல்லாமே இது பண்ணி அங்க வந்து யாரும் கேள்வி கேக்க, நீ ஏன் அப்படி செய்த, இப்படி செய்தன்னு, நம்ம ஏதாவது ஆலோசனை சொன்னா அதை accept பண்ணிக்கு வாங்க. அதினால message இப்பம் வந்த Senior Endeavour-ன்னு சொல்லும் போதும் மாசத்தில் ஒருக்கா இரண்டு men, பையன்களையும் பொம்பளைங்களையும் சேத்து வச்ச ஒரு பொதுக்கூட்டம் ஒண்ணு வைப்பாங்க. அப்ப அதில எல்லாம், ன், message குடுக்க அந்த மாதிரி அதே நேரத்தில் Women's fellowship -லயும் நான், ன் கூப்பிடுவாக, ஜெப ஒரு மாசத்தில் செல நான் அந்த வெறும் ஜெப இது மாத்திரம், ஜெபம் மட்டும் ஞாயிற்றுக்கிழமை ஆராதனை முடிச்ச உடனே வச்சிருப்பாங்க. அப்பம் அதுக்கு



என்னைக் கூப்பிடுவாங்க Women's fellowship-ல உள்ளவங்க கூப்பிடுவாங்க. நான் அதுக்கும் போவேன். பெறகு புதன் கெழமை ஆராதனை தொடங்குறதுக்கு முன்னாடியும் கொஞ்சம், ன், வயசான அம்மாமாரு, ஒரு நாள் வந்திருந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு இருந்தாங்க. ஏன்னா Women's fellowship அவங்க வந்து அப்படி ஜெபம் பண்ணுவாங்களாம். Bible-ல ஒரு Portion-ஐ வாசித்திட்டு அவங்க ஜெபம் பண்ணாங்க. அண்ணைக்கு சீக்கிரம் போயிருந்தேன். அப்பம், ம், வாசித்திட்டு ஜெபம் பண்ண போற முன்னாடி, இந்த வசனத்துக்கு அர்த்தம் தெரியுதா ஒங்களுக்குன்னு கேட்டேன். ஒருத்தருக்குமே ஒண்ணும் தெரியல. ஆனா அந்த இதை மட்டும் ஒடனே நான் அதை வந்து explain பண்ணிக்குடுப்பேன். அதுக்குப் பெறகு புதன் கெழமை சீக்ரம் போயிட்டேன்னு சொன்னா, அந்த ஒரு portion எதாது அவங்க வாசிக்கிறதை அவங்களுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி வந்து பண்ணிக்குடுப்பேன்.

31. Swarna – IC31, அப்புறம் கலியாணத்துக்கு அப்புறம் இங்க, இங்க பக்கத்தில தான் ஒரு எடத்தில இருந்தோம். நான் வந்து மொதல் வாரமும் இரண்டாவது வாரமும் நெனைக்கிறேன் இங்க வந்து Sunday school-ல சேர்ந்து எனக்கு ஒரு நாத்தனார் வந்திருந்தாங்க கூட. அவங்க பிள்ளைகளும் Sunday school-ல இருந்துது. அதினால இங்க இந்த பக்கம் வந்து நின்னுக்கிட்டு இருக்கும் போது, நீ அங்க Sunday school எடுத்தால், இங்கயும் எடுக்கிறயா, நான் கேட்டுப்பாக்கட்டான்னு சொன்னாங்க. அப்பம் superintendent யாருன்னெல்லாம் எனக்கு அதெல்லாம் தெரியலை. அவங்க யார்கிட்டயோ கேட்டாங்க, சொன்னாங்க church member, நாங்க அப்பதான் வந்திருக்கிறோம் எங்க member ஆனோம், `member ஆனாதான் வந்து teacher-ஆ எடுப்போம், மற்றபடி எடுக்க மாட்டோம், அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டாங்க. So நான் அதுக்குப் பெறகு இங்க church இந்த இது Sunday school-க்கு வருவேன், வரணும் அப்படியெல்லாம் நான் யோசிக்கல, ஏன்னா church member இல்லை. பெறகு நாங்க உடனே church member-உம் ஆகல. நாங்க ஊருக்கு அப்பப்பம் போயிட்டே வேற இருந்திட்டிருந்தோம் அந்த மாதிரி வீடலவச்சு நான் பாட்டு பாடி ஜெபம் பண்ணி, சும்மா அவங்க office போன பெறகு சும்மாதான் இருப்பேன். பாட்டு பாடுவேன் கொஞ்சநேரம், Bible வாசிப்பேன், ஜெபம் பண்ணுவேன். இந்த மாதிரி பண்ணிக்கிட்டு இருந்தேன். அப்பம் நான் எடையில எல்லாம் ரொம்ப sick ஆனேன் பிள்ளைகள் வயிற்றில இருக்கும் போதெல்லாம் ரொம்ப sick -ஆ இருந்தேன். அப்புறம் பிள்ளைகள் school-க்கு LKG இது வந்த பெறகு, VBS ஒரு time, மே மாசம் எப்பவுமே ஊருக்குப் போயிருவோம், அந்த மாசம் நான் அந்த தடவை போகல. ஒடனே இங்க VBS நடந்துது. VBS-க்காக பிள்ளைகள் ரொம்ப சின்னப் பிள்ளைகளை விட்டுட்டுப் போனா இது என் பின்னாலயே வந்திரும், இருக்காது. So, VBS -க்குப் பிள்ளைகளை விட்டுட்டு நான் வந்த உக்காந்திருந்தேன். அப்பம் VBS -க்கு teachers தேவைப் பட்டிருப்பாங்க போல. அக்கா வந்து கேட்டாங்க, நீங்க VBS எடுக்கிறீங்களா, எடுப்பீங்கல்ல, சும்மாதான் இருக்கிறீங்க'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு 'சரி' எடுக்கிறேன்'னு சொல்லிட்டு நான் VBS எடுத்தேன். முடியற வேளையில ன், இங்க வந்த அண்ணைக்கு VBS எல்லாம் இது பண்ணையாரு Esther, Christy உடைய, Bernard uncle உடைய Esther, அவ சொன்னா 'நீங்க அப்படியே continue, இந்த Sunday school-க்கும் வந்திருங்கக்கா' - ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு சொன்னா. VBS-க்கு அதில, என் husband -உம் அதைப் பற்றி ஒண்ணும் சொல்லல. VBS-க்கு உட்டுட்டாங்க, அப்புறம் `Sunday school-க்கு போறேன்'ன ஒடனே ஒண்ணும் சொல்ல ஆனா late-ஆ போனாமாத்திரம் 'இவ்வளவு நேரம் என்ன செய்தீங்க' ஏன்னா காலைல tiffin-ஐ சாப்பட்டுடுவா முடியாது, எல்லாருக்கும் பண்ணி வச்சிருக்கும். போய் அவங்களுக்கு நம்ம போய் எடுத்து serve பண்ணாதான் அவங்களுக்கு அதை சாப்பிடு வாங்க. So late ஆனா அவங்களுக்கு கொஞ்சம் முறுமுறுப்பாங்க. நான் சொல்லுவேன் இந்த `Men fellowship எல்லாம் அங்க நடக்கிதில்ல. நீங்க கொஞ்ச நேரம் அப்பம் அதில இவங்களுக்கு late ஆகுனல், அதில கொஞ்ச நேரம் இருந்தா என்ன (chuckles) அப்படின்னுவேன். 'அவங்களுக்கெல்லாம் வேலையிட்டா இருப்பாங்க, எனக்கு வேலையிருக்கு அப்படின்னு வாங்க, மொதல்ல மொதல்ல. So அது just அப்படி போயிட்டு, ஆனா மே மாசமும் அதிகமும் நாங்க வந்து ஊருக்கு ஊருக்குப் போயிருவோம். அப்படி இங்க sunday school எடுத்திட்டு இருக்கும் போது ஒரு நாள் இப்படி Women's fellowship meeting பற்றி கோயிலில் announce பண்ணாங்க. ஒரு நாள் மத்யானம், meeting-க்கு வந்தேன். வந்தா என்னசொன்னேன், என்ன கொடுமைன்னா நெறைய பேர் இருந்தாங்க, retreat, ஒடுக்கக் கூட்டன்னு அஞ்சாது வாரம் எதோ வச்சிருந்தாங்க. நான் வந்திருந்தேன். எனக்கு யாரையுமே தெரியாது. ன், இதெல்லாம் முடிஞ்சிது, போண்டா, Coffee எல்லாம் தந்தாங்க, எல்லாம் சாப்பட்டாச்சு, யாருமே நீ எங்க இருந்து வாற, என்ன, ன் என்னை பிள்ளைகள் இருக்கா, daily வாரியா, இப்படி, இப்படி meeting இருக்குதே, இப்படி fasting prayer இருக்குது. So announce பண்ணுவாங்க right, ஆனா நம்ம பிள்ளைகளை கொண்டு late-ஆ வருவோம், வெளில வச்சிட்டு நிப்போம். என்ன announcement ன்னு தெரியாது. இப்பம் ஒரு meeting ன்றப்போ இப்பம் நான்லாம் அப்படிதான் பண்ணுவேன் புதிசா யாரையாது பாத்தாச்சின்னு சொன்னா இன்னின்ன நேரத்திலெல்லாம் Church-ல women-க்காக meeting இருக்கு, நீங்க கண்டிப்பா வாங்க, வீடல free ஆ இருக்கிற நேரம் வாங்க, இந்த மாதிரி நான் சொல்லுவேன் ஒடனே கொஞ்சம் தெரியாதவங்களா இருந்தாலும் கொஞ்சம் இப்படி பல்லைக் காட்டிட்டு இப்படி சிரிச்சிட்டு அப்படி பேச்சுக் குடுத்திருவேன். அந்த மாதிரி பண்ணுவேன். ஆனா அண்ணைக்கு நான் வந்திருந்தேன், ன், யாருமே என்னகிட்ட இப்படி meeting இருக்கு வா, அப்படினலாம் ரொம்ப பேசின மாதிரி எனக்கு ஞாபகமே இல்லை. அதுக்குப் பெறகு தனபால் ஐயா வந்திருந்தாங்க. அப்படம் ஒரு நாள் எனக்கு ஒரு note வந்துது. அப்பம் Sunday school teacher -ஆ இருந்தேன். அதுக் கெடையில என்னன்னா அங்க தாசன் aunty வீடல அந்து prayer meeting. அது எங்களுடைய அம்மாதான், நான் VBS -க்கு வந்ததினால் Esther-உடைய அம்மா கூட்டிட்டுப் போனாங்க அங்க. அந்த prayer meeting -க்கு நான் போவேன். அப்பம் தனபால் ஐயா வந்தவரு அவரு எல்லார் வீடலயும் மொதல்ல வந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணாரு. ன், ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு இங்க `Women fellowship meeting -ல எதோல discussion, எதோ பேச்சு நடந்ததில ஒரு aunty சொல்லிருக்காங்க, 'பாலா'ன்னு ஒரு

பிள்ளை வாறா, நல்லா ஜெபம் பண்ணுவா, நம்ம கூப்பிடலான்ன ஓடனே, அவரு, அவரு எங்க வீட்டுக்கு வந்த சொன்னபாலான்னு கேட்டாரு, அவபேரு பாலா இல்லை சொன்னபாலான்னு சொன்னாரு. எல்லாருக்கும் ஒரே ஆச்சரியம். எல்லாருக்கும் இவ்வளவு நாளும் நாங்க ஒண்ணைப் பார்த்து பாலான்னுதான் தெரியும், அவர் சொன்னபாலான்றாரு. So notice, அப்புறம் committee meeting, அந்த Women's fellowship meeting ஒண்ணு இருக்கு, நீயும் வான்னு சொல்லி, எதோ discussion, அடுத்த வியாழன், வெள்ளி இதை எப்படி இது பண்ணலாம், ன்டு நானும் வந்திருந்தேன். அண்ணைக்கு எல்லாரும் ரொம்ப ஒண்ணும் என்கிட்ட free -ஆ ஒண்ணும் பேச, என்னதோ என்னையப் பார்த்தா prayer meeting ல அங்க போனாலும் புதிசில எல்லாம் அப்படிதான். இவ பேசினா, இவா நல்லா jolly-ஆ பேச சிரிக்க மாட்டா போல இருக்கு. ரொம்ப இது பண்ணிக்கிட்டு அப்படியே இருந்துக்குவா போல இருக்கு அந்த மாதிரி மொதல்ல கொஞ்சம் நெனைச்சிருக்காங்க-ன், அப்புறம் மொதல் இது, இனிமேல நடத்துறதுக்கு, மொதல் வாசிக்கெல்லாம் குடுத்தாங்க. அதில இருந்து நான் வந்து Women's fellowship meeting -க்கு வருவேன். இப்பம் என்னன்னா எண்ணைக்கும் வீட்ல வெள்ளிக் கெழமையும் அந்த fasting prayer நடக்கும் போதெல்லாம் message -க்கு ஆள் இல்லை ஆள் பாக்கணும், இந்த மாசன்னு சொல்லுவாங்க. அப்பம் நான் சொன்னேன் 'என்னத்துக்கு daily வெளில இருந்து ஆள் பாக்கணும், நீங்கனே ஒவ்வொருத்தரு ஒரு நாள் message குடுக்கலான்ல்ல, daily வெளில இருந்து பாக்கமுடியாட்டி, நம்ம இங்க இருந்தே குடுத்திரலாம்! அப்பம் ஓடனே அந்த aunty சொன்னாங்க, 'நீ மொதல்ல ஒரு நாள் message குடு'ன்னு. நான் சொன்னேன் 'சரி, நாள் message குடுக்கிறேன்னு' சொன்னேன், ஐயாவும் 'சரி'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு அண்ணைக்கு அதை announce வேற பண்ணிட்டாரு இன்னாரு குடுக்கிறாங்கன்னு. அதில இருந்து இங்க சில வேளை message -க்கு எல்லாம் கூப்பிடுவாங்க. Women's fellowship meeting-க்கு அதுக்குப் பெறகு regular-ஆ வந்திட்டு இருந்தேன். அதினால, ன், வெளில ஒரு, இரண்டு நாளு வேற ministry -க்குப் போயிருக்கிறேன்.

32. Swarna – IC32, இப்படி இருக்கும் போது, ஒரு நாளு ஒரு வீட்ல ஒரு, ன், prayer meeting. ஒரு uncle-க்கு birthday. So போயிருந்தோம். எட்டு மணி தாண்டுது ஐயரு வந்து சேரல எதுக்கோ முந்தி Samson Pushparaj ஐயா, வந்து சேரல, அப்பம் சொன்னாங்க நம்ம பாட்டுபாடி ஜெபம் பண்ணி முடிச்சிருவோம் இவ்வளவு நேரம் ஆகுது. ஐயா வரலையேன்னு. அப்பம் அந்த uncle சொன்னாங்க, 'இல்லை, பாலா எதையாது சொல்ல சொல்லுவோம். அவங்க வந்து Women's fellowship-ல இது பண்ணுவாங்க'ன்னு. நான் actual -ஆ பயப்பட, birthday இதுக்கு போனது தான, Bible கூட கொண்டு போகாம, அப்படி போயிருந்தேன். ன்னு சொன்ன ஓடனே 'என்னடா ஒரு preparation -உம் இல்லை. ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டாது போயிருந்திருக்கணும் இப்படி கூட நம்ம ஒரு ஆயத்தமாவே போல, என்ன செய்வுது அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, 'சரி, நீங்க இந்த ஒரு பாட்டைப் பாடி முடிங்கன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, தொண்ணுத்தி ஒண்ணாம் சங்கீதம் மொதல்ல அங்க வாசித்தாங்க, அப்பம் அதில இந்த ஒரு portion -ஐ எடுத்து எனக்கே தெரியலை நான் வந்து இதுக்குள்ள ஐயா வந்துட்டாங்க பாதில. இப்பம் அது வந்து முடிக்கணுமா, பாதில, வேண்டாமான்னு ஒரு சின்ன யோசனை இருந்தது. ஆனா சொல்லத் தொடங்கினது. அவரு இப்படிக் கையைக் காட்டிட்டாரு நான் வந்து சொல்லி முடிச்சிட்டேன். ஓடனே சொன்னாரு 'நல்ல பிரசங்கம் கேட்டாச்சு, இன்னொரு message குடுக்கல'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு. அப்படி இரண்டு மூணு experience என்னன்னா, முன்னறிவிப்பு இல்லாம இரண்டு தடவை இங்க இந்த Old Age Home -ல போன பெறகு, இந்த ஐயா தான், போன அங்க போய் உக்காந்த பெறகு, மொதல்ல வந்து ஐயா, ஒரு நாள் வந்த பக்கத்தில இருந்த uncle -தான், message குடுக்கணும், நீ குடுத்திரு அப்படின்னாங்க. என்ன message குடுக்கணும் திடீர்ன்னு, ஐயாகிட்ட கேட்டாக்கா, என்ன message குடுக்க, இங்க Old People இருக்கிறாங்கஅ அவங்களுக்கு ஏத்த மாதிரின்று. ஓடனே அப்படி ஒரு சின்ன ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு, இங்க இருந்தே ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டேதான்அங்க meeting போறேன். ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டே போனதினால ஆண்டவர் ஒரு பாட்டு குடுத்தாரு, அதுல்ல ஒரு அதிசயம் என்னன்னா. அங்க ஒரு passage, இதை நான் தெறந்து வச்சிருக்கிறேன், point, point. ஆ சொல்றதுக்கு, நம்ம தான் ஒண்ணும் குறிச்சிட்டுப் போகலையே. அதை எப்படி சொல்றது என்னன்னு அப்படி ஒண்ணும் யோசிக்கல, அங்க போய், என்ன ஆச்சு, ஜெபம் பண்ணி தொடங்கியாச்சு, ஆனா ஒவ்வொரு அந்த, பார்க்கிறவர், அதுக்கு ஒரு இது, passage -ல இருந்து இப்படி அடுத்தது என்ன சொல்றதுன்னு இப்படி தெறந்து பார்த்தேன், அந்த அடுத்த நம்ம சொல்ல வேண்டிய line மட்டும் என் கண்ல படுது அது ஆச்சர்யமா இருந்தது. ஒரு அஞ்சு point நான் அதில இருந்து சொன்னேன். கேட்கிறவர், நமக்கு ஒதவி செய்கிறவர், அந்த மாதிரி சொன்னேன். ஆகாரல இருந்து, ஆகார அனுப்பும் போது, ம், ன், அது எனக்கு ஆச்சரியமா இருந்தது, ஆண்டவர் இவ்வளவு ஆச்சரியமா வழிநடத்தினது.

33. Swarna – IC33, அது மாதிரி சில நாட்கள் அந்த மாதிரி, இந்த மாதிரி. Sunday school-லயும் பெறகு அக்கா வரவா அக்கா வந்து மோசமாயிட்டாங்க. என்னன்னா, என்னைப் போட்டு நெறையா வேலை. (laughs) முந்தி class மட்டும் எடுத்திட்டிருந்தேன். இப்பம் கொஞ்சம் இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் கூட ஒதவி செய்றேன்.

34. Melody – IC34, At present women are actively involved in church although,

35. Kamala – IC35, நான் படிக்காதுனால தான் ஒரு ஊழியத்துக்குப் போனாக் கூட பிரசங்கம் பன்ற ஒரு உற்சாகம் இல்லாதிருக்கு. அதுனால பிள்ளைங்களையும் நல்லா படிக்க வைக்கணும். எங்க வீட்டுக் காரர் வந்து church விஷயத்தில வரமாட்டாங்கோ. நான் தான் போவேன். எல்லாத்திலயும் ஜெபத்துக்கெல்லாம் நான் தான் போவேன். எல்லாத்துக்கும் போணும், கலந்துக்கணும். படிப்பில்லைன்னாலும் நம்ம ஆண்டவருடைய வார்த்தையைக்



கேட்டு, ண்ணும் நம்ம் ஆண்டவரைப் பின்பற்றணும் ஒரு தாகத்தில் நான் எல்லாத்துக்கும் கலந்துக்குவேன். பெண்கள் தான் இப்பதைக்கு நெறைய போர் பெண்கள் தான் நெறைய கலந்துக்குறாங்க. ஆண்கள்ல கொஞ்ச போர் தான் வந்து கலந்துக்குறாங்க.

36. Udhaya – IC36, பெண்கள் ஊழியம் செய்றதில் தப்பு இருக்கிறதா தெரியல. அழைக்கப்பட்டவங்க, இரண்டு பேருந்தான் அழைக்கப்பட்டவங்கன்னு, அதினால talent உள்ள எந்த ஒருத்தரும் they can do அது தப்பிருக்கிற மாதிரியெல்லாம் எனக்குத் தோணல. ஆண்களுக்கு சமமா

37. Mariam – IC37, ஊழியன் செய்றது வந்து இது வந்து என்னுடைய சித்தமில்லை. இது கடவுளுடைய சித்தம். இந்த ஊழியத்திற்கு வந்து ஒரு அழைப்போடான். நான் வந்திருக்கிறேன். அப்படின்றதை நான் அதிகமா உணர்றேன். நான் வந்து நான் எதை செய்தாலுமே 'ஆண்டவரே நான் செய்றது சரியா, இது உம்முடைய சித்தமா?' அப்படிண்ணாலாம ஆண்டவர் கிட்ட கேப்பேன். Bible-ல வேத நெறைய வசனம் இருக்கு, ஆண்டவருடைய அன்பை once நம்ம் அறிஞ்சிட்டோன்னா, நம்ம் வந்து அதை மற்றவங்களுக்கு சொல்லியாகணும். எதாவது ஒரு வகையில் நம்ம் சபையில் வந்து நம்ம் வெறும் போர், போர் பேருக்காக வந்திட்டு போகாம எதாவது ஒண்ணு செய்யணும் ஆண்டவருக்காக, ண்ணு அப்பம் அதினால அவருடைய அன்புக்கு முன்னால நம்ம் எதாவது ஒண்ணு செய்யணும் அப்படிண்ணு சொல்லும் போது, என்னை இந்த ஊழியத்துக்கு வந்து ஆண்டவர் வந்து குறிப்பிட்டு அழைச்சதை நான் நல்லாவே உணர்றேன். மொத மொதல்ல நான் இந்த ஊழியத்துக்கு வரக் காரணமாக இருந்தது யாருன்னா, நான் வந்து அது ரொம்ப பயந்த சபாவம் எப்பவுமே உடைய நான் உடையவள் தான். first நான் வந்து என் கிட்ட வந்து, நான் plus-2 படிச்சி முடிச்சப்போ என்னை வந்து, VBS-க்கு என்னை எடுக்க சொல்லி எங்க அம்மா மூலமா, அந்த Bernard Thomas aunty வீட்ல அந்த Mary அக்கா என்னைக் கேட்டிருந்தாங்க போலிருக்கு. நான், ண், கோயிலுக்கெல்லாம் வருவேன். அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் போய்டு இருந்தேன். அதினால என்னை church-ல வந்து, இவங்க பிள்ளைங்களையும் நம்ம் வந்து கொண்டு வரணும் அப்படிண்ணு ஒரு வாஞ்சை இருந்திருக்கும். ஆண்டவர் குடுத்திருப்பாரு போலிருக்கு. ஆனா, நான் என்ன பண்ணிட்டேன். 'நான் வர்ல, இப்பதான் Plus-2 படிக்கிறேன். நான் எதுக்குப் போய் சொல்லணும்,' அப்படிண்ணு சொல்லிட்டு, 'நான் போ மாட்டேன்' அப்படிண்ணு சொல்லிட்டேன். அதுக்கப்பறம் வந்து, ம், நான் College படிக்கிற first year. அதுக்கப்பறம் again, Bernard Thomas aunty வீட்ல அந்த எஸ்தர் அக்கா, அவங்க வந்து எனக்கு college senior, அவங்க வந்து, ண், என்ன பண்ணாங்க, ம், காலேஜுக்கெல்லாம் வந்து, எப்படி நாங்க போணும், என்ன அப்படி சொல்றதுக்கு நல்லா Guide பண்ணாங்க, அந்த aunty அவங்க பிள்ளைங்க எல்லாமே. அப்படி அவங்க அந்த ஒரு பழக்கத்தினாலயே என் கிட்ட வந்து என்ன பண்ணாங்க, அக்கா வந்து, நீ Sunday class எடுக்க வா, Mary, அப்படிண்ணு சொன்னாங்க. சரிணு சொல்லிட்டு எனக்கு புது ஒரு இது தான் அது அனுபவமானதினால மொதல கொஞ்ச பயந்தேன். சரிணு அவங்க சொல்றாங்களேன்றதினால வந்தேன். ம், ம், அப்பம் வந்து நான் வந்து இரட்சிப்பின் படிவ வந்து நான், ண், அதிகமா, இந்த இரட்சிப்பன்றதை எனக்கே ஒரு சந்தேகத்தில் இருந்ததுனால, நான் வந்து இது வேண்டாம், அதாவது நான் மொதல்ல வந்து, 'நான் என்ன கொலையா செய்தேன்' அப்படியெல்லாம் நான் நெனைச்சிட்டிருந்தேன். நானு ஏன்னா பாவமில்லை, அந்த இரட்சிப்புடைய அறிவு எனக்கு அதிகமா இருந்ததினால வேதத்தை நல்லா படிப்பேன். Bible competition-ல எல்லாம் first வருவேன். அப்பம், ம், அக்கா வந்து கூப்பிட்ட ஓடனே, நான் வந்து Beginner எல்லாம் எடுத்திட்டு இருப்பேன். அதுக்கப்பறம் college-ல இருக்கும் போதே எனக்கு வந்து, எனக்கு இந்த வாலிப இது ஒரு போராட்டம். அதாவது நாம் இரட்சிக்கப்பட்டும், ஆண்டவர்ட்ட ஒப்புக்குடுக்கிறேன், திருப்பி நம்ம் வெற்றி வாழ்க்கை வாழ, ஒரு சின்ன பொய் பேசிறோம். எதித்து பேசிறோம். அதுனால நான் இரட்சிக்கப்படல அப்படிண்ணு ஒரு சந்தேகமெல்லாம் இருந்திச்சி. ண், அப்பதான் இது மாதிரி, இந்த சபைக்குள்ள நான் வந்திட்டு இருக்கும் போது, எனக்கு வந்து எல்லாமே சபையில், அப்புறம் youth-க்கு வரசொல்லிக் கூப்பிட்டாங்க. அதுக்கப்பறமா இப்படி Sunday school. இரண்டு இதிலையும் நான் ஏத்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கும் போது, எனக்கு ஆண்டவர் வந்து அநேக காரியங்களை வந்து கற்றுக்குடுத்தாரு. அப்புறம் வந்து இரட்சிப்பு என்பது ஒரு ஒரு நாள் அனுபவமா மட்டுமல்ல, அது daily day to day life-ல நமக்கு வேணும் அப்படின்றதை ஆண்டவர் சொல்லிக் குடுக்க குடுக்க ஆண்டவருக்குள்ளாக, அந்த அறிவுக்குள்ளாக நான் வளந்ததினால, ண், அப்படி வந்திட்டு இருந்தேன். அப்புறம் ஜெயாக்கா என்ன பண்ணாங்க. அப்புறம் கொஞ்சம் மாறிச்சி, அக்கா, superintendent-ஆ மாறினாங்க. அவங்க என்னை பண்ணாங்க. என்னை வந்து, ண், அவங்க எதை வச்சி என்னை ஏன்னா, என்னை வாலிபர் மத்தில் அப்பதான் teens ஆரம்பிச்சாங்க, நம்ம் diocese-ல அதுக்கு நான் வந்து Beginner, Primary-ல இருக்கும்போதே என்னைக் கூப்பிட்டாங்க அக்கா, அப்பம் நான் எதுமே ஒரு பயப்படுறதினால, ஒருத்தர் என்னைக் கூப்பிடும் போது, இது ஆண்டவருடைய ஒரு சித்தம்னாலதான் அவங்க நம்மனைக் கூப்பிடுறாங்க, அப்படின்றதினால அதுக்கு ஆனா ஒண்ணு எனக்கு குடுக்கிறதை நல்லா செய்யணும் அப்படியெல்லாம் ரொம்ப நான் இது பண்ணுவேன். ண், அப்புறம் அதுக்கு Teen-ல வந்தேன். Teen-ல வரும் போதெல்லாம், ண், அது கலியாணத்துக்கு முன்னால இதெல்லாம் அதுக்கப்பறம் என்ன ஆச்சு, கலியாணம் ஆன ஓடனே நான் வந்து, ண், ஆனா, அக்கா திரும்ப கூப்பிட்டிருந்தாங்க. கலியாணம் ஆனப்போ நானே சாக்கு போக்கு சொல்லி நான் வேண்டாணு சொல்லிட்டு கொஞ்சம் gap விட்டுட்டேன். அப்புறம், அப்புறம் பிள்ளைகள் பெற்றந்தாங்க. அதுக்கப்பறம், ம், ஆனாலும் அக்கா என்னை விட மாட்டாங்க. ஜெயாக்கா வந்து அதாவது continuous-ஆ என்னை எப்படியாவது use பண்ணிக்கணுன்றதினால, ண், நான் அதில வேண்டாணு சொன்னாக் கூட அக்கா நான் மூலக்கடை மொதல்ல கொஞ்சம் தூரத்தில் இருந்தேன். அதுக்கப்பறம் கிட்ட வந்திட்டேன். அதுக்கப்பறம் இப்படி இருக்கும் போது ஜெயாக்கா வந்து, ஒரு எதாவது Sunday School வந்து 'அந்த Christmas programme-க்கு எதாவது நீ செய்' அப்படியெல்லாம் வந்து என்னைக் கூப்பிடுவாங்க.

அந்த ஒரு அன்பில் வந்து, அப்பம் நான் வந்து, அப்பம் நெனைச்சேன், ஆண்டவருடைய அன்பை நம்ம நெனைச்சு மாதிரி, அப்படின்னு ஆண்டவர், எடையில் நான் சொல்லிட்டே, அப்புறம் பிள்ளைகள் பெறந்து வளந்த பெறகு, அக்கா 'நீ இப்பமும் பிள்ளைகள் கூட service-ல இருக்க முடியாதில்ல, வெளில வர்றல்ல, எடுத்திரணும் class' அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அக்கா சொல்லிட்டே இருந்தாங்க. அதுக்கப்புறமா Teen-ல அதுக்கப்புறமா என்ன பண்ணேன், சில வேளை நான் நெனைப்பேன், 'நம்ம வந்து மாதிரியா இருக்கணும் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு, ம், அதுக்கு 100%, ம், பரிசுத்தமா ஒரு வாழ்க்கை வாழணும், அது முடியலையே. அப்பம் எதுக்கு நம்ம team இது இருக்கணும், அப்படின்றதை நான் before marriage-க்கு முன்னாலையும் நான் ரொம்ப, இதை விட்டுட்டு ஓடினலாமா, இந்த இது நமக்கு வேண்டாம். இந்த ஊழியம் நமக்கு வேண்டான்னு ரொம்ப நான் feel பண்ணேன். ஆனா அது எண்ணைக்கு நான் அந்த ஒரு decision-க்கு வந்து அது வந்து ஆண்டவர் வந்து எனக்கு அப்படியே பிரசங்கத்தில் எனக்கு அவர் எனக்கு message மாதிரி வரும. நான் எண்ணைக்கு வேண்டான்னு மனசில் தீர்மானம் எடுக்கும் போது, அந்த message-ல வந்து, ஒருத்தர் எழுதி, அதே message வந்து நண்பர் சவிசேஷ ஜெபக்குழுவுடைய bookலயும் வாசித்தேன். அதை messageலயே அது எனக்கு call-ஆ வந்துச்சு, எப்படின்னா, ம், ம், அதாவது ஒரு, ஒரு, ஒரு இரானுவத்தில் செய்கிற ஒரு, ஒரு அந்த soldier வந்து, ம், சின்ன வயசில் ஆண்டவரை வந்து அக்கா Sunday School அக்கா வழி நடத்துறா, வழி நடத்தியும் ஆனா அந்த அக்கா அதை மறந்திராங்க. ஆனா இவன் என்ன பண்ணிரான், கடைசி சமயம் சாகும் போது என்னுடைய Sunday School கடைசியா என்னுடைய Sunday School teacher-க்கு ஒண்ணு சொல்லணும், அப்படின்றதை, ன், அவன் சொல்றான், அவன் அந்த சமயத்தில் அந்த Sunday School teacher என்ன பண்ணிராங்க, ம், இது என்ன, அப்படின்னு சொல்லிட்டு அவங்க அதை விட்டிராங்க. ஆனா இவனுடைய இதை, இந்த letter-ஐப் பார்த்த ஒடனே, ஐயோ, இது இப்படி நெறைய ஆத்துமா இரட்சிப்புக்கு, அப்பதான் ஆண்டவர் என் கூட பேசினாரு. 'ஆனா கணக்கு கொடுக்கப்பட்டதை நீ செய்யணும். எனக்காக செய்யக்கூடாதா'. அதினால என்ன பண்ணேன். இப்பம், ஆண்டவருக்குள்ள திட மனதா இந்த ஊழியத்தை நம்ம எப்படிகும் செய்யணும். நம்மளும் சபையில் பங்கெடுக்கணும். நான், ன், அப்படி இது இந்தக் கொலோசேயர்ல கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள்ள ஆனென்றமில்லை, பெண்ணென்றமில்லை, எல்லாரும் சமம் என்று போட்டிருக்கு, ஆனாலும் ஆண்டவருடைய பரலோக ராஜ்ய விரிவுக்காக நம்மளும் நம்மால் இயன்றதைச் செய்யணும், அப்படின்றதையும் இந்த, ன், ஒரு ஸ்திரீ கூட ஆண்டவருடைய பாதத்தில் வந்து இந்தப் பரணியை ஒடைச்சி வெள்ளை, இது எங்கும் சொல்லப்படாம, நம்ம வந்து இருக்கிற எடத்தில் சாட்சியா இருக்கணும், ஆண்டவர் பெலன் தருவார். உதவி செய்வார். இப்ப கூட family-ல பிள்ளைகள் வச்சிட்டு வரமுடியலை, செல சமயம் ஜெயாக்கா வந்து என்னை வந்து, மடில உக்காந்திருப்பா... ம். அதாவது full commit...அந்த இதோட dedication ஒட செய்யணுன்னு ரொம்ப ஆசைப்படுவேன். ஆனா இந்தப் பிள்ளைங்க தடையா இருப்பாங்களோ அப்படி நெனைச்சிட்டுதான் இந்தப் பிள்ளைங்களுக்கும் வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஓதவாதேன்னு பாக்கிறேன். அவங்களும் Sunday class வர்றது அந்த interest-ஆ நல்லாப் படிக்கணும், அப்படின்றது வரும போது.

## Section Two. Narratives about women's roles in the church:

### I. Preaching and Teaching (PT):

1. Amar – PT (Preaching and Teaching)1, நாளைக்கு ஒண்ணும் அந்த அம்மா கர்த்தரிடத்தில் போய் சேர்ந்த பெறகு, நீ பொம்பனையா இருந்து ஏன் நீ பிரசங்கம் பண்ணன்னு கர்த்தர் கேக்கமாட்டார். 'நீ வந்து என்னுடைய மகிமைக்காக நீ இந்த, நீ சொன்னதினால் எத்தனை பேரு இரட்சிக்கப்பட்டிருக்காங்க'. எத்தனை பேர் இரட்சிக்கப்படுறதை விட, ஆவியில் வளர்றதான் முக்கியம்.

2. Lita – PT2, அப்புறம் பேசறதும், அந்த மாதிரி நம்ம equal-இதுதான். இப்பம் எல்லாம் காலம் மாறிட்டு தான் நெறைய பேர் பேசறாங்க. ஆனா பேசக்கூடாதுன்னு அது தப்பு. அது Paul's idea-வா இருக்கலாம். Not Jesus' idea. இல்லைன்னா எப்படி Magdalene-க்கு இது first அவர் குடுத்திருக்க முடியும். 'நீ போய் அறிவி'ன்னு சொன்னாரு. அந்த மாதிரி பிரியம், அவ்வளவு with the Holy Spirit she could sing a song of praise. அதெல்லாம் வந்து Holy Spirit-உடைய இது அவங்க பண்ண விஷயங்கள். Men வந்து Old Testament சரி, இந்த Testament-ல சரி அவர் forbid பண்ணவே இல்லை. அந்த men were forbidding. ஆனா ஆண்டவர் அந்த யெகோவாவும் சரி, Jesus-ம் சரி பண்ணவே இல்லை. அவங்க பார்வையில் இரண்டு பேரும் ஒண்ணாதான் equal-ஆதான் treat பண்ணிருக்காங்க. அந்த idea நம்ம வேணா mis-understand பண்ணிட்டு இருந்திருக்கலாம். இப்பம் வரவர, நாட்கள் வர, வர நமக்கு வந்து கண்ணு கொஞ்சம் தெறக்கப்படுது. இப்படி நம்ம இருக்கணும்

3. Lita – PT3, ... வர சந்தேகங்கள்லாம் தீத்துட்டு ஒரு தெளிவா ஒரு அபிப்பிராயமோ ஒரு இதுவோ, சத்தியத்துக்குள்ள நம்ம இருந்தோன்னா we can do something for the lord, and எங்கயும் பேசலாம், எங்கயும். குடும்பத்திலையும் அதே மாதிரிதான், யாராவது ... சொல்லிட்டா, அதுக்கு நம்பைத் தலையைத் தாக்கிட்டு இருக்கணுன்ற அவசியமே இல்லை. நமக்கு நல்லா வசனம் தெரியும். அதுபடிதான் நம்மை போகணும். ஆனா ஆண்டவரன்றதில்தான். அவர் ஒரு நாளும், அப்படின்தான் நம்மதான் சொல்லி, ஜெபம் பண்ணக் கத்துக்குடுத்தாரு, எல்லாம் பண்ணாரு. எத்தனையோ உவமைகளை சொன்னாரு. அதில எதிலையுமே பொண்ணுக்குத் தனியா ஒண்ணுமே சொல்லவே இல்லை.



பொண்ணுக்குன்னு சொல்லவே இல்லை. அந்த விபசாரம் செய்த பொண்ணைக் கூட எல்லாரும் அடிக்க வந்தபோது 'எப்பா, யாராவது இருக்கிறீங்களா?' அப்படின்னு கேட்டாரு. அப்பம் அவரு வந்து அவ்வளவு men-ஐயும் குற்றப்படுத்தினாரு. அப்ப அதிலையே தெரியுது. வந்து அந்தக் குற்றத்துக்கெல்லாம் காரணம், வந்து அவர் கண்டுபிடிச்சாரு. அந்தக் குற்றவாளியை மட்டும். அவளுக்கு இது குடுக்கணுன்றதே இல்லை. எல்லாம் ஒடிப்போயிட்டான். அப்பம் அந்த, அந்த மாதிரி நமக்கும் அந்த ஞானம் வராணும். ஒரு கொறைவு நடந்தா, இல்லை ஒரு பழக்கம் நடந்தா கூட, அதிலக் குற்றம் என்னன்றதைக் கண்டுபிடிக்கணும். நான் ஆணு, அதில பெண்ணு, அதில மறைக்கணும், ஆம்பிளைப் பிள்ளைன்னா மறைக்கணும், அதெல்லாம் நமக்கு உடன்பாடு இல்லை எனக்கு.

4. Saguna – PT4, ஆண்டவர் வந்து கடைசி கட்டளை உலகமெங்கும் போய் சர்வ சிருஷ்டிக்கும் பிரசிங்கன்னு சொல்லியிருக்கிறாரு. பெறகு ஆணென்றும் பெண்ணென்றும் இல்லை என்று நம்ம பாக்கிறோம். ஆணா பெண்களும் அவங்களுடைய அடிப்படைக் கடமை வந்து ஆண்டவரைப் பற்றி எங்கயும் எடுத்துக் சொல்லணும். அது ஒரு வேளை தனியா, தனிப்பட்ட ஒரு நபர்க்கா அல்லது எப்படினாலும், ன், சொல்றது அவங்களுடைய கடமை. அதினால பெண்கள் வந்து ஆண்டவரைப் பற்றி சொல்ல வேண்டியது. அவர்களுடைய அது அவர்கள் செய்ய வேண்டிய ஆண்டவர் குடுத்த கட்டளை ஆகையினால அதை நாம் வீடலயோ, ஒரு சிறு கொஞ்சபேர் மத்தியிலயோ அறிவிக்கிறது பற்றி அதில ஆட்சேபனை இல்லை. பிரசிங்கிக்கலாம், போதிக்கலாம்.

5. Amar – PT5, எத்தனை பேர் இரட்சிக்கப்படுறதை விட, ஆவியில வளர்றதான் முக்கியம். ஏன்னா ரொம்ப பேரு இரட்சிக்கப்பட்டிருங்க, அதுக்குப் பெறகு நிக்க மாட்டேன்றாங்க. இந்த விதை விதைக்கிறவனைப் பற்றி கர்த்தர் சொன்னது எவ்வளவோ உண்மை. செல விதைங்க வழியில விழுந்திருச்சு, செல விதைங்க முள்ளுக்குள்ள விழுந்திருச்சு, செல விதை கற்பாறையின் மேல உழுந்துச்சு. ஆணா கொஞ்ச விதைங்க மாதிரிந்தான் நல்ல நெலத்தில் விழுந்துச்சுன்னா, அந்த மாதிரி, இந்தக் கற்பாறை மேல, முள்ளுங்க மேல, வழியில விழுந்த வெதைங்க தான் அதிகம். ஒடனேயே கர்த்தரை ஏற்றுக் கொண்டா, அவங்களை எத்துக்கிறாங்க, ஆமா நான் பாவின்னு எத்துக்கிறாங்க மறுபடியும் அதே பாவத்தில் தான் உழுறாங்க, ஏன்னா அவங்களை நிப்பாட்டறதுக்கு ஜனங்க இல்லை. அந்த மாதிரி சமயத்தில் ஆம்பிளைங்க தான் வாணும். அவங்க தான் பிரசங்கம் பண்ணணுன்னு காத்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கிற செடி நாசமாறது போல, ஜனங்களும பின் வாங்கிய போயிராங்க. அதினால பொம்பளைங்கனோ இல்லை, women folk preach பன்றது எனக்கு against, I'm not against it-உ ... மற்ற விதத்தில் preaching எல்லாம் பரவால.

6. Udhaya – PT6, பிரசங்கம் பன்றது பற்றி எனக்கு சரியான idea இல்லை. நான் அது - Bible-ல இல்லாத மாதிரி ஒரு feeling இருக்கிறதினால, எனக்கு அது எப்படி எனக்கு எடுத்துக்கிறதுன்னு தெரியல. ஒரு வேளை அந்தக்காலத்தில் அப்படிப் பெண்கள் வெளிய விடாம இருந்ததுனாலையோ, இப்பம் equal rights இருக்கிறதினால ஒரு வேளை செய்யலாம். Actual ஆப் பார்த்தா பெண்கள் இருந்தா ரொம்ப சிறப்பா இருக்கிறதா தோணுது. ஆண்களை விட அவங்க தான் ரொம்ப devoted-ஆ செய்றாங்க. அதினால, அந்த மாதிரி, அது நல்லா இருக்குன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். கூட கொஞ்சம் அறுவடைகள் நடக்கும் (chuckles)

7. Lita – PT7, இதை, நம்ம வந்து நம்ம, we should prove ourselves. இப்பம் நமக்கு சரக்கு இல்லைன்னா என்ன பேச முடியும். நம்ம we should equip ourselves first. நம்ம சுமமா நமக்கு பேசுனான்னு சொல்லிக்கிட்டு இருந்தா நமக்கு முடியாது. நம்ம வந்து ஆண்டவர், Holy Spirit உடைய உதவியினால நம்மளை first equip பண்ணிக்கிட்டு, நம்ம பேசறதில ஏதாவது meaning அர்த்தம், ன், உண்மை இல்லை, சத்தியம் வெளிப்பட்டா நம்மளை யாரும் தடுக்க முடியாது. men-உ கூட வாயைப் பௌந்துகிட்டு கேக்கவேணும். அவங்க ஏதாவது ஓளருவாங்க, அதை நம்ம கேக்கணும், it is immaterial. நம்ம எப்படி கேக்க முடியும் அப்படி. நமக்கு ஆண்டவர் குடுத்திருக்கிற கொஞ்சம், அதை வச்சு, அந்த light-க்குள்ள நம் இருக்கும் போது, ன், பெண்ணுமில்ல, ஆணுமில்லை. எல்லாம், எல்லாருக்கும் equal இது இருக்கு.

8. Lita – PT8, ஆண்டவர் சொல்றதுக்கு நமக்கு வந்து we should give ... the Word of God. கடவுள் இது இருக்கணும், ஞானம் இருக்கணும். அது பரத்தில் இருந்து கேட்டுத்தான் நம்ம பெற்றுக் கொள்ள முடியும். நம்மளா நம்மை equip பண்ணிக்கவே முடியாது. The Holy Spirit should equip us with our gifts. அந்த வரங்கள் நமக்கு இருக்கும் போது, நாம் அதை எந்த எடத்திலயும் செயல்படுத்தலாம். We are literated அந்த ஆண்டவர் நமக்கு ஒரு liberation குடுத்திருந்தா என்னால கையையும் வாயையும் வச்சிக்கிட்டு சுமாவே இருக்க முடியாது. யார்ட்டயும் தொட்டு ஜெபம் பண்ணணுன்ற ஒரு ஆத்திரம் வரும். ஒருத்தர் sick-ஆ இருந்தா அதே மாதிரி விடுதலையைக் குடுக்கிறவர் ஆண்டவர். அதே மாதிரி ஒரு இருளில வாழ்ந்தாங்கன்னா அவங்களை liberate பண்ணணுன்ற ஒரு இது வரும். என்னா one who liberated me வந்து wants me to be the liberator. இங்க வந்து என்னை விடுதலையின் கருவியா என்னை வந்து அவர் வச்சிருக்கார். அதை வச்சிக்கிட்டு நான் மரக்காலல் மூடுனா, வெளக்கை மாதிரி நான் இருக்கவே முடியாது. நான் வந்து அந்த மலை மேல, இதில இருக்கிற வெளக்கு மாதிரி தான் நான் செயல்படணும். என்னுடைய செயல், அதினால நான் போய் மெதுவா ஜெபம் பண்ணிட்டு, அப்புறம் அவங்க பக்தியா இருக்கிறாங்களன்னும் போது நான் இது இருக்கக்கூடாது. அந்தக் கடவுளுடைய இதை நான் ரொம்ப விரும்புறேன். 'Love thy neighbour...' அது ரொம்ப முக்கியம். அதை நம்ம prove பண்ணாத்தான் நமக்கு யாராவது செவி குடுப்பாங்க. அந்த love-ஏ இல்லைன்னா நமக்கு ஒண்ணுமே பண்ண முடியாது. அதுக்குள்ள எல்லாம் அடங்கிப் போகுது. அந்த ரெண்டு ரெண்டு



ராஜாஃப் பிரமாணங்களை அந்த, கடவுளை நேசிக்கிறதும், இரண்டாவது கடவுளை நேசிச்சா, கட்டாயம் நம்ம அவரைப் பற்றி சொல்லுவோம். அந்த neighbour-ஐ நேசிச்சா கட்டாயம் அவங்களுடைய எல்லா needs-உம் நம்ம பாக்கணும். இப்பம், ஏன் servant-ஏ நான் சொல்லும் போதே 'ஆண்டவரை நேசின்னா' மொதல்ல ஒரு, நான் அவளுக்கு ஒரு பொடவை இல்லைன்னா, பொடவை குடுத்து சாப்பாடு குடுத்து, அப்படி நான் கொஞ்ச காலம் அவளை வளத்தா தான் அவன்ட்ட நான் நெருங்கி ஆண்டவரைப் பற்றி நான் சொல்ல முடியும். இது ஒரு manager மாதிரியும் servant மாதிரியும் இருந்தா அவ அதை காது குடுத்துக் கேக்க மாட்டா. அப்படி நம்ம அன்பு வெளிப்படணும். அந்த மாதிரி நமக்கு இருக்கணும்.

9. Amar – PT9, என்னமோ ஆணா எனக்கு என்ன கார்த்தரோடு கூட நம்ம எவ்வளவு நெருங்கி இருக்கிறமோ அவ்வளவு, இப்பம் ஒரு அம்மா மேல ஒரு கொழந்தைக்கு எவ்வளவு ஆசை இருக்குதோ. அம்மாவைப் பற்றி நம்ம ஒண்ணு தப்பு சொன்னாலும், ஆன், எங்க அம்மா அப்படி செய்யமாட்டாங்க, ன்ட்டு, அம்மாக்காக அது பேசும். அம்மா இருக்கட்டும், அது மாதிரி நம்ம கார்த்தரோடு ஒண்ணா இருந்தா, அப்பம் கார்த்தருக்கென்று வைராக்கியம் கொள்ளுவோம். அதைப் பற்றி நம்ம மற்றவங்களுக்குச் சொல்லுவோம். I believe in that more than இந்த ordination அப்புறம் I'm not against women preaching the Gospel. I am for it.

10. Heera – PT10, Elizabeth Paul, she has that quality which makes has a good preacher. But all women, you know, if they are examples and if they preach, that's all right. But I have known very good preachers. ...Very good preachers, they can be preachers (several voices)

11. Flora – PT11, பிரசங்கம் பண்ணது எனக்குத் தப்பா தெரியல.

12. Melody – PT12, women, they also teach in church, .... Preaching, why not?

13. Mariam – PT13, ஆணா பிரசங்கம் பண்ணதும் கூட பெண்கள் பண்ணது என்னைப் பொறுத்த வரைக்கும். ஆணா அதுக்கு வந்து, உலக அளவில் வந்து objection இருக்குதுன்ன சொன்னா கூட பண்ணலாம் அப்படின்றதுதான் என்னுடைய இது.

14. Sweety – PT14, அதினால service conduct பண்ணது புடிக்கல. மற்றப்படி, preach பண்ணது. பிரசங்கம் பண்ணது அதெல்லாம் ஒண்ணும் தப்பில்லை.

15. Ranjithamani – PT15, சபையில் வந்து பெண்கள் பேசக் கூடாதுன்னா, இப்பம் pastor-ன்னு இருக்கிறாங்க. ஞாயிற்றுக்கெழுமைகளில் எப்பவும் ஐயர் பேசறதுதான் நல்லதுன்னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன். ஆண்கள் தான் பேசறது. ஆணா பெண்களை, ஆண்கள் ஐக்கியக் கூட்டம் அந்த மாதிரி time-ல பெண்கள் பேசலாம். ன், அந்த மாதிரி, மற்றபடியும் பொதுவா செலவீடுகளில் வெளிய மற்ற எடங்களில்ல இயேசுவைப் பற்றி எங்கயும் பேசலாம். நான், எனக்கு அப்படி ஒரு எண்ணம் இருக்கு. நம்ம வீட்ல கூட்டம் நடத்தலாம். அப்பம் அதில பெண்கள் பேசலாம். ன், இன்னொரு, எடத்தில போயி, தெருவிலயோ, அல்லது எங்கயோ ஒரு எடத்தில போயோ, ஒரு meeting போடறன்னா, அங்க கூட பெண்கள் பேசலாம். ... ஆணா மற்றபடி, மற்றவாரங்களில் எதோ பெண்கள் சபை, இல்லை, சபையைப் பற்றி சொல்றேன். பெண்கள் ஐக்கிய சங்க இதில பேசலாம் இல்லை, ஆண்கள் கூட சில இதுகள் பெண்கள் பேசலாம். வேதத்தைப் பற்றின்னா, பெண்கள் பேசலாம்.

16. Gem – PT16, பெண்கள் ஜெபம் பண்ணலாம், பெண்கள் மத்திய, ன், பேசலாம். என்னா, நெறையா படிச்ச பெண்கள், படிக்காத பெண்கள் இருக்கிறாங்க. விஷயம் தெரிஞ்சவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க, தெரியாதவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க. அப்பம் பெண்கள் மத்தில பெண்கள் தனியா பெண்கள் மட்டும்தான் பெண்கள் கஷ்டங்களை சொல்ல முடியும். அப்பம் அதுக்கு காரணங் கண்டுபிடிக்க நல்ல doctors-ஆ இருக்கிறவங்க, நல்ல பேச்சுத் திறமை வாய்ந்தவங்க, வக்கீல் இருக்கிறவங்களும் இருக்கிறாங்க, படிச்சவங்க, ஒவ்வொரு குடும்பங்களில் நசுக்கப்பட்டாங்க, அப்பம் அவங்களுக்கு ஒரு சுதந்திரம். சுயாதீனன்னு வரும் போது, வரணும், அவங்க எதிர்பார்க்கும் போது கஷ்டங்களை பெண்களிடத்தில் share பண்ணா, அப்படி, பெண்கள் கூட்டத்தில் பெண்கள் பேசலாம். மற்றபடி கூடிய மட்டும் ஜெபம் பண்ணதுக்கு தடையில்ல. ஆனாலும் ஆண்களும் பெண்களும் சேர்ந்து ஜெபிக்கும் போது ஆண்களே செய்றது இன்னும் நல்லது தான். பெண்கள் மத்தில மாத்திரம் பெண்கள் பேசினா ஜெபம் பண்ணா, அது நல்லதா இருக்கும். ஒரு சமயம் நான் ஒரு கலியாணத்தில் பெண்கள் தான் toast இது பண்ணும் போது, அவங்க கொஞ்சம் நல்லா படிச்சவங்க, நல்லா கலியாணத்துடைய அர்த்தமே முக்கியத்துவமே இல்லாம போயிருச்சு. அந்தக் கலியாணத்தைப் பற்றி பேசும் போது எப்படி அவங்க கொஞ்சம் over-ஆ பேசிட்டாங்க. அப்பம் பெண்கள் ஓரளவு படிச்சவங்க அவங்களுக்கு freedom குடுத்து பேச விடும் போது தவறா கூட அந்த சுதந்திரத்தைப் பயன்படுத்த நேரிடுகிறது. அப்பம் நான் அண்ணைக்கு அதை விரும்பவே இல்லை. 'இவங்க இவ்வளவு பேசிட்டாங்களே, இவ்வளவு படிச்சவங்களா இருந்து இப்படி இந்த நேரத்தில் இந்த விதமா பயன்படுத்தி இப்படி போயிருக்கலாமேன்ட்டு மனசில தோணிச்சி. அதினால ஓரளவு பெண்கள் பேசாது இருக்கிறது நல்லதா தோணுது அதினால பெண்கள் மத்தில பேசலாம். கஷ்டம் துக்கம் அறிஞ்சி வயசானவங்க

பேசி இப்படி advice பண்ணது. ஆலோசனை சொல்றது, அந்த மாதிரி செய்யலாம். மற்றபடி, திருச்சபைன்னு வரும் போது ஆண்கள் சேந்த கூட்டங்கள்ல பெண்கள் பேசறது அவ்வளவு சரியாத் தெரியலை, அதுதான்.

17. Kamala – PT17, ஆணா church, church-லயும் நல்லா வந்து பிரசங்கம் குடுக்கிறாங்க. அதுனால எல்லாம்.

18. Ranjithamani – PT18, மற்றபடி சபையில் பெண்களும் செல காரியங்கள்ல இந்தக் காலங்கள்ல இயேசுவைப் பற்றி நல்லா பேசலான்றது தான் எனக்கு இருக்கு. ஏன்னா, 'என்னை அறிக்கை பண்ணுகிறவனை நான் என் பிதாவின் முன்னால அறிக்கை பண்ணுவேன்'னு இருக்குது. 'சாட்சிகளா இருக்கணு'ன்னு இருக்குது. அதினாலும், பெண்கள் னாலேயும் அநேக காரியங்கள் நடக்கக் கூடிய வேதத்தில் ஆவிக்குரிய

19. Lovely – PT19, எல்லாமே பண்ணலாம். In fact என்னையைக் கேட்டா இந்த confidence level அந்த mature எல்லா which I am seeing, இப்பம் எங்க office-ல எப்படின்னா, நெறையா ladies தான் இருக்கிறாங்க. Number of gents வந்து ரொம்ப கம்மி என்னை officeல பாக்கும் போது எல்லாத்திலையும், ம், I mean ரொம்ப difference ஒண்ணும் கெடையாதே. But that might be physically little more strong. அதை விட்டா, it has got Nothing to do with preaching so அதினால அதையும் connect பண்ண வேண்டிய அவசியமே கிடையாது. So அதினால எல்லாம் ladies எல்லாம் பண்ணலாம்.

20. Bina – PT20, பிரசங்கன்னா அது போதிக்கிறதுன்ற sense -ல இல்லாம, சம்மா நம்ப எல்லோரும் sharing இதை witness இதுன்ற மாதிரி, வகையில் வந்து பெண்கள் கலந்துக்கிறதில் தப்பில்லை. ...செய்யலாம். அதினால ஒண்ணும் தப்பில்லை. ஆணா men இருக்கும்போது... -ன்னுன்றது இல்லை. ஆணா..... ன்னு feel பண்ணேன். My personal opinion. Because Paul also says so. அதினால

## II. Narratives about women in church administration (CA):

1. Bina – CA(Church Administration)1, சபையிலன்னு பாக்கும் போது எனக்கு வந்து, ஆண்கள் எடுத்து நடத்தறது தான் என்னுடைய opinion-ல வந்து, அது வந்து correct-ன்ற மாதிரி. அது வந்து சபை, church அந்த மாதிரி எடங்கள்ல வந்து நம்ப dominate-ஆ பண்ணுன்றது அவசியம் இல்லை. அதாவது, அவசியப்பட்டா நம்ம செய்ய அவசியம் இல்லை. அதுக்கு வேற ஆட்கள் இல்லாத பட்சத்தில் நம்ம வந்து, சபையை நடத்திச் செல்றதுக்கோ, guide பன்றதுக்கோ, advise பன்றதுக்கோ செய்யலாம். அதுக்கு தகுதியான ஆட்கள் இருந்தாங்களன்னா, நம்ப அதெல்லாம் செய்ய வேண்டியதில்லை. எத்தனையோ ஊழியங்கள் இருக்கு, சபையோட சம்பந்தப்பட்ட அந்த ஊழியங்கள் பெண்கள் வந்து கலந்து எல்லாக் காரியங்களையும் செய்லான்றது என்னுடைய Opinion.

2. Amar – CA2, அப்பம் இந்த Richard Wurmbrand அவரு வந்து பிரசங்கம் பண்ணிக்கிட்டு இருக்கும் பொழுது, எதோ ஒரு சமயம் அவங்க வந்து எங்கையோ, பிரசங்கதுக்காக போறாரு போல இருக்கு. அந்த secret police வந்து அவரைப் பிடிச்சிக்கிட்டு போயிட்டிருக்காங்க. அவரைப் பிடிச்சிக்கிட்டுப் போயிட்டப் பெறகு அவங்க வரவே இல்ல. அப்பம் யாரு conduct பண்ணுவா? யாருமே service-ஐக் conduct பன்றதுக்கு இருக்க மாட்டாங்க. அப்பம் இந்த அம்மா தான் அந்த எடத்தில் இருந்து அந்த பண்ணியிருக்காங்க. அப்பம் அந்த விதத்தில் அந்த அம்மா கார்த்தருக்குப் பயந்தவங்களா இருந்ததினால கார்த்தர் அவங்களுக்கு ஒரு தைரியத்தைக் குடுத்து, அதை நடத்தச் சொன்னார்.

3. Ester – CA3, சபையில் பங்குபெறது committee-ல இருக்கிறது பண்ணலாம்.

4. Flora – CA4, அது suggestion குடுக்கலாம். அது தப்பு இல்லை.

5. Melody – CA5, activities mostly women only heading it

6. Ranjithamani – CA6, அதிலையுங்கூட பெண்கள் சில நல்ல காரியங்களை எடுத்துப் பேசலாம். சில தப்புகள் இருக்கும் போத நம்ம ஆண்டவர், கார்த்தருக்குப் பயப்படாத ஒரு காரியத்தை யாராவது சொல்லும் போது, கார்த்தருக்குப் பிரியமில்லாத காரியத்தை சொல்லும் போது பெண்கள் வந்து இதை எழும்பி நின்னு கட்டாயம் 'அது சரியில்லை'ன்னு அப்படின்னு பெண்கள் அதைப் பேசலாம்.

7. Jeyavathy – CA7, தவறு ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை. இப்பம் நானே PC member-ஆ இருக்கிறேன். நானு அதுனால மொதல்ல எனக்கு PC member-ஆ இருந்து இப்படியெல்லாம் செய்யனுன்னு அந்த எண்ணமே இல்லை எனக்கு. அவரு அந்த இதிலல் அந்த group-ல தலைவரா இருக்கிறவரு வந்து என்னை வந்து கேட்டார். கேட்ட போது கூட நான் அதைப்பற்றி ஒரு பிரமாதமா நானு எண்ணவுமில்லை, என்னா அப்படி செய்யாமயே நம்ம வந்து செய்யலாம். ஊழியஞ்

செய்யணும். ஏனா என்னுடைய வாலிப வயதில் எனக்கு அப்பா வந்து நெறைய offer வந்து எனக்கு வந்து போதகர் வந்தாங்க, pastors தான் வந்தாங்க. அப்பம் நான் அந்த ஒண்ணே ஒண்ணு தான் அப்பா கிட்ட நான் சொல்லியிருந்தேன். எனக்கு pastors மாத்திரம் வேண்டாம். என்னா pastors கலியாணம் பண்ணி ஊழியஞ் செய்றது பிரமாதமில்ல. வேற யாரையாவது கலியாணம் பண்ணி ஊழியஞ் செய்றதான் சிறப்பாக ஆகும். ஆகையால் எனக்கு pastors மாத்திரம் வேண்டாணு எப்பொழுதுமே அது ஒண்ணு மாத்திரம் நான் சொல்லியிருந்தேன். அதே மாதிரி எனக்கு pastors இல்லாம doctor மாப்பிள்ளையா தேவன் வந்து கொடுக்கும் படியாக எனக்கு கிருபை செய்தார்.

8. Mariam – CA8, பெண்கள் வந்து PC committee-ல சேரலாம். என்னைப் பொறுத்த வரைக்கும் அது வந்து அதான் நான் சொல்லுவேன்,

9. Lovely – CA9, எல்லாத்திலையும் இருக்கலாம் என்னைக் கேட்டா. இப்பம் இந்த might be it has taken some years, இந்த மாதிரி women-ஐ accept as a human being accept பண்ணுதுக்கு இப்பம் time ஆயிருக்கு

10. Bina – CA10, வேதத்திலே obey பண்ணா எல்லாத்திலேயும் obey பண்ணுவேன்னு அப்படின்ற மாதிரி Administration-றதில் வந்து, ஈடுபடலாம். ஒண்ணும் தப்பில்லை. அதில எது நல்லதோ என்னா it is also sharing தான இப்ப ஒரு வேலையைச் செய்யப் போறோம். church activities-ஏ இப்படி committee-ல எல்லாம் இருக்கோன்னா, it is only for the welfare of the church, நம்ப கூட சேர்ந்து ஒழைக்கிற தான் ... அதில போய்ட்டு, அங்க போய் அதிகாரம் பண்ணிட்டு சண்டை போட்டிட்டு இருக்கணுன்னு சொல்ல மாட்டேன். அது மாதிரி தான் நடக்குது. இப்பம் committee-ல எல்லாம். அந்த மாதிரி இருக்கணுன்னு துக்கில்லை. இப்படி நல்ல விதமா எல்லாரும் ஒண்ணா சேர்ந்து, நம்ம கோயிலுக்கு எது நல்லது செய்யலாம், நம்ம என்ன செய்யலாணு அந்த மாதிரி செய்ற எடங்கள்ல நம்ம சேர்ந்து பங்கெடுக்கிறதில்ல தப்பில்ல. இது.

11. Jeyam – CA11, PC members ஆ இருக்கலாம் கட்டாயமா இருக்கலாம். என்னா அவங்க எந்த விதத்திலையும் ஆண்களைவிட பெண்கள் கொறைஞ்சி இல்லை. அதை நம்ம சமூகத்தில் ஏத்துக்கிடமாட்டாங்க. ஆண்களுக்கு சமம்ன்னு சமுதாயம் ஏத்துக்கிடமாட்டாங்க. மற்றபடி ஆண்களுக்கு equal ஆ பெண்களுக்கு talent இருக்கு, எல்லா விதத்திலையும் இருக்கு. அதினால PC members ஆ இருக்கலாம். ஒண்ணும் பிரச்சனையே இல்லை. PC members ஆ இருந்து PC meeting ல கூட அவங்க ரொம்ப நல்லா contribute பண்ணலாம். எந்தெந்த விதத்தில் contribute பண்ண முடியுமோ அதில தப்பே கெடையாது.

12. Saral – CA12, கண்டிப்பா இருக்கலான்தாம். என்னா என்னைப் பாத்வரைக்கும் ஆம்பிளைங்களை விட பொம்பளைங்களை நெறையா இதுக்கு நல்ல knowledge இருக்கு. அவங்க எப்படி அதை இது பண்ணணும், conduct பண்ணி கொண்டு போணும், ideas எல்லாமே ஆம்பிளைங்களுக்குக் கொறைஞ்சி இல்லை. அதினால PC member-ஆ கண்டிப்பா இருக்கலான்தான் என்னுடைய feeling.

### III. Narratives about women's ordination(O):

1. Amar –O(Ordination)1, மற்ற விதத்தில் preaching எல்லாம் பரவால. ... அப்புறம் வந்து ordain பண்ணி, அவங்களை அந்த படிச்சிட்டு, அந்த degree -ஐ வாங்கிட்டு அப்புறம் அவங்க pastor-ஆ இருக்கலான்றதைப் பற்றினாக்கா, கர்த்தர் நமக்கு அது கொடுத்தாருன்னா, 'நீ செய்யணும் இந்த வேலையை, நீ செய்'ன்னு குடுக்கும் போது. அந்தக் காலத்தில் இந்த twelve disciples of Jesus Christ were not ordained. But God gave them responsibility of teaching Gospel to the unsaved people இல்லையா, அது மாதிரி, எனக்கு வந்து, இந்த degree வாங்கினா தான் pastor ஆகணும். அவங்க தான் reverend ஆகணும், இதெல்லாம் manmade-ன்ட்டு. எனக்கு ஒரு இருதயத்தில் யோசனை எனக்கு. ஆனா நம்ப கர்த்தருக்குள்ள இப்பம் சாது சுந்தர் சிங்கெல்லாம் இருக்கிறாரு. அவரு படிச்ச, அவரு ordination எடுத்தாரா இல்லையா, அவரை யாரு reverend ஆக்கினாங்களோ, இல்லையே. ஆனா அவரு எத்தனை ஆத்துமாக்களை அவரு கர்த்தருக்கென்று எடுத்தாரு. கர்த்தரை அறியாத குடும்பத்தில் பெறந்த ஒரு அந்த மாதிரி கர்த்தருடைய, நம்ம பக்த சிங் கூட இருக்கிறாரு. அவரு bishop-ஆவும் ஆகல, அவரு reverend -ஆவும் ஆகலை. ஆனா இன்னைக்கு ஒலகம் முழுவதும் அவருடைய meeting-உ, இன்னும் செழிப்பாதான் இருக்கு, அவரா, போய்ப் பாதீங்கன்னா, இவரு மனுஷனாண்டு இருக்கிறாரு. அவருக்கு ஒரு வார்த்தை பேச வராது, ஒரு சாப்பாடு சாப்பிட முடியாது. அப்படி இருக்கிறாராம். ஆனாலும் அப்போ அவரு செய்த அவருடைய ஊழியம் இன்னமும் பலன் தருது. அந்த மாதிரி இந்த ordination-ல எல்லாம் அவ்வளவு எனக்கு நம்பிக்கை இல்லை. கர்த்தரோட கூட நம்ம எவ்வளவு தூரத்துக்கு ஒத்து இருக்கிறமோ அதைப் பற்றி தான், அந்த மாதிரி தான் church-லயும் ரொம்ப insist பண்ணுவாங்க. எங்க churches-ல யாரையும் இந்த மாதிரி pass ஆகணும். அவங்க தான் reverend ஆகணும். அவங்க தான் preach பண்ணணுன்னு வைக்கலை. அதினாலையோ என்னுடைய எண்ணமோ தெரியலை. ... At the same time அதான் சொன்ன மாதிரி இந்த funeral கலியாணமும் ஆம்பிளைங்க குடுத்தா அது ஒண்ணு நல்லா இருக்கு.

2. Ranjithamani – O2, ஆனா, ம்..., பெண்கள் ஐயரா இருக்கும் போது அது கொஞ்சம் எனக்கு வித்தியாசமா தெரியுற

மாதிரி தெரியுது.

3. Sweetie – O3, ஆணா, pastor-ஆ இருக்கிறது எனக்கு என்னவோ பிடிக்கல, ஐயரா வரக்கூடாது. அது ஒரு .... ஊழியம் மாதிரி, அவங்க செய்றது, என்னமோ எனக்குப் பிடிக்கல, சரி இல்லைன்ற மாதிரிதான் நான் யோசிக்கிறேன். ... இப்பம் போதிக்கலாம், நமக்கு சத்தியம் தெரியுது, நம்ம போதிக்கலாம். But not, service conduct பண்றது. அதெல்லாம் women பண்றது, I'm not for it. ... ஏன்னா, அவங்களுக்கு அந்த menstrual இது இருக்கு பாருங்க, அந்த time அவங்க வந்து communion service எடுக்க முடியுமா, முடியாது. அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு, ஏன்னா, நான் நெனைக்கிறேன். என்னன்னாலுமே கடவுள் சொன்னாப்பல ஆணைக்கொஞ்சம் ஓயர்த்தி வச்சிருக்கும் போது ... அதினால service conduct பண்றது புடிக்கல. மற்றப்படி, preach பண்றது. பிரசங்கம் பண்றது அதெல்லாம் ஒண்ணும் தப்பில்லை.

4. Gem – O4, ன்... சபை நடத்துற அளவுக்கு பெண்கள் ஆராதனை நடத்தவோ அல்லது அது பெண்களுக்கு விவாகமாயி, ஆண் பிள்ளை பெறந்தா, பெண்பிள்ளை பெறந்தா, லேவியராகமத்தில எவ்வளவோ நாட்கள் வெலகியிருக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லி, அப்பம் திருச்சபைக்கடுத்த காரியங்கள்ல நடக்க வேண்டிய காரியம் கல்யாணம், சாவு இந்த மாதிரி காரியங்கள் அவர்கள் ஒரு சபையை நடத்த ஒதுவாய் இருந்தா அதிலெல்லாம் தடைபட்டா, மற்றவர்களுக்கும் தன்னுடைய தானா காரியங்களை சொல்ல வேண்டியதாயிருக்கும். அப்பம் தீட்டுப்படக் கூடாதுன்னு எத்தனையோ காரியங்களை சொல்லியிருக்கிறதினால பெண்கள், ன், altar-ல போய் அந்த மாதிரி ஓரளவு அவங்க செய்யாம இருக்கிறதுதான் நல்லதா இருக்கு. ஆண்கள் அதை செய்றதான் தகுதியா இருக்குது.

5. Heera – O5, Then about preaching I too agree with Sweetie, I would prefer the women not to be preachers. Because it has more with a role of a woman. Role of a woman as a woman, you know. That is her role is, she is house bound most of the time because of pregnancy, child birth, her periods, all that and her cooking assignments and all that. So she cannot put her entire, her entire time and totality, you know, total percent, she cannot surrender herself as a man can do. But, when she becomes older she does it. She is not able to do when she is young housewife and all that so I think it has got something to do with the role of a woman, m, that's all I think, so, I prefer. ... செய்யலாம், but not as a priest, I get ... a priest, priest ... It needs a certain something which I don't think a woman has and ... some women have who ... Paul-ஆ, what's the name? Elizabeth Paul, Betty Paul, Elizabeth Paul, she has that quality which makes has a good preacher. But all women, you know, if they are examples and if they preach, that's all right. But I have known very good preachers.... Very good preachers, they can be preachers ... Ordained pastors ... Ordained pastors ... I have my reservations. Won't say they shouldn't, but I've got my reservations. And I, the reason might be the role that woman plays in life. The role, in general-ஆ, the woman.

6. Flora - O6 , ஐயரா இருக்கிறது ... அது அவ்வளவு சரியா தெரியல. ... ஏன்னா அது ஆண்களுக்கு தான் சரின்னு ஏற்கெனவே எனக்குப்படுது. ஐயரா இருக்கிறது. ... ஏன்னா அவங்க சில எதிர்ப்புகளெல்லாம் சந்திக்க வேண்டியதாயிருக்கும். ஆண்கள் வந்து அதை சமாளிப்பாங்க. பெண்கள் வந்து பலவீனமானவங்க. இப்ப நம்ம பிரசங்கிக்கிறதினா பிரசங்கித்து வந்து உக்காந்திரலாம், நம்ம எடத்தில. அதினால ஒண்ணும் அவங்க எதிர்ப்பை சந்திக்க chance இல்லை. ஆணா ஐயரா இருக்கும் போது அவங்களுக்கு பல பொறுப்புகள் இருக்கு. அது வந்து அவங்களால தான் solve பண்ண முடியும். அப்படின்னு நெனைக்கிறேன்.

7. Saguna – O7, ஆணா தேவனுடைய வாசஸ்தலத்தில ஒரு பெரிய பரிசுத்த ஸ்தலத்தில ஆண்களும் பெண்களும் கூடியிருக்கிற எடத்தில ஒரு முக்கியமான ஒரு ஆசாரிய வகுப்பில ஒரு ஆசாரியனாக அந்த எடத்தில இருந்து சபையினுடைய கலியாண காரியம் நடத்தவோ அல்லது ஒரு Communion குடுக்கவோ அப்படி அல்லது அங்கிருந்து அவர்கள் இருந்து அந்த விதமான ஒரு இது வகிக்கிறது கொஞ்சம் நமக்குப் (Chuckles) பழக்கப்பட்டதுயில்லை. கொஞ்சம் விகற்பமாகவே காணப்படுகிறது. பெண்கள் அப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு ஸ்தானத்தை வகித்தால் அது ஒரு ஆண்கள் என்றும் போது அது, ம் அது ஒரு மகிமையா காணப்படுகிறது.

8. Bina – O8, ஐயரா இருக்கிறது. வந்து எனக்கு வந்து, ம், mostly because, St.Paul has said it. அதில வந்து, அதில போதிக்கிறதன்னும் போது, நெறைய காரியங்கள்ல அதிகாரம் செலுத்துற மாதிரி வரும். அந்த aspect-ல வந்து, அது ஒரு தேவையில்லாத இதுன்ற மாதிரி, நான் வந்து கருதுறேன்.

9. Udhaya – O9, அதான், ஐயரா இருக்கிறது. எனக்கு சரியா, அதான் idea இல்லை, ன், ம்,

10. Melody – O10, Woman pastors, I haven't heard of much woman pastors. ... I don't think, I don't know .... I don't know, I don't know my feelings are .... Seen one ah, no. yeah .... But, I think in the Bible there were a priestess .... Or .... We, I don't know what my feelings are

11. Ranjithamani – O11, எப்படியும் அந்த அது வந்து இப்பதான் ஏதோ பெண்களுக்கு பெண்கள் ஐயரா இருக்கலாம்-எண்டு ஒரு இது வந்து இருக்குது, இருக்குது இருந்தாலும் அந்த altar-ல பாக்கும் போது அதுன்னுடையது வந்து, அதில பெண்கள் இருக்கலாம்.

12. Ester - O12, ஐயரா இருக்கிறது. ... பண்ணலாம். எல்லாருக்கும் தகுதி இருக்குதுல்ல. ஆண்டவர்

13. Joy – O13, Why can't womens pastors be, because even when Jesus was, like, Mary and Martha, like they were listening to God. But, one didn't listen. So, God actually, want everyone to know. Why can't the women pastor also be there. Many people in Bible women have preached. Because where mens are the ones who brought out the Bible. We didn't know whether Bible has all the, all the chapters, so, may be the women's names were left out, or, m may be the people who wrote it wouldn't have found any importance to women. I find womens can do it.

14. Swarna – O14, தாராளம் பிரசங்கம் பண்ணலாம். ஐயர் பட்டம் அதான அண்ணைக்கு நீங்க வரும் போது சொல்லி இருந்தேன்ல்ல. பெபெயாள் வந்து பழைய காலத்து Bible லேயே இருக்குது. பிரசங்கம் பண்ணறதில் கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள் ஆணென்றும் பெண்ணென்றும் இல்லை, ன்னு போட்டாச்சி. அதுக்கப்புறம் அதில் question-னே இல்லை. கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள்ள ஆணென்றும் பெண்ணென்றும் இல்லை. அதுக்கப்புறம் இந்த கேள்விகள் எழும்பக்கூடாது.

15. Tiny – O15, பெண்கள் வந்து, ம், பொதுவா talented வந்து you can do, any work என்ன வேலைன்னாலும் செய்யலாம். எங்க குருவானவரா இருக்கிறது கூட தப்பில்லதான். உங்களுக்கு talent இருந்துதுன்னா அவங்க செய்யலாம். அவங்களுடைய talent-ல ஆண்டவர் ஜெபத்தோடு கூட அவங்க செய்யும் போது அது எவ்வளவு பெரிய சபையோ எவ்வளவு problems-ஓ, அவங்க manage பண்ணலாம். அதினால பெண்கள் அதில் இருக்கிறதில் தப்பு ஒண்ணுமில்லை.

16. Jeyavathy – O16, ஆன் இருக்கலாம். அவங்களுடைய அபிஷேகமும் அவங்களுடைய வழி நடத்துதல், their callings அப்படி இருக்கும் போது, அது நிச்சயமா அது செய்யலாம். அது ஏன்னா, ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கு ஒவ்வொரு விதமான calling இருக்குதில்லை. விசேஷ, அழைப்பு விதவிதமா இருக்கிறதினால் ஒருத்தருக்கு அந்த அழைப்பு செய்யலாம், நிச்சயமா. ஏன்னா அந்தப் பரிசுத்தில் அவங்க செய்ய முடியும். ஏன்னா, அழைப்பு இருக்கிறதுனால அவங்க வந்து, அந்த அபிஷேகத்தோட அவங்க வந்து அந்த சபையில் கட்டறதோ, அது இது பண்ணறதோ பெண்களுக்கு நல்ல முக்கியத்துவம் இருக்குது. அது இருக்குது. ஏன்னா அது கண்டிப்பா நம்ம இந்த காலத்தில இப்பம் சீக்கிரத்தில் ஆண்டவருடைய வருகையும் சமீபமா இருக்கிற ஒரு இதுவும் இருக்கிறதினால், பெண்களும் அதிகமா ஊழியத்தில் கலந்து கொண்டாதான், அநேகம் பேரைக் கொண்டு வரும் பொழுது, ஆண்டவர் பக்கம் கொண்டு வரும் போது, நம்ம சீக்கிரத்தில் நம்ம அநேகம் பேரை நித்தியத்துக்குள்ள நம்ம கொண்டு வந்து ஆண்டவரைப் பற்றி நம்ம சொல்றதுக்கு முடியும்.

17. Lita – O17, இப்பம் என் daughter-in-law-ன்னா அவா she has her own views-ல்ல. ந்த மாதிரி நான் விட்டிருவேன். அது ஏன் இப்படி பண்ணுனா, அதான், 'நீங்க மாமியாரே இல்லை', அப்படின்னுவாங்க. எல்லோரும் என்னை. ஆனா கூட என் தங்கச்சியெல்லாம் சொன்னாகூட, நான் அதை இது பண்ணறதில்லை. ஏன்னா, அவ இது, அவளுக்குன்னு ஒரு இது இருக்கு, அவளுக்கு மொதல்ல எனக்கு ரொம்ப கஷ்டமா தான் இருந்துது. இந்த மாதிரி அவ இந்த profession எடுக்கிறாளே, நான் என்ன view-லன்னா இப்பம் women இவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க Elisabeth Paul எல்லாம். அவங்க dedicated lady அவங்க தெரியுமா, ன், ரொம்ம நல்ல dedicated lady. I used to admire her. நல்லா இது பண்ணுவாங்க. ஏன்னா எங்களுக்கு வந்து teachers classes எல்லாம் எடுத்திருக்கிறாங்க. இந்த Bible-ஐப் பற்றி Synoptic Gospels அது இதுன்னு. ரொம்ப ஆசையாப் போவோம். நாங்க எந்த church அந்த எங்கயாவது ஒரு school-ல வச்சு எடுப்பாங்க அல்லது teachers we were asked to take that lessons-உ அங்க வந்து ரொம்ப நல்லா teach பண்ணுவாங்க. அதினால எனக்கு ரொம்ப நல்லா admire பண்ணுவேன். ஆனா ஒரு family-ல இருந்துக்குட்டு செய்றது, அது that's a million dollar question. அது தான் எனக்கு ஒரு பெரிய இது இருந்துச்சு. ஆனா, இப்பம் எவ்வளவு தூரம் எங்களால support பண்ண முடியுமோ, அவ்வளவு support பண்ணிக்கிட்டுத்தான் இருக்கிறோம் still.

18. Mariam – O18, ஐயர் பட்டம், ம், இப்பம் குடு, அது என்னுடைய friends எல்லாங்கூட சிலர் ஐயர் பட்டம் பெற்றிருக்காங்க, அதினால ஊழியம் நல்லா அவங்க வந்து செய்றாங்க. அதினால அவங்களுக்குக் குடுக்கலாம், அப்படின்றது தான் என்னுடைய

19. Lovely – O19, But I strongly feel women pastor-ஆ இருக்கலாம். ம். எல்லாமே பண்ணலாம். In fact என்னையைக் கேட்டா இந்த confidence level அந்த mature எல்லா which I am seeing, இப்பம் எங்க office-ல எப்படின்னா, நெறையா ladiesதான் இருக்கிறாங்க. Number of gents வந்து ரொம்ப கம்மி என்னை office-ல பாக்கும் போது எல்லாத்திலையும், ம், I mean ரொம்ப difference ஒண்ணும் கெடையாதே. But that might be physically little more strong. அதை விட்டா, it has got Nothing to do with preaching so அதினால அதையும் connect பண்ண வேண்டிய அவசியமே கிடையாது. So அதினால எல்லாம் ladies எல்லாம் பண்ணலாம்.

20. Jeyam – O20, ஐயர் பட்டங்கிறது அது சமுதாயத்தில் அவங்க குடுக்கிறது சரியில்லை அப்படின்னு ஒரு சாரார் சொல்றாங்க, ஒரு சாரார் இல்லை அவங்களும் அதே theology தான் படிச்சிட்டு வர்றாங்கன்னு அதில் என்ன தப்பு

இருக்கு, குடுக்கலாம் அப்படின்றாங்க. ஒரு சாரார் Bible பிரகாரம் அவங்களுக்கு ordination குடுத்தா கூட அவங்க வந்து ஒரு சபையை தலையா நின்று நடத்தக்கூடாது அப்படின்னு சொல்லி ஒரு சாரார் சொல்றாங்க. எனக்கு வந்து இதில் சரியான விளக்கம் இல்லவே இல்லை. நான் சொல்றேன் ordination வாங்கிக்கலாம், preaching எல்லாம் எல்லாம் இருக்கும் போது அவங்க ஏன் ஒரு சபைக்கு headஆ இருந்து நடத்தக் கூடாது. அதை ஏன் தடை பண்ணாங்க. அவங்களும் cassock போட்டுக்கிறாங்க communion serve பண்ணலாம் அப்படியெல்லாம் இருக்கும் போது ஏன் தான் இப்படி ஒரு இதைக் கொண்டு வர்றாங்கன்னு. அப்புறம் என் மனசில் ஒரு சின்ன ஒரு இது doubt என்னன்னா, ஒரு வேளை பெண்கள் வந்து ஒரு சிலர் சமயத்தில் அவங்க வந்து தீட்டுப்பட்டவர்கள் என்று நினைக்கிறதினால altarக்குப் போகக் கூடாதோ, altar பரிசுத்தமான எடம்ன்னு நெனைக்கிறாங்களோன்னு மக்கள், அதினால் நம்மளை ஐயோ வைக்கக்கூடாதுன்னு நெனைக்கிறாங்களோன்னு அப்படின்னு நான் மனசில் நெனைச்சிக்கிட்டேன். இன்னும் எனக்கு அது சரியான விளக்கம் தெரியல.

21. Saral – O21, ஐயர் பட்டங் குடுக்கிறதும் இவங்க சொன்ன மாதிரி அவங்களுக்கு நல்ல எல்லா விதமான தெறமை இருந்தும் ஏன் வந்து அவங்களை வந்து எல்லாரும் பண்ணக் கூடாதுன்னு சொல்றாங்கன்னு, இல்லை, என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரைக்கும் ஊழியம் செய்வாங்களெல்லாம் பாருங்களேன், வீட்டுக்கு வந்தா எனக்கே evening எத்தனை பேர் வீட்டுக்கு வந்து ஊழியத்தை இது மாதிரி பன்ற, பேசுவாங்க. ஆம்பளைங்க அப்படி ரொம்ப பன்றதை நான் பார்த்ததில்லை பொம்பளைங்க இப்படி வீடுவீடாப் போயி பாட்டுபாடி ஜெபம் பண்ணி, அப்படி நெறையா பேர் இருக்கிறாங்க. அவ்வளவு திறமை, இப்பம் ஆர்வம் இருக்கிறதை நம்ம ஏன் encourage பண்ணக் கூடாது. பண்ணா தப்பில்லைன்ற மாதிரி யோசிக்கிறேன். ... பண்ணா அது தப்பே இல்லை. அவங்களுக்கு அவங்களுடைய experience different. அவங்களால. நல்லா பண்ண முடியும்.

### Section Three. Narratives about cultural practices and behaviour based on religious mores.

#### I. Narratives about headcovering (HC):

1. Arunavathy – HC(Head Covering)1, அதான் ஒரு சில பெண்கள் முக்காடு போட்டவுடனே அது பின் side விழுந்து போகுது. ஆனா அந்த முக்காடுக்கு அவங்க மதிப்பு குடுக்கிறாங்களான்னும் சொல்ல முடியலை. எப்படின்னு தெரியலை, எதோ கடமைக்கு நம்ம முக்காடு போடனுன்னு .... அது வந்து எப்படி தமிழ்நாட்டில் மற்றபடி மற்ற இதெல்லாம் ஒரு கலாச்சாரம்ன்னு நெனைக்கிறாங்களா, ஆனா கிறிஸ்தவங்களுக்கு முக்காடு போட்டு ஆகணும். அது கண்டிப்பா, அப்ப .... நம் Christian ஆ போடணும். ... எங்க வீட்டுக்கு இரட்சிக்கப்படாதவங்க தான் வருவாங்க. ஆனா அவங்க வந்து உக்காந்த ஒடனே தன்னை அறியாமலே முக்காடு போட்டுக்குவாங்க. ஏன்னா கிறிஸ்தவங்களன்னா முக்காடு போடணும், ன்றது அவங்களுக்குத் தெரியுது. 90% எல்லாருக்கும் கிறிஸ்தவங்க முக்காடு போடுவாங்கன்றது தெரிஞ்சிருக்கும், அப்படின்னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன்.

2. Melody – HC2, No, but, if he is writing, then it's meant for everyone. ... Because women covering. ... What I feel is what is there in the Bible is meant for everyone. It's not like since he wrote it to the Corinthian, it's meant only for them.

3. Amar – HC3, அவங்க முக்காடு போட்டுக்கிறதை church-லயும் அதை insist பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்புறம் முக்காடு போடுறதினால நம்ப ஓயர்வு, அவங்க கொறைவுன்றதில்லை. More அதைக் consider பண்ணுவாங்கன்னு நான் நெனைக்கல. அங்க துலுக்க ஊர்ல ரோட்ல போறவங்க எல்லாருமே அது கெழ, குடுகுடு கெழவியா இருந்தா கூட இந்த முக்காடைப் போட்டுக்கிட்டு. அவங்க என்னத்தை அவங்களைப் பாத்து. யார் மயங்கிறப் போறாங்களோ தெரியாது. ஆனாலுங் கூட மூஞ்சு மூடிக்கிட்டு முக்காடு போட்டுக்கிட்டு தான் போவாங்க அவங்க, அதனால முக்காடு போடுறது எனக்கு அது ரொம்ப இஷ்டமான காரியந்தான். அப்படியே பறட்டைத் தலையா இருந்தா கூட சரி இல்லைன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன்.

4. Jeyavathy – HC4, முக்காடு கண்டிப்பா போடணும். நானு இதை சில எடங்களல பாக்கும் போது, இப்ப நானு ம், ம், அந்த Bains school-ல நடந்த அந்தக் கூட்டங்களுக்கு நானு சென்றிருந்தேன், நானு அப்பம், அங்க எல்லாம் பெரிய high society -ல இருந்து வந்த பெண்கள் தான், எல்லாம். ஏன்னா, English முக்கியமா தெரிஞ்சிருக்கணும். First நல்ல graduates, நல்லா இதில் ஊழியஞ் செய்வாங்க, அப்படி, இப்படின்னு பலவித. அங்க பார்க்கும் போது, ஒருத்தர் கூட அந்த message இருக்கும் போது கூட, even அந்த prayer இருக்கும் போது கூட அவங்க வந்து முக்காடு போடவே இல்லை. எனக்கு அது ரொம்ப வருத்தமா இருந்துச்சு. ஏன்னா எங்க, நாங்க இதில், கண்டிப்பா நாங்க முக்காடு போடனுன்னு stress பண்ணுவோம். இது பண்ணுவாங்க. Power Ministry-ல அவ்வளவு இது இது பண்ணுவாங்க. இந்த மாதிரி ஊழியங்கள்ல இருக்கும் போது, கண்டிப்பா பெண்கள் வந்து அந்த முக்காடு போடும்போதுதான் தேவனுடைய பிரசன்னத்தை உணர முடியும், தேவனுடைய பிரசன்னம். ஏன்னா, வேதத்தில் சொல்லியிருக்கு நம்ம



இது பண்ணக்கூடாதுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, பெண்கள் கண்டிப்பா முக்காடு போடணும். சபையில் நொழையும் போதே அது வந்து கண்டிப்பா முக்காடு போடுறது தான், அது தகுதி ... இல்லை, இல்லை. தேவனுடைய, ஆம் .. ஆன், ஆன் .... அப்படி வேதத்தில் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்குதா? அப்படி ஒண்ணும் இல்லையே

5. Bina – HC5, As you know முக்காடை பற்றி ஏற்கெனவே பேசும்போது சொன்னேன். முக்காடு போடுறது சபையில் கட்டாயம் போடணும்தான் என்னுடைய opinion அது. போடாம இருந்தாத்தான் aunty சொன்ன மாதிரி ரொம்ப வருத்தமா, நல்லா இல்லை. அது ஒரு bad witness மாதிரி இருக்கு. என்னா அவ்வளவு கூட பண்ண முடியல. நான் cathedral-ல போவேன். Cathedral member- ஆவும் இருக்கிறேன். அங்க போம்போது அதான் பாக்கிறேன். அந்த இது, even altar போகும் போது shoe-வை remove பண்ணாம, ஒரு வேளை வெள்ளக்காரன் culture-ல அவங்களுக்கு அந்த atleast part of the dress மாதிரி இருக்கலாம். நம்ம நாட்ல நம்ப வந்து செருப்புன்னும் போது, ஒரு , இப்பம் செருப்பா, மாலை போட்டாங்கன்னா அவமரியாதைக்குரியதுதான். அதான் செருப்பு மாலை போட்றான். செருப்பு மாலையோ, பூ மாலையோ என்னா ஏதோ ஒரு மாலைன்னு போலாம். அதில ஒரு இதுவே இல்லை. செருப்புன்னும் போது நம்ம ஒரு தாழ்ந்த இது மாதிரி இது இருக்கிறோம். வச்சிருக்கிறோம். அப்பம் இது, கடவுளுக்குன்னு கனத்தைக் கொடுக்கணுன்னு நம்ம remove பண்ணிட்டு நம்ம போணும். church-க்குள்ளேயே போடாம இருக்கிறது, south-ல எல்லாம் church-க்குள்ளேயே கூட போடமாட்டாங்க. சரி அதாவது நம்ம வந்து, ஒரு சபைன்னா congregation, we just sit and ... நம்ம இது பண்ணோம். அது ஒண்ணும் தப்பில்லைன்ற மாதிரி வச்சிக்கலாம். Atleast ஒரு altar-ன்னு நம்ம இது பண்ணி போகும்போது, அவருடைய சமூகத்தில் (coughs) இராப்போஜனத்தில் பங்குபெறும்போது, ஒரு அது ஒரு கொஞ்சங்கூட பயபக்தியா செய்றா மாதிரி அந்த இதை, அதை ஒரு symbolic-காவது அதை remove பண்ணிட்டு போலாம். அதை ஏன் போட்டுட்டு போறாங்க. முக்காடு போடாம போகும்போது கொஞ்சம் அது disrespectful-ஆ தோணும். அதினால் எனக்கு இஷ்டம் இல்லை. அதினால் முக்காடு போட்டுட்டு, இருந்தா, அது இருந்தா கொஞ்சம் respectful-ஆ இருக்கு. சில ஒழுங்குமுறைகள் இருந்தா நல்லதுன்றக்குதான். அதில யாரும் ஒஸ்தி தாழ்வு, இவங்க ஆம்பளாங்களுக்கு இது, இந்த முக்காடு போட்டுக்கிறது கீழ்ப்படிஞ்சிட்டு, வீட்ல போய் கன்னா பின்னான்னு பேசுவா. ஆனா முக்காடு போட்டுட்டு இருக்கிறதனால் she is submissive-ன்ற அர்த்தம் எல்லாம் இல்லை. But அது ஒரு இந்த ஒழுங்கைக் கடைபிடித்தால் நல்லது. அப்படின்றது... சபையில் ....

6. Priya – HC6, About the women wearing a veil in church, I don't think, there is anything wrong in it, because the Bible says 'You have to do it'. So, I think, women are just basically following it. ... I find it a problem because the Bible says 'You should' and you are not doing it. But basically I don't know the significance of you covering .... Everyone. ... Yeah, it definitely does not show .... Yeah, because it's there in the Bible and if we see that someone isn't wearing it we think, doing something wrong. But, basically not to indicate that she was subordinate to the man. ... Something like that .... Yeah .... Basically why I'm saying it's wrong is basically it says in the Bible you should and you're not, that's why. They, if you ask me, I really don't know what the significance is for covering the head.

7. Sweety - HC7, அப்படியில்லை. அப்படி எப்படி சொல்ல முடியும். That is

8. Mariam – HC8, முக்காடு போடணும்தான் நம்ம வந்து tradition-ஆ போட்டிட்டே, ம், அது, அது இருக்குது. ஆனாலும் church-ல ஒரு பெண்கள்லாம் அது ஒரு முக்காடு போட்டா அது ஒரு நல்லா இருக்கும் அப்படின்றது என்னுடைய .... தேவ, அதாவது நம்ம வசனம் இருக்கில்ல ஒண்ணு கொரிந்தியர்ல முக்காடு போடணும். பெண்கள் வந்து, பெண்கள் தான், ஏன் வந்து நீளமா வளக்கிறாங்க, ஆண்கள். அந்த மாதிரி வசனங்களால நான் வந்து, இது வந்து போடலாம் அப்படின்றது வந்து நான் சொல்றேன் நான். .... அப்படி அந்த இதுக்கு நான். ... அப்படி கெடையாது. அப்படி கெடையாது. அப்படி அந்தக் கோணத்தில் நான் சொல்லல,

9. Ester – HC9, அதுக்காக இல்லை, ஆண்டவர். ... மரியாதை ஒரு தாழ்மை

10. Amar – HC10, அப்புறம் முக்காடு போடுறது கூட வந்து கட்டாயம் வந்து ஞானஸ்நானம் எடுத்தபிறகுதான் முக்காடு போடணும்தான் கெடையாது. ன், ஒரு பிள்ளை கொஞ்சம் ஒரு பெரிய பிள்ளையா ஆயிட்டா அந்த சரிதார் போட்டாலும் அந்த சன்னி அந்த தலையை மூடிக்கிட்டே ஒழிய saree போட்டாலும் மூடிக்கணுமே தலையை ன்டு அப்படியே உடுறதில்ல. அப்படியே உக்கரந்துகிட்டு அது அடக்கும் எதுக்குன்னா ... எனக்கு அந்த மாதிரி முக்காடு போட்டு என்னக்கு ரொம்ப இஷ்டமானது. என்னன், நம்ம முக்காடு போட்டிருந்தாலும் ஒரு அடக்கம்னா தன்னால கோயில்ல அதோடுகூட நம்ம வந்த கர்த்தரிடத்தில் மொழங்கால் போட்டு, நாங்கெல்லாம் தரையில் தான் உக்காருவோம். chair-ல உக்காரமாட்டோம், அப்படியே கர்த்தரிடத்தில் நம்ப கொறையெல்லாம் சொல்லி அமுது நம்ப எவ்வளவு அமுதாலும் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கிறவங்களுக்குக் கூட தெரியாது. என்னா, நம்பளே நம்பளை மூடிக்கிறமோ பாருங்க, ம், அப்புறம் அந்த முக்காடு போட்டு என்னக்கு ரொம்ப இஷ்டம் . . . , அதனால் முக்காடு போடுறது எனக்கு அது ரொம்ப இஷ்டமான காரியந்தான்.

11. Heera – HC11, எனக்கு not covering the head or covering is not of greater importance but I think. Covering the head denotes reverence and a token of respect. Why don't you humble yourself? The question of

humility is there. Humble yourself and do it. And it's a question of modesty also. Modesty, because sometime the hair can be distracting. And in the church. So, that's all. I'm not particular about that.

12. Saguna – HC12, சிறு வயதில் இருந்தே கோயிலுக்குப் போகும் போதும், குறிப்பா திடப்படுத்தலுக்கு அப்புறம் முக்காடு போடறது ஒரு வழக்கமா, கோயில்களிலயும், நம்ம வீடுகளிலயும் அப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு கலாச்சாரம் இருக்கிதினால, அதுக்கப்புறமே, அது திடப்படுத்தல் எடுத்ததுக்கப்புறமே முக்காடு போடறது, கோயிலுக்குப் போகும் போது நம்ம முக்காடு போடறது ஒரு வழக்கமாயிருச்சு. அது முக்காடு போடறது நான் தப்புன்னு நெனைக்கல. போட்டா அது ஒரு கடவுளுடைய பிரசன்னத்தில் நம்ம கொஞ்சம் தேவப் பிரசன்னத்தை ஒணரதான் இருக்குதுதான் நான், என்னுடைய தனிப்பட்ட அபிப்பிராயம்.

13. Udhaya – HC13, முக்காடு போடுறது வந்து கொஞ்சம் modern day-ல எப்படி accept பண்ணாங்கன்னு தெரியல. . . . நான் வந்து ... . ஓ, ஏன்னு, concentration-ஐக் கூட்டுன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். . . . அதுக்கு symbolic-கா இல்லை. . . . ன், உ ஹலிம், அப்படியில்லை. . . . அப்படியில்லை. . . . அதுக்கும் இதுக்கும் சம்பந்தம் இருக்கிற மாதிரி இல்லை. . . . தன்னைத் தாழ்த்தி. . . . ம், பவுல். . . . ம், பாக்கனும்.

14. Lovely – HC14, முக்காடு போடுறது என்னுடைய feeling என்னன்னா, see I don't know whether I am right or wrong, முக்காடு, ஏன்னா because for a lady hair is always our, I know, இப்பம் கூட ஆம்பளை மொட்டை போட்டிருந்தா நம்ம வந்து ஒரு இந்த விஷயமா எடுத்துக்கிறது. But ஒரு lady மொட்டை போட்டிருந்தா எல்லாம் we turn back and see, என்ன ஆச்சு அவங்களுக்கு ஏன் அவங்களுக்கு தலை முடி இல்லை. ஏன்னா அதை அவங்களுக்கு hair வந்து ஒரு என்ன சொல்றது, சொல்றது, ஆன், ஆமா, அது ladyக்கு வந்து ஒரு பெருமை சேக்கிறதுன்னு கூட சொல்லலாம். அது ஒவ்வொரு ladyக்கு நீட்ட முடி இருந்தா எல்லாம் பாப்போம் இல்லையா. So, எனக்கு என்ன feeling அந்த இது suppress ஆகிறது before God நம்மளத் தாழ்த்தணும். மனசால கூட தாழ்த்த. Physical -ஆ நம்ம வந்து அந்த ஒரு lengthy முடி என்ன நம்ம பண்ணிட்டோம், நம்மளே like to show it to others. Even dressing for that matter. So, என்னுடைய இது என்ன கடவுளுக்கு முன்னால நம்ம ஒரு நம்ம வந்து தாழ்த்தணும். அதினால நம்ம வந்து ஒரு வேளை ஒரு, one explanation அப்படிதான் இருக்குதுன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன் Bible-ல So, அதுதான் என்னுடைய feeling, not that we have to men ஓட obey பண்ணது இருக்கும்போது இது பண்ணணுன்ற feeling இல்லை. அதினால முக்காடு போடுறது, நம்ம கடவுளுக்கு முன்னால நம்மைத் தாழ்த்திறது என்னுடைய. So, முக்காடு போடலாம். போடாமா இருக்கிறது, ம், Bible பிரகாரம் தப்புதான். போடாமா இருக்கிறது தப்புதான் என்னுடைய feeling. So for, it is better. நீங்க போடுறதினால ஒங்களுக்கு ஒண்ணும் கொறைச்சபோகப் போறதில்லை. எந்த women-உம் எந்த கொறைஞ்சு போகப் போறதில்லை. இந்த meaning-ல, இது, இப்பம் gents-க்கு suppress பண்ணதா எடுத்துக்கிட்டோன்னா then, an, another argument ஆகுது. But இந்த meaning nothing-ணா, நம்ம கடவுளுக்கு முன்னாடி நம்ம வந்து நம்ம மனசில இருந்து physical-ஆ தாழ்த்தி நம்ம பண்ணணும். Definite-ஆ முக்காடு போடலாம்.

15. Jeyam – HC15, முக்காடு போடறது ஆண்களுக்கு அடங்கிப் போணுன்றதுக்காக இல்லை. நம்ம confirmation எடுக்கும் போதே first எங்களுக்கெல்லாம் குடுத்த ஒரே காரணம், திடப்படுத்தல் எடுத்திட்டு வந்த ஒடனே communionக்குப் போகும் முன்னாடி நீங்க first ஐ முக்காடு போடணும். அப்படின்னு எங்களுக்குக் கத்துக்குடுத்தாங்க. அதுக்கு அப்புறம் வரவர அதினுடைய இது என்னன்னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன்னா அது வந்து தேவனை கணப்படுத்துறதுக்காக நம்ம வந்து முக்காடு போட்டு போய் ஜெபத்தில் உக்காரணுமே தவிர, ஆண்களுக்கு அடங்கி போறதுக்காக அது செய்யனுன்றதை நான் accept பண்ண மாட்டேன். தேவனுக்கு முன்பாக நம்ம கனவீனப்படாம கணப்படுத்தணும். தேவனைக் கணப்படுத்துணுன்னா நம்ம வந்து அது ஒரு ஒரு மாதிரி அது பெண்களுக்கு அது ஒரு அடக்கம் மாதிரி. பெண்கள் தங்களுக்கு ஒரு அடக்கம் மாதிரின்தான் நான் எடுத்துக்கிறேன்.

16. Flora – HC16, முக்காடு போடுறது வந்து நம்ம கடவுளுக்கு ஒரு கனத்தைக் குடுக்கிறோம்....அந்த மாதிரி எண்ணம் எல்லாம் கெடையாது. ஏன்னா கர்த்தரே சொல்லியிருக்கிறாரு, முக்காடு போடுறது கனத்தைக் குடுக்குதுன்னு.

17. Ranjithamani – HC17, ம்... எனக்குங்கூட இந்த முக்காடைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லப்போனா, அந்த கொரிந்தியர்ல சொல்லி இருக்கிற மாதிரி, 'பெண்கள் முக்காட்டிட்டுக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்' ட்டு சொல்லியிருக்கிற மாதிரி, அது ஒரு நல்ல இதுந்தான் நான் சொல்ற சொல்ல முடியும். எப்படின்னா எங்காயவது போனா ஜெபத்துக்குப் போனா திடீர்ன்னு, முக்காடு போட்டாம்ம நம்ம ஜெபம் பண்ணும் போது, அது ஒரு மாதிரி ஒரு நல்ல இதுவா தெரியல. எதோ ஆண்டவரை நம்ம முக்காடு போடாம இருக்கும் போது, எதோ கர்த்தரை மகிமைப் படுத்தாம இருக்கிற மாதிரி, இருக்கிற மாதிரியே தெரியும். அநேக நோய்களல செல கலியாண வீடுகளல, அங்க இங்கெல்லாம் முக்காடு போடாம ஜெபம் பண்ணா கொஞ்சம் குற்றமாதான் தெரியும். ஆனா முக்காடு போட்டு ஜெபம் பண்ணும் போது எப்படியாது ஒரு கர்த்தருக்கு பயப்பட்டு பயம் அது ஒரு நல்ல ஒரு இது தான் மாதிரி தான் எனக்குப் புரியுது. முக்காடு போடாம ஜெபம் பண்ணா அது வீட்ல கூட செல நேரம் புழுங்குதேன்னு சொல்லி முக்காடு போடாம ஜெபம் பண்ணா அது என்னமோ எனக்கு அது சரியா ஒரு முழு திருப்தியாவே இல்லை. அந்தக் காலங்களல கொரிந்தியர்ல எழுதி வச்சிருக்கிறது. ஒரு நல்ல ஆலோசனைதான். முக்காடு பெண்கள் கட்டாயம் முக்காடு போட்டு ஜெபம் பண்ணணுன்றது நல்ல இதான். ... இல்லை,



இல்லை, அதுக்காக இல்லை, கடவுளுக்கு நம்ம அதினால, நம்ம அவரை மகிமைப் படுத்த, அவரை மகிமைப் படுத்துவதுக்கு கீழ்ப்படிஞ்சி அந்த வசனத்துக்குக் கீழ்ப்படிஞ்சி நம்ம நடக்கிற இதான்.

18. Tiny – HC18, முக்காடு கொஞ்சம் அவசியமாத்தான் எனக்கு தோணுது. இந்தக் காலத்தில. ...அதாவது, பெண்கள் வந்து, ஆண்கள் வந்து, கொஞ்சம் பெண்களைப் பாக்கிறதில் weak-ன் தான் சொல்லணும். அது நம்ம தலை சீவி, பூ வச்சு, இது வச்ச வரும் போது, கொஞ்சம் attraction ஆ தான் இருக்கும். இப்பம் ஒரு example-க்குச் சொல்றேன். இப்பம் எங்க வீட்ல கோயிலுக்குப் போகும் போது இவ்வளவு grand –ஆ dress பண்ணக் கூடாதுன்னு சொல்லுவாங்க. அப்பம், நம்ம பெண்களே ஒருத்தரை ஒருத்தர் பாக்கணும், அந்த கோயிலுக்கு போயிருக்கிறோம், ஜெபம் பண்ணுவோம், அந்த ஒரு distraction வந்திருதில். இந்த saree-ஐப் பாக்கணும், special-ஆ வாலிப் பையன்கள் மத்திலயும் வரலாம். அதினால அவங்க முக்காடு போடுறது நல்லது. . . . அதுக்காக இல்லை. ஓரளவு நம்ம modest –ஆ ஒரு இது நம்முடைய ஆலயத்துக்கு வந்திருக்கும் போது ஒரு பயபக்தியோட செய்யக் கூடியது அது.

19. Swarna – HC19, முக்காடு போடுறதும் இப்பம் வந்து Bible -ல வந்து நம்ம எப்பவுமே Bible -ஐ follow பண்ணோம். Bible வசனம் நமக்கு ஆதாரம். ஏன்னா, ஜெபிக்கிறபோதும். தீர்க்கதரிசனம் சொல்லும் போதும் பெண்கள் வந்து முக்காடு போடணுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு. அப்பம் particular-ஆ கண்டிப்பா ஜெபிக்கிற போது, நம்ம எங்க இருந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணாலும், ஜெபம் பண்ணும் போது முக்காடு போடணும் தீர்க்கதரிசனம் சொல்லும் போதும் முக்காடு போடணும். அது கண்டிப்பா அது Bible -ல சொல்லிருக்க, நம்ம ஆராதனையில் ஏன் போட்றோன்னா, ஒருக்கா ஜெபம் பண்ணோம், ஒருக்கா என்ன பாட்றோம், பாடறது ஆண்டவரை ஆராதிக்கிறது, முக்காடை எடுத்துப் போட்டுட்டு இருக்கிறதை விட ஒரேயடியா முக்காடைப் போட்டுட்டு இருந்தோன்னா அது நல்லா, ன், ஒரு ஒழுங்கு, அமைதி, இவங்க, எல்லாரும் சொன்ன மாதிரி நம்ம, பின்னால, எங்க அம்மா எப்போதுமே church-க்கு பூ வைக்க, சின்னதிலயே பூ அதிகம் வைக்கிறதில்ல. Church-க்கு என்னனாலும் பூ வைக்க விடமாட்டாங்க. என்னன்னா, சின்ன பிள்ளையா இருக்கும் போது, பூ கீழ விழும், அதை எடுப்போம், வைப்போம். இந்த மாதிரி அப்பம் தலை மூடியிருந்துதுனா அந்த மாதிரி பின்னால இருக்கவளுக்கு இவ தலையில் இருந்த பூ எங்க வாங்கியிருப்பா, இல்லைன்னா artificial பூ வச்சிருந்தானா, இவ என்ன பூ வச்சிருக்கா, அந்தக் கொண்டை எப்படி, மற்றபடி வெளில போகும் போதே நான், என்னைப் பொறுத்த வரையில் யாராவது வித்தியாசமான ஒரு கொண்டை போட்டிருந்தா, இந்தக் கொண்டை எப்படி போட்டிருப்பாங்கன்னு யோசிக்கிறோம். அப்பம் பின்னால இருக்கிறவங்களுக்கு அது ஒரு யோசனை வரும். முற்றும் மூடிட்டோன்னா, இந்த கழுத்தில் காதில தொங்குறது வேற தெரியாதில்ல. அல்லது வேற அதைவிட்டு அதையும் யோசிப்பேன். அதை ஆண்களுக்கு நம்ம வந்து எடறலா இருப்போன்னு சொல்றதைவிட மொதல்ல நம்ம முன்னால பின்னால side-ல இருக்கிறவங்களுக்கு பிரயோஜனமா காதல கழுத்தில் போட்டுட்டு வந்திருக்கிறது அது யோசிக்கிறது. Actual -ஆ நம்ம அதெல்லாம் கொஞ்சம் பாக்கதான் செய்வோம். அது நமக்கு disturbance இல்லாம இருக்கு. அப்பது அது ஒரு ஒழுங்கு, அழகு, அதினால நம்ம போடணும். Bible-ல சொல்லிருக்கு அதினால செய்யணும்.

20. Saral – HC20, முக்காடு போடறது... அந்த மாதிரி பண்ணுதுக்காக இல்லை. நமக்கு நம்பனை நாமே ஒடுக்கி கடவுளுடைய சந்நிதானத்தில் போறோன்ற ஒரு symbol தானே தவிர, ஆமா அவங்களுக்குக் கொறைஞ்சுவங்க மாதிரி யோசிக்கல. அதே மாதிரி, இங்க Lovely சொன்ன மாதிரி அது ஒரு attraction தான் இல்லையா. போய் உக்காந்து தலை நெறையா பூ அது மற்றவங்களுக்கும் அது ஒரு attraction. எல்லாந் திரும்பிப் பாக்கதான் தோணும், வந்து உக்காரும் போதே. முக்காடு போட்டுப் போணா யாருடைய attention-உம் undistracted-ணா. நம்ம எல்லாரும் ஒண்ணாதானப் போறோம். முஸ்லிமெல்லாம் பொம்பளைங்க வரக்கூடாதுன்றாங்க. பொம்பளைங்களும் ஆம்பிளைங்களும் எல்லாரும் ஒரே எடத்தில் கூடும்போது அது -attractionஆ இருக்க வேண்டாம் மற்றவங்களுக்கு. அதினால முக்காடு போட்டுப் போறது மற்றவங்களுக்கும் இல்லை. தனக்கும், நமக்கும் ஒரு கடவுள் கிட்ட, பாத்தில இருக்கிற மாதிரி ஒரு feeling. மற்றவங்களுக்கும் ஒரு -distraction ஆ இருக்காது. அதினால முக்காடு போடறது அவசியம்.

21. Gem – HC21, முக்காடு போடறதுன்னு சொல்றது ஒண்ணு கொரிந்தியர் பதினொன்னு பத்தில் 'தூதர்கள் நிமித்தம் ஸ்தீரியானவள் தலையின் மேல் முக்காடிட்டுக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்'. பெண்களுக்குத் தலை, ன், ன். முக்காவாசி பாகம் பாக்கும் போது, attraction, அழகு எல்லாமே தலைக்கு மேல தான். Open-ஆ இருந்தா attraction-ஆவாங்க. அது, சபையில் போகும் போது, அப்படிப் போணா எல்லாரும், இன்னாருன்னு பாப்பாங்க, நகைகள் வெளில தெரியுது. ஆணா தலை மூடி இருந்தா அழகு தெரியுறதில்லை. யாரும், யாருன்னே தெரியாது. அப்போம் cover பண்றது அந்த காலத்தில Muslims ம், இந்த Hindus கூட north-ல எல்லாம் முக்காடு எப்பவுமே போடுவாங்க. வெளில போகும் போதுன்னு கேட்டா, Muslims தூக்கிட்டுப் போயிருவாங்கன்னு வாங்க. அவங்க அழகின் நிமித்தம், நம்ம தமிழில்ல நளன் தமயந்தில கூட, Hindu இதில கூட நளன் மாதிரியே எத்தனையோ பேர் தூதர்கள் தமயந்திக்கு அவ மாலை போட மாட்டாளான்னு. அந்த சுயம் வரத்துக்கு உக்காந்திருந்ததாக stories-ல கூட பாக்கிறோம். அப்பம் தூதர்கள் கூட மனுஷரை விரும்புறாங்க. அதினால நம்ம தூதர்கள் நிமித்தம், நமக்கு நேரா straight-ஆ Jesus Christ-கிட்ட பேசும் போது எந்தப் பிசாசோ அசுத்த ஆவிகளோ நம்ம குறுக்கிடாம நம்முடைய நேரே ஜெபத்தை ஆண்டவருக்கு நேர ஜெபத்தை ஏற்றெடுக்க முடியும். முக்காடுன்றது நெறைய காரியங்கள் அதில ரொம்ப அர்த்தம் இருக்குது. முக்காடு அவசியம். அதினால தாழ்மைப்படுறதுன்னு அர்த்தமே கெடையாது. ஆண்களை attraction பண்ணக்கூடாது. அது தான் main, ன், நம்முடைய இது நெறையா காரியங்கள் கோயில்ல போகும் போது கூட, நெறையா இது வந்து முக்காடு, catholics எல்லாம் வீட்ல இருந்தே முக்காடு போட்டுட்டு கோயிலுக்குப் போறாங்கன்னா, போவாங்க, ரோட்ட்ல போம்போதே,நம்ம அந்த அளவுக்குப் போட்டுட்டுப் போக மாட்டோம். வாசல்ல போய் தான் போடுவோம். எப்பமுதுமே

ஜெபன்னா முக்காடு அவசியம். அது இந்த ஒரு வசனத்தான் எனக்கு வந்து 'தூதர்களினிமித்தம் ஸ்தீரியானவள் தலையின் மேல் முக்காடு அவசியம். மற்றபடி அடக்கப்படுவதுன்றை அர்த்தமே அதில் வரலை.

22. Bina – HC22, 'தூதர்கள் நிமித்தம்'ன்னு வர்றதுல்ல, அதுக்கு ஒரு Bible study-ல ஒருத்தர் ஒரு தடவை சொன்னாரு. 'இந்த ஆதியாகமம் ஆறாம் அதிகாரத்தில் பாக்கிறோமில்ல, தேவகுமார் மனுஷ குமாரத்திகளை சொந்திரவதிகளாகக் கண்டு, . . பண்ணாங்களல்ல, அதே மாதிரி நல்லா இருக்கிறாங்கன்னு . . பத்தவுடனே, அந்த விதமா இருக்கும் போது அது எல்லாரும் இருக்கும் போது, பிரசன்னமாகக் கூடிய ஒரு இடத்தில், ஒரு tempting ஆ அதை வந்து இந்தப் பெண்கள் வந்து . . ஸ்திரீகளுக்குக் கூந்தல் தான் அலங்காரமா குடுத்திருக்கு. முடியைக் சிரைக்கிறது அவளுக்கு, அதே ஒரு முக்காடா குடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்குன்னு சொல்றாரு, அவர் அந்த மாதிரி அது ஒரு காதெல்லாம் மூடி மறைச்ச கொஞ்சம் இதா இருக்கும் போது கொஞ்சம் தன்னை அடக்கி ஒடுக்கி, சபையில் உக்காரும் போது அவ. கொஞ்சம், ...அந்த இடத்தில், சபையில் வந்து ஜெபத்தில முக்காடு போட்டு இருக்கிறது, அவர் சொன்ன கருத்து, இப்ப தூதர்கள் அப்படின்னு அப்போஸ்தல பவுல் சொல்றாரில்ல, அதான். அதினால, முக்காடு போட்டு

23. Sweety – HC23, இப்பம் ஒரு எடத்தில் போட்டிருக்கில்லை, ஒங்க முடியே ஒங்களுக்கு அலங்காரமா இருக்குன்னு. அதே ஒரு covering மாதிரி இருக்கு. அதினால முக்காடு போடறது, போடாதது, அது ஒண்ணும் பெரிய பிரச்சனை இல்லை. விரும்பினா நம்ம போட்டுக்கு வேண்டியது, விரும்பலென்னா, ஆனா இது போட்டுக்கிறது நல்லது தான். கோயிலில் ஒரு reverence -க்குப் போட்டுக்கிறது அது correct-உ தப்புன்னு சொல்ல முடியாது. ஆனா அது இல்லாட்டி கூட நம்முடைய cover, head-உ முடியே நம்மளுக்கு முக்காடா இருக்குன்னு ஒரு எடத்தில் வந்திருக்கு.

24. Sweety – HC24, அப்படி, ஆனா, என்ன சொல்றாங்க. ஒரு இவங்க, Mrs. பெரிய நாயகம், அவங்க ஒரு நாள் சொல்லிட்டு இருந்தாங்க, நம்ம ஒரு சிலர், அவங்க meeting நடத்தினாங்க, 'ஒங்களால எப்படி மொழங்கால் போடாமா, முக்காடு போடாமா எப்படி ஒங்களால முடியுது. எப்படி ஒங்களால முடியும், 'அப்படி, she was, அவங்க வந்து ரொம்ப enthusiastic-ஆ அந்த நேரத்தில் 'நீங்க எப்படி இப்படி இருக்கிறீங்க, உக்காந்துக்கிட்டு எப்படி ஜெபம் பண்ண முடியும் ஒங்களாலா! அப்படி, அவங்க ரொம்ப வயசானவங்க. ஆனா அந்த time-லயும் அவங்க மொழங்கால் போட்டுதான் ஜெபம் பண்ணாங்க. ஒரு உற்சாகத்தோட அவங்க. women சும்மா நம்ம உக்காந்து கேட்டுக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறது அவங்களுக்கு ரொம்ப இதா இருக்கு. அதினால அண்ணைக்கு சொன்னாங்க, 'I don't know, நீங்கெல்லாம் எப்படி இப்படி உக்காந்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறீங்க, ஜெபம் பண்ணீங்க. எனக்கெல்லாம் முடியாது, 'அந்த மாதிரி சொன்னாங்க. அப்பம் அப்படிப்பட்ட experience உள்ளவங்களுக்கு அது, ம், ordinary people-ஐப் பார்த்தா, ம், கொஞ்சம் இதா இருக்கு. ஆனா உள்ள heart, கடவுள் பாக்கிறது நம்ம இருதயத்தை. ... அதே நேரத்தில் ... வெளிப்படையான ஒரு இது .... ஆமா. ... ஆமா, போட்டாலும் சரி, போடலென்னும் சரி

25. Lita – HC25, பெண்கள் வந்து சபையில் equal இது தான். manக்கு என்ன... இருக்கோ அந்த மாதிரி நமக்கும் இருக்கு. ஆனா head covering வந்து அந்தக் காலத்தில் பவுல் வந்து சொன்னதை வச்ச, நம்ம அதை உடனே ஒரு பெரிய இதா, நம்ம வேணா வழக்கத்தில் ஜெபம் பண்ண ஒடனே நம்மை அறியாம ஒரு முக்காடு போட்டுறோம். ஆனா ஆண்டவர் வந்து இருதயத்தை தான் பாக்கிறாரே ஒழிய இந்த வெளியையே அவர் பாக்கிறதே கெடையாது. நம்ம எப்படி நம்ம relationship with God தான் most important thing அந்த head covering முழங்கால் போடுறதோ, இல்லை, எல்லாம் ஆனா அது ஒரு reverence-க்கு தான் செய்துக்கிட்டு வந்தோம். பழக்கத்தில் இருக்கே ஒழிய, that's not, it at all அது ஒரு இதுவே கிடையாது. ஆனா நம்ம சபையில் பழக்கப்பட்டுட்டோம். இது போடுறோம், ஆனா இதினாலயே நம்ம எல்லாம் achieve பண்ணா அது கெடையவே கெடையாது. அது Paul's time-ல அப்படி இருந்திருக்கு.

26. Amar – HC26, ஒரு Hindu வா இருந்துச்சு. அப்பம் நம்ம invite பண்ணியிருக்கிறோம். யாரையோ church-க்கு நான் இல்லை, என்னுடைய ஒருத்தரு. அப்பம் அவங்க முடிஞ்சபெறகு கேட்டாங்க. சில பேர் போட்டிருக்காங்க, சில பேர் போடலையே, ஏன் யாரும் hard and fast rule இல்லையென்னு கேட்டாங்க. அப்பம் நம்ம சொல்ல வேண்டியது இருந்துச்சு. இது நம்ம யாரும் கட்டாயம் போடுன்னு யாரும் சொல்ல மாட்டாங்க. அவங்கவங்களுக்கு மனசில போடனான்ற ஒரு எண்ணம் இருந்தா போடறவங்க போடுவாங்க. அப்படி இந்த skirt and இது போடுறவங்க ஒரு hankey, scarf இது கொண்டு அப்படியும் போட்டுக்கிறவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க. இல்லாட்டி நாங்கெல்லாம் churidar pajama தான் எல்லாரும் அங்க அது தான் போடுவாங்க. அவங்க automatic-ஆ அதில போட்டு, சின்னபிள்ளைங்க, college பிள்ளைங்க கூட முக்காடு போட்டுக்கிட்டு உக்காந்துக்குவாங்க. இது sunday school-ல இருக்கும் பொழுதே sunday school teacher சொல்லுவாங்க. கொஞ்சம் பிள்ளைங்க பெரிசாகி வரும் பொழுது சொல்லுவாங்க 'நீங்க முக்காடு போட்டுக்கிட்டு உக்காருங்க'ன்னு அதுக்கு வந்து confirmation class-ல எடுத்து பன்றவங்க மாத்திரன்னு கெடையாது. Baptism எடுக்கிறவங்க மாத்திரன்னு கெடையாது. 'ஒரு வயசான பெறகு நீங்க முக்காடைப் போட்டுக்கிட்டு உக்காருங்கன்னு sunday school-ல சொல்லிக்குடுப்பாங்க. அப்பம் அந்த அவங்க ஒரு வயசு ஆன பெறகு தான் அவங்க forever church -ல உக்காருவாங்க. இல்லாட்டி church நடக்கும் போதே sunday school-க்கு பிள்ளைங்க போயிடுவாங்க. இவங்க, அப்படியே அவங்க church-லயே இருக்கனாண்டு நெனைக்கிறவங்க கட்டாயம் ஏதாச்சும் கொண்டு முக்காடு போட்டுக்கிட்டு தான் உக்காருவாங்க.



27. Sweety – HC27, அதே நேரத்தில் ... . வெளிப்படையான ஒரு இது. . . . ஆமா ... . ஆமா, போட்டாலும் சரி, போடலானாலும் சரி

28. Lila - HC28, ஆணா அவங்க அவ்வளவு concentrate பண்ணறதில் அது விழுந்து அவங்களுக்குத் தெரியலை. ஆணா purpose-ஆ பண்ணறதில்லை. ஆணா சின்ன பசங்க

## II. Narratives about Husband as the Head (HH):

1. Ester – HH (Headship of Husband)1, ஒரு ஐக்கியம் .... இரண்டு பேரும் ஒண்ணா சேர்ந்து, ஒரு ஐக்கியம் அவர் 'தலை'ன்றது, நம்ம இரண்டு பேரும் சேர்ந்து ஒரு ஐக்கியம், ஒரு understanding-ஆ இருக்கும் போது, ஒரு விட்டுக் குடுத்து இருக்கும் போது, அது அவர் 'தலையா' இருக்கிறார்.

2. Bina – HH2, Of course புருஷன் தலையாத்தான் இருக்கிறார். அது every woman should accept the ... அப்படி இருந்தாத்தான் ஒரு குடும்பம் நல்லா இருக்கும். ஆணா அந்த தலை வந்து கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள்ள இருக்கிற தலையா இருக்கணும். அது ரொம்ப முக்கியம். கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள்ள இல்லாம, சாத்தானுடைய பிள்ளையா இருந்தா கஷ்டம். அப்ப சில நேரங்கள்ல நம்ம எதிர்க்க வேண்டியது இருந்துதுன்னா அதை சொல்ல வேண்டியது. இப்ப aunty சொன்ன மாதிரி கொஞ்சம் நல்ல இது, விதமாச்சொல்லி இது பண்ணது. அநாவசியமா சண்டையும் இதுமாப் பன்ற மாதிரி இல்லாம, ஏன்னா, நம்ப உடைய, நம்ம religion படியே எதையுமே forceful-ஆ ஆண்டவர் நம்முடைய இயேசு எதையுமே அப்படி சொல்லல. அதிகாரம் செலுத்தி செய்யவே இல்லை. அவருடைய point எல்லாம் அவர் வந்து இந்த தாழ்மையிலும், தனக்கு இன்னொரு கன்னத்தைத் திருப்பிக் காட்டறதிலையும் அந்த விதமாத்தான் அவர் புரிய வச்சார். அந்த விதமா, நல்ல விதமா கணவனைத் திருத்துறது பண்ணணும். அதுக்காக எல்லாம் சொல்றதைக் கேட்டுட்டு ஆடணும்றதுக்கு implicit obedience-ன்னு அதை நான் accept பண்ணறதில்லை. அதை எது நல்லதோ கர்த்தருக்குள்ள உள்ள காரியங்களைச் சொல்லும் போது, அதுவும் தலையா இருக்கும்போது கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள்ள இருந்தா நிச்சயமா wife, பிள்ளைங்கன்னு அந்த அன்பு, அன்போட இருந்து செய்ற காரியங்களைச் சொல்லும் போது, நம்ப தப்புன்னு எடுத்துச் சொன்னாலும் அவங்க புரிந்து accept பண்ணி அதினால அது ஒரு பிரச்சனை ஆகாது. அந்த விதமா இருக்கும்போது அது அவங்களையும் accept பண்ணிட்டு அது ஒரு காரியத்தை நடத்தலாம். ஆணா ஒரு மாதிரி blind -ஆ 'நான்தான், நான் சொன்னதான், சொல்றபடிதான் நடக்கணும்'-ன்ற மாதிரியான தலையா இருக்கிறாங்கன்னு, இருக்கிறாங்க, இருந்தா அப்படி பண்ணணுன்ற மாதிரி நான் சொல்றதில்லை.

3. Lovely – HH3, எனக்கு இன்னும் அது ஒரு, confusion part தான் actual -ஆ. Why husband alone has been told as the head, ன் ஆணா நான் புரிஞ்சிட்ட விதம் வந்து, ன், எந்த ஒரு, ஒரு group-லயோ, எட்டிதலையோ, ஒரு தலைமை அப்படின்ற ஒரு post இருக்கும். அதில ஒரு ஆள் இருக்கும். ஏன்னா அப்பதான் ஒரு, in fact அவர்தான், அந்த post-ல இருக்கிறவர்தான், might not be the decision-maker; but the decision will be made with the help of the others. So குடும்பத்திலயும் ஒரு, ன், அந்த, அந்த ஒரு position-ல ஒரு, ஒருத்தர் இருக்கணும். So, அப்பம் husband தான் தலைன்னா, அதினால அவருதான் எல்லா decision -உம் எடுக்கணும், அப்படின்னு அவசியம் இல்லை. But the coordination. Father, father of the family இருந்து family-ல இருக்கிற wife-ஐயும் children -ஐயும், இந்த மாதிரி செல காரியங்கள்லாம் நம்ம, ன், discuss பண்ணி ஒரு முடிவு எடுக்கிறது. But அதுக்குன்னு, ஒரு ஆள் தேவை இருக்கு. எல்லாருமே நீங்க பாருங்க, நான் பாருங்க,வேணா ஒருத்தரை ஒரு conclusion ஒரு நாளும் ஒரு முடிவு எடுக்கமாட்டோம். So, அதுக்காக ஒரு வேளை, ன், man-ஐ வந்து head அப்படின்னு சொல்லியிருக்கலாம். I don't know whether I'm right. But என்னுடைய understanding அந்த மாதிரி.

4. Swarna – HH4, எபேசியர்ல வந்து சொல்லும் போது ஆண்டவர் கிறிஸ்துவுக்கும் சபைக்குமுள்ள ஒரு உறவை எடுத்துக்காட்டுறதுக்கு, அது நமக்குத் தெரியாத ஒரு portion. ஒரு உவமையைச் சொல்லி சிலதை வெளக்கிறது மாதிரி, நமக்கு தெரிஞ்சது என்னது, நம்ம family life -ஐப் பற்றி தெரியும். ஒரு மனைவியைப் பற்றித் தெரியும். அதை வச்சு, கிறிஸ்துவுக்கும், ன், சபைக்கும் எப்படி உறவு இருக்கணுன்னுறதை அங்க வெளக்கிறார். Actual -ஆ இப்பம் தனிமனிதன்னு நம்ம எடுக்கும் போது, தனிமனிதன்ட் நெறையா parts இருக்கு தலை, ஒடம்பு தலைக்குக் கீழ் உள்ள portions. இப்பம் தலைன்னு சொல்லிட்டோன்னா இப்பம் நம்ம மொத. இப்படி ஒரு மனுஷனையே நம்ம எடுத்துப்போம். தலை, ஒடம்பு. தலையை மத்திரம் தனியா எடுத்துர்றோன்னு வையுங்க. இந்த தலையால ஒண்ணுமே செய்ய முடியாது. ஆணா இந்த தலையைத் தாங்கிறது வந்து இந்த body-தான். அப்பம் strong support தலைக்கு support இந்த சரீர்தான். சரீர் இல்லாம இந்த தலைக்கு எவ்வளவு தான் brain, எவ்வளவு மூளை இருந்தாலும், கண்ணு பார்வை எவ்வளவு நல்லா இருந்தாலும், நாவன்மை எவ்வளவு இருந்தாலும், எல்லாம் எவ்வளவு இருந்தாலும் இந்த இவ்வளவு portion -உம் இந்த body எல்லாம் ஒண்ணுமே செய்ய முடியாது. So, this strong support -ன்னு இந்த body -ன்றது தலைக்கு ஒரு நல்ல strong support. ஒரு வேளை இந்த body கூட பெலவீனமா இருந்தா மொத்தமே கீழ்தான் உழணும். எனக்கு நடக்க முடியாம கால் கைக்கு பெலம் இல்லாம இருந்தா அதே கஷ்டம். ஆணா body நல்லா உள்ளதாதான் இருக்கணும். தலைக்கு நல்ல support.இப்பம் இனி இன்னும் பாத்திட்டா body ஒண்ணும் நெனைச்சிக்கிட கூடாது. நான் தான் இதை support பண்ணேன். நான் இல்லாம இந்த தலை ஒண்ணும் இல்லை, அப்படி

சொல்ற கௌரவம் வந்து இந்த ஒடம்புக்கு வரக்கூடாது. ஏன்னா, இப்பம் தலையை வெட்டி எடுத்தோன்னு வையுங்க, நம்ம அந்த தலையைத் தூக்கி அங்க வச்சா, அதைத் தலைன்னுதான் சொல்லுவோம். வேற name அதுக்கு குடுக்கமாட்டோம். இது இன்னாருடைய தலை அப்படின்னு சொல்லிருவோம். ஆனா body -ஐ நீங்க பாத்தீங்கன்னா இது இன்னாருடைய சரீரன்னு சும்மா, அந்த தலை இல்லாததை வந்த ஒரு என்னது சொல்லுவாங்க, வேற மாதிரி வார்த்தைகள் வந்து, தலை இல்லாததை வந்து அது இல்லாத பிண்டம், அந்த மாதிரி உள்ள வார்த்தைகளை use பண்ணுவோம், இல்லையா. அப்பம் தலையைத் தனிமையா எடுத்தா அதை தலைன்னு சொல்றோம். வெறும் body-ஐ வந்து, ன் அதுக்கு இன்னாருடைய இது, அந்த மாதிரி அதுக்கு ஒரு கௌரவமான பேர் இல்லை. அது வந்து அது ஒரு, இது இல்லை, ஒரு இது இல்லாத ஒரு இது. இப்பம் என்னன்னு பாத்தீங்கன்னு சொன்னா, ன், பிசாசைத் தலையை வந்து ஆண்டவர் நசுக்கிப் போட்டார். அப்பம் தலை இல்லாம அலையிற ஒண்ணு உண்டுன்னு சொன்னா, பிசாசுதான், தலையை சிலுவையில் அவர் ஆணியை வச்ச நசுக்கிட்டாரு. நம்ம அப்படியே விசுவாசிக்கணும். அதுக்கு தலையே கெடையாது. ன் அப்படிதான் நம்ம நெனைக்கணும், ஏன்னா தலையை அவர் நசுக்கிப் போட்டாரு. நமக்கு வேதம் அதை சொல்லுது. இப்பம் தலை நசுக்கின ஒண்ணு, தலை இல்லாத ஒண்ணு உண்டுன்னு சொன்னா, வெறும் ஒடம்பை வச்சுக்கிட்டு பயங்காட்டி அதால ஒண்ணும் செய்ய முடியாது. பயங்காட்டிட்டு அலையிற ஒண்ணு உண்டுன்னா அது பிசாசு. இப்பம் அப்பம் அந்த ஒடம்பு சொல்ல கூடாது இந்த தலை எனக்கு அவசியம் இல்லைன்னு. அப்பம் பிசாசுன்னு சொல்ல வேண்டிய ஒரு நெலமைதான். So, தலை ரொம்ப முக்கியம் இந்த ஒடம்புக்கு strong support குடுக்குது. ஆனா தலை இல்லாம இந்த ஒடம்பாலையும் ஒண்ணும் செய்ய முடியாது. இந்த தலையும் வேணும், சரீரமும் வேணும். இந்த தலை, 'ஓ நீ இல்லாட்டா நான் எல்லான் செய்ய', ஏன்னா தலைக்கு வச்ச எடத்தில இருந்து நகரவே முடியாது. ன், சரீரம் ஒண்ணும் 'ஓ நீ இல்லாட்டி, சரீரம் தலை இல்லாது சரீரம் இப்படி நடந்துதுன்னு சொன்னா எல்லாரும் அலறி அடிச்சிதான் ஓடுவாங்க. அதுக்கு ஒரு இதும் குடுக்கமாட்டாங்க. இது இல்லை. அப்பம் தலைக்கும் சரீரத்துக்கும் என்ன உறவு, தலையை இந்த எடத்தில ஒட்டும் போதுதான், இங்க இருந்து அதுனுடைய guidance எல்லாம் போகுது, இரத்தம் எல்லாம் ஓடுது. சரீரத்தில இருந்து இரத்தம் தலைக்குப் போகுது. அதான் இங்க இருந்துதான் எல்லாம் வருது. ஆண்டவர், அதை கொஞ்சம் யோசித்தா, இங்க எங்கயாது ஒரு எடத்தில கொஞ்சம் எல்லாதையும் வச்சிக்கிட்டு, இங்க இருந்துதான் தலையில இருந்துதுதான் இரத்தம் போறது மாதிரி அந்த சுவாசம் எல்லாம் இருக்கிற மாதிரி வச்சிருந்தா, அப்படி இன்னும் ரொம்ப இதுவாப் போயிருக்கும், 'ஓ இந்த ஒடம்பு ஒண்ணுமே இல்லை'ன்னு. பாருங்க, இங்க இருந்துதான் இரத்தம் தலைக்குப் போணும் சுவாசத்துடைய அந்த காற்று அந்த இது எல்லாம் இங்க body -ல இருந்துதான் தலைக்குக் கெடைக்கணும். So தலையை வந்து, ஓ, body-யும் கொறவா நெனைக்கக்கூடாது. இரண்டுக்குமே ஆண்டவர் இது மூளையை வச்சிக்கிட்டு எல்லாம் செய்யணுன்னா அதுக்குரிய எல்லா காரியத்தையும் இந்த சரீரத்தான் பாக்குது. பாத்தீங்கன்னா, தலையில இருக்கிற எல்லா portions -உம் இப்பம் வந்து careful -ஆ கவனிக்க (Tr. 25) ஏன்னா interconnected இல்லையா, அதை வந்துதான் அவர் வந்து ஒரு குடும்பத்துக்கு சொல்றாரு, மனைவி தன், கணவனுக்கும் மனைவிக்கும் உள்ள உறவைச் சொல்லும் போது, interconnected அதாவது, இரண்டுமே ஒண்ணுக்குள்ள ஒண்ணா மாதிரிதான் நம்ம சொல்லணும். ஒருத்தருக்குள்ள ஒருத்தர், இவங்க அப்படி இவங்கதான் இதை செய்யணும், இவங்க இதைச் செய்யணுன்னு கெடையாது. மாத்தி மாத்தி support, ஒருத்தருக்குள் ஒருத்தர்தான். கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள் ஆணில்லாமல் பெண்ணில்ல, பெண்ணில்லாமலும் ஆணில்லைன்னு அங்க சொல்றாரு. அப்பம் ஒருவருக்குள் ஒருத்தர்ன்ன ஒரு கருத்தைதான் இந்த சரீரத்தை வச்ச ..... வெளக்கும் போது ன், பவுல் அங்க கொண்டு வாரார். அதினால தலை கணவன் அந்த மாதிரி இப்படி இருக்கணும், இந்த மாதிரி இப்படி இருக்கணும், அப்படி கெடையாது. ஒருவருக்குள் ஒருத்தர்ன்னு சொல்லும்போது யாருக்கு எங்க, இப்பம் கண்ணுக்கு ஒரு கஷ்டம் வருதுன்னு சொன்னா, நம்ம own கை கிட்டபோய் அடிச்சிருது. வேறயாராவது நம்ம கண்ணை அடிக்க வாராங்கன்னா, கைதான் அதை என்ன செய்யுது, தடுக்குது. So, இந்த ஒடம்பு இல்லாம இதைப் பாதுகாக்க முடியாது. ஒருவருக்கொருவர் மாத்தி மாத்தி. எந்த இப்பம் தலைக்கு என்ன கஷ்டம் வந்திட்டா சரீரம் அந்த எடத்தை நெறப்புது. சரீரத்துக்கு என்ன கஷ்டம் இருக்குதோ தலை வந்து அதை இது பண்ணும். ஒருவருக்குள் ஒருவர்தான் நம்ம இது பண்ணணும் தனிதனியாட்டு பாக்கவே கூடாது. ஏன்னா அதைதான் அவர் இங்க வெளக்க வாராரு, சபைக்கு கிறிஸ்துவுக்கும் சபைக்குமுள்ள உறவு அப்பம் கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள் ஒருத்தன் இருக்கணும். நாங்கள் ஒன்றாயிருக்கிறது போல நீங்களும் கிறிஸ்துவுக்குள்ள இருங்கள். இப்பம் நம்ம, பிதரவும் குமாரனும் எப்படி ஒருத்தருக்குள் ஒருத்தர்ன்னு சொல்லி வச்சிக்கிறோமோ வேற வேற பேர். அதே மாதிரி இந்த சபைன்னு சொல்லும் போது ஆண்டவருடைய சரீரமாகிய அந்த சபையும் கிறிஸ்துவோட கூட ஐக்கியமா இருக்கணுன்னு சொல்லி, அவர் வந்த இந்த சரீரத்திலிருந்து இதை வெளக்கிறதுக்கு காரணம், நம்ம எவ்வளவு ஒற்றுமையா இருக்கணும். கிறிஸ்துவோட எவ்வளவு ஐக்கியம், ஒருவருக்கொருவர் ஐக்கியமா இருக்கணும், கிறிஸ்துவோட எவ்வளவு ஐக்கியமா இருக்கணும். ஒருத்தரில்லாம ஒருத்தர், கிறிஸ்துவை விட்டா எனக்கு இல்லை ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. ஆண்டவரும் அதே நெனைக்கிறார். நம்ம நெறைய நேரம் யோசிக்கிறதில்லை. இந்த சபையாகிய சரீரம் இல்லாம ஆண்டவருக்கு ஒண்ணும் செய்யவே முடியாது. அவர் அவ்வளவு அதை நேசித்துதான் தான்ற மாதிரி அவர் அதை இருக்கிறார். அந்த மாதிரி நம்ம நெறைய நேரம் யோசிக்கிறதே இல்லை. ஆனா காட்டுதுக்காக வேண்டிதான் தலையும் இதுவும், எப்படி இது இல்லாம தலை இல்லாம சரீரத்துக்கு முடியாதோ சரீரம் இல்லாம தலைக்கு முடியாதோ அதே மாதிரி தான் கிறிஸ்து இல்லாம சபை ஒண்ணுமே செய்யமுடியாது, இந்த சபை இல்லாம கிறிஸ்துவும் ஒண்ணுஞ் செய்ய முடியாது. So, கிறிஸ்து இந்த சபையை depend பண்ணாரு. இந்த சபை கிறிஸ்துவை depend பண்ணுது. அதுதான் அங்க.

5. Saral – HH5, இப்பம் தலைவரன்னு சொல்றது நம்ம Indian இதில எல்லா வீட்டையும் பெண்கள் வேலைக்கு போறதில்ல. ஆனா ஆண்கள் எல்லா எடத்திலையும் கண்டிப்பா போய்தான் ஆகணும். ஒரு வீட்ல வந்து, ஒரு



குடும்பத்தில் வந்து பெண்கள் வேலைக்குப் போகாம இருப்பாங்க. ஆம்பிளைங்க கண்டிப்பா வேலைக்குப் போறாங்க. ஆணா ஆம்பிளைங்க வீட்ல உக்காந்து வேலையைப் பாத்திட்டு, பெண்கள் மட்டும் சம்பாதிக்கிறவங்க எங்கயுமே கெடையாது. பாதி வீட்டுங்கள்ல, இப்பம் எல்லாருமே பெண்கள் வேலைக்குப் போறாங்க. அதினால பணத்ததை சம்பாதிச்சிட்டு வந்து கொணந்து குடுத்து, ன், அந்த பணம் நிர்வாகத்தை வகைக்கும் ஒரு வேளை தலைவன்னு சொல்லலாம். But, வந்து மற்ற பொறுப்புகளை ஏற்று பண்ணும் போது இரண்டு பேருக்கும் equal பங்குதான் உண்டு. சொல்றது என்னன்னா monitor இந்த money matter-ஐ வச்சு ஒரு வேளை நம்ம, இவன் தலைவன்னா எப்போதும் சம்பாதிச்சி கொணந்து குடுக்கிறது. நெறைய குடும்பங்கள்ல இப்பவும், நெறைய பேர் வீட்ல பொம்பளைங்க வேலைக்குப் போறதில்ல. Indian family-ன்னு பாக்கும் போது, தலைவன்னா என்ன பணம் சம்பாதிச்சி குடுக்கிறவன். அம்மான்னா சாப்பாடெல்லாம் செஞ்சு போட்டு பிள்ளைங்களை பாத்து, அப்படி இருக்கிறதினால ஒரு வேளை men ன்றது வந்து பணத்துக்கு, ன், தலைவனே தவிர, மற்ற பொறுப்புகளை வகிக்கிறது, இரண்டு பேருக்கும் equal பங்கு இருக்கு. எல்லாம் இரண்டு பேருமே அதுக்கு இதான். ன், தலைவன்றதுக்கு அதுதான் என்னுடைய அர்த்தம்.

6. Udhaya – HH6, ம், அது, தலையா இருக்கிறதுன்னா, சமமா இருக்கிறது நல்லது. இரண்டு பேரும் understanding, நல்லா proper-ஆ போகும். But இரண்டு பேருமே ஒரே அந்த மாதிரி feeling இல்லாத ஒரு husband-னா, okay, நம்ம accept பண்ணிக்க வேணுன்னு நெனைக்கிற பெண்கள் கொஞ்சம், இப்படி அடங்கிப் போறதில் தப்பு இருக்கிறதா தோணலை. ரொம்ப equal-ன்னு இரண்டு பேரும் right royal-ஆ நின்னுட்டு இருந்தா, more complications தான் வரும். ஏன்னா அது தான் நெறைய divorce-க்கெல்லாம் அவ்வளவு prominent-ஆ இப்ப நெறைய அளவு நடக்கிறதுக்கு reason-னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன். இப்பம் ஓரளவு எல்லாமே well educated-ஆ இருக்கிறாங்க, more freedom expect பண்ணாங்க. கெடைச்சுக்கன்னா okay, இல்லைன்னா (laughs) ம், கொஞ்சம் ஓரளவில் அடங்கிப் போறதில் தப்பா மாதிரி தோணலை.

7. Tiny – HH7, புருஷன்னு.. .. (chuckles) அப்படியெல்லாம் ஒண்ணும் கெடையாது boss –ஆ இருக்கிறதுக்கு, இந்தக் காலத்தில் அது சரி வராது. அந்தக் காலங்கள்ல கொஞ்சம் பெண்கள் பணிஞ்சு இருந்தாங்க. பெண்களை கொஞ்சம் இது பண்ணி வச்சிருந்தாங்க. அதினால அவங்க இருந்தாங்க. ம், ஆதாமை, சாராணக் கூட, அவளு 'ஆண்டவன்'னு அவளு கீழ்ப்படிந்திருந்ததினால அவ வந்து, இது பண்ணுன்னு சொல்ல முடியாது. ஆண்டு கொண்டாட்ன்னு சொல்ல முடியாது. ஆணா அவளை, அவளுடைய சொல் கேட்டு, சில காரியங்களை, தப்பிதமான காரியமான கூட ஆபிரகாம் செய்திருக்கிறார். ஆமா அதினால, சில காரியம், அது ஆண் பெண்கள் வந்து 'தலை' தான், ன், புருஷன் வந்து கொஞ்சம் தலை தான். certain things-ல .. .. ஆணா, ம், ஆமா ஏன்னா, ஆணா வந்து அதுக்குன்னு அவங்க வந்து நம்மனை, பெண்களை ஆண்டு கொள்ளாங்கன்னு அர்த்தமில்லை. அன்பினால ஒரு தலையா நம்ம விட்டுக்குடுக்கிற மாதிரி தான்

8. Gem – HH8, தலைன்னு சொல்லும் போது எல்லாமே ஒரு ஆண்கள் decision எடுக்கும் போது, பெண்கள் அதுக்கு குறுக்க எதித்து நிக்கிறதோ, அதுக்கு, 'நான் அதை விட ரொம்ப, நான் சொல்றதான் சரின்னு, தாக்கிக்கிறது அவ்வளவு நல்லதில்ல. நல்லா understand பண்ணி விட்டுக் குடுத்துப் போறது நல்லது. ஒண்ணு கேட்டா, பெண்கள் ஓரளவுக்கு தான், limit-க்கு மேல போக முடியாது. செய்ய முடியாது. ஆண்கள் எந்தக் காரியத்தையும் சாதித்துவிட முடியும். பெண்கள் எல்லாக் காரியத்தையும் சாதித்துவிட முடியுன்னு நான் சொல்லல. அதினால எப்பம் ஆண்களை சேர்ந்து தான். அவங்களுக்கு மொதலிடம் குடுத்துப் போனா, அது ஒரு நல்ல விதமா, ஆசீர்வாதமா, சந்தோஷமாக இருக்குன்னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன்.

9. Flora – HH9, புருஷன் தலையா இருக்கிறது, ஆணா ஒரு, என்ன against-ஆ அடக்கி ஆளக்கூடாது. . . . ஏன்னா கர்த்தர் வந்து தலையா இருக்கிறார். அது போல நமக்கும் கணவர் வந்து தலை.

10. Jeyavathy – HH10, 'தலையாயிருக்கிறான்'னா எப்படி வந்து, ஏன் நம்ம இதில் பாக்கிறோம். ஆபிரகாமுடைய மனைவி 'ஆண்டவரே' என்று கூப்பிட்டா என்று வேதவசனம் சொல்லுகிறது, இல்லைங்களா? 'ஆண்டவரே' என்று மதிப்பு குடுக்கிறா. ஆண்டவருக்கு அடுத்த ஸ்தானத்தில் வந்து அவ வைக்கிறா. அந்த விதமா கணவனுக்கும் நம்ம இந்த விதமான ஒரு இடத்தில் நம்ம வைக்கும் போது, பெண்களை நான் பாக்கிறேன். 'ஊழியம், ஊழிய'ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு எல்லாத்தையும் வீட்டை கவனிக்க, அந்த இதை செய்யமாட்டாங்க, ஒண்ணும் பண்ண மாட்டாங்க. போம்போது அப்பம் கணவருக்கு கண்டிப்பா கோபம் வரத்தான் செய்யும், ம், . . . ஆமா அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை.

11. Bina – HH11, நீ அதே மாம்சமா இருக்கிற, சொந்த மாம்சத்தைப் பகைக்கிறவன் யாருன்னு இருக்குதே. அதை combine பண்ணி பாக்கணும்.

12. Ranjithamani – HH12, 'தலை' ன்றது வந்து கலியாணம் ஆகும் போதே pastor கள் எல்லாம் எலும்புக்கு எலும்பும் அந்த மாதிரி எல்லாம் எதோ ஒரு இது சொல்றது, எனக்கு மனசுக்கு வரல்லை. அவங்க 'ஒரே மாம்சமா இருக்கிறார்கள்' அப்படினட்டு கலியாணம் ஆன ஓடனே, இவங்க தனிமையா இல்லை, இப்பம் இரண்டு பேரும், கணவனும் மனைவியும் ஒரே இதாட்ட இருக்கிறாங்க. அப்படினட்டு இருக்குது. அதினால 'தலை'ன்னும் போது நம்ம கணவனுக்குக் குடுக்க வேண்டிய கனத்தையும் மகிமையையும் நம்ம என்ன செய்யணும், குடுக்கணும். அதினால

தலையாயிருக்கிறதினால், நீதான் எனக்குக் கீழ் இருக்கிற, தலைதான் நான், அதினால் அதிகாரம் செலுத்தலாம் நான் என்று சொல்லி, ஆம்பிளைங்களும் சொல்லலானாது கெடையாது. இப்படி பொம்பளையை அப்படி அடிமைத்தனமா வைக்கக்கூடாது. Bible-ல் அப்படி இருக்குது 'மனைவிக்குப் புருஷன் தலையா இருக்கிறான்'னா தலைக்குக் கீழ் நீ தான் அப்படி என்று அடிமைப்படுத்தலானாது புருஷன் சொல்றது சரியில்லை, ன் அவங்கதான் நம்ம குடும்பத்தில் முக்கியத்தலைவர் அவர் தான், புருஷன் தான். அதுக்ககப் புறம் ஒரு மனைவி இருக்கிறது தன்னுடைய புருஷனுக்கு எல்லாத்திலையும் கலந்து ஆலோசித்து, கீழ்ப்படிந்து நடக்கிறது. கீழ், இரண்டு பேரும் ஒரே சரீரமா இருக்கிறதினால் அது கணவனுக்கு செலுத்த வேண்டிய, குடும்பத்தில் ஒரு தலைன்னும் போது சபைக்குக் கிறிஸ்து தலையா இருக்கிறது போல, குடும்பத்தில் நம்முடைய கணவன்மார் தலையா இருக்கிறாங்கன்னு, அதை.

13. Saguna – HH13, தலையாகிய கிறிஸ்துன்னு சொல்லும் போது, ன், ஆண்டவர் தலை, ம், சரீரம், ஆணா, ஆண்டவர் தலையாகிய அவர் நம்மேல அன்பு கூடுகிறான்றதான் நம்மேல படிப்படியாக பாக்கிறோம். எல்லாவற்றுக்கும் மேலாக. அதினால் தலையா இருந்து அவர் ஒரு நாளும் நான் வந்து ஒங்களுக்குக் காலைக் கழுவினேன்னு சொல்றாரு. அவர் வந்து நான் வந்து பணிவிடைக்காரனைப் போல ஒங்க முன்னதா இருக்கிறேன்னு சொல்றாரு. ஆகையினால் அதில ஆண்டவர் வந்து நம்மளை அதிகாரஞ் செலுத்துகிறார் என்றோ, சரீரத்தை அவர் வந்து தன்னுடைய கட்டுக்குள்ள வைத்திருக்கிறார் என்றோ இல்லை. நம்ம, அன்பினால் தான் அவருக்கு, அவரை நம்ம நேசிக்கிறதினால்தான் அவருக்குக் கீழ்ப்படியுறோம். அவருடைய பிள்ளைகளா இருக்கிறோம். ஆகையினால் அது அந்த கணவன் மனைவினும் போது அவர் பரஸ்பரம் அன்பு அவர்களுக்குள்ள இருக்கணும். சமாதானம் குடும்பத்தில் இருக்கணும், So, அந்த முக்கியமாக கடவுளுக்கு பயப்படுகிற பயம், பிள்ளைகளை வளக்கிற வளப்பு. ஆகையில ஒரு தலையென்று சொல்லும் போது குடும்பத்தை ஒரு, ஒரு தலைமையான ஒரு ஸ்தானத்தை வகித்து எல்லாவற்றையும் கண்காணிக்கிறதுக்கு ஒரு தலையாக இருக்கிறார் என்று தான் நம்ம கொள்ளணுமே ஒழிய, அவர் ஒரு மனைவிக்கு ஒரு அதிகாரம் செலுத்துகிறதற்கோ அல்லது மற்றவர்களைக் கண்டிப்பாக அடிமைகளாக நடத்த வேண்டும் என்றோ, அந்த ஒரு காரியம் அதில் காணப்படல. அது இல்லை என்பதை நான் ஒத்துக் கொள், நெனைக்கிறேன்.

14. Mariam – HH14, அந்த Chapter-ல் வந்து, ன், கிறிஸ்துவுக்கும் சபைக்குமுள்ள ஒரு இதுக்காகதான் அவரு அந்த example-ஐ சொல்றாரு. ன், புருஷன் தலையாயிருக்கிறான்றது ஒரு விதத்தில் நியதிதான். அதில இருந்து பாக்கும் போது தலையா இருக்கணும் அப்படின்றது. ... Not dominating. Domination கெடையாது. அதிகாரம் செலுத்தறது கெடையாது. ன், தலைன்னா இப்பம் வந்து அது முக்கியம். அது இல்லைன்னா வேற எதுமே இல்லை. இல்லை, மற்ற body parts எல்லாமே தலையைச் சார்ந்து இருக்கு. Brain -உ எல்லா system அந்த, ன், அந்த, இந்த system எல்லாம் இல்லையா. So அந்த system எல்லாமே அதோட இருக்கு அதினால் important

15. Jeyam – HH15, கணவன் மனைவில வந்து, கணவன் வந்து ஒரு moral support மாதிரி family-க்கு, அதினால் தலைன்னு சொல்றதில் ஒண்ணுஞ் தப்பில்லை. அதுக்குன்னு அதிகாரம் வகிப்பவர் அவர்தான், அவர் dominate பண்ணுன்னு அப்படின்றதுக்கில்லை, ன், பொதுவா ஆண்கள் எடுத்துக்கிட்டா பெண்கள் விட கொஞ்சம் பெண்கள் எப்படிமே கொஞ்சம் weaker sex -ன்னு சொல்லுவாங்க சமுதாயத்தில். ன் அதுபடி பாக்கும் போது உண்மையா ஆணுன்னு ஒருத்தன் தன் குடும்பத்தில் இருக்கும் போது அவன் தலையா இயங்குவது நல்லது. But, at the same time அதிகாரம் செலுத்தலானல்லலை, இவங்க with the help of the wife and the children கூட, ன் நெறைய வீடுகள்ல children உடைய, அ, suggestions கூட கேட்டு, அப்பா செயல்படறது வழக்கமா இருக்கு. அதினால், தலைமை வகிப்பவான்றதினா அதிகாரத்தை செலுத்தைப் போறவரு, அவருக்குக் கீழ் அடிமையா இருந்து படணும் அப்படின்ற அவசியம் கெடையாது. ன், இப்பம் ஒரு உதாரணத்துக்கு, இப்பம் ஒரு organisation எடுத்திட்டம்ன்னா, எத்தனையோ bodies இருக்குது. Bodies-க்கு மேல ஒரு director -ன்னு ஒருத்தர் இருக்கிறாரு. ஏன் அவர் இருக்கிறார்ன்னா, இவங்க எல்லாம் செய்ற வேலையை coordinate பண்ணி ஒரு Lovely சொன்னமாதிரி, decision maker கெடையாது, but இதெல்லாம் coordinate பண்ணி ஒருத்தர் தலைமையா இருந்து பண்றது நல்லது. அதினால் ஒரு directorship-ன்னு ஒரு எந்த organisation எடுத்தாலும் head இருக்கு. ஒரு school எடுத்தா head, headmistress.ன்னு. நடத்துறவங்க சும்மா எல்லா teachers - உம் போறாங்க வர்றாங்க, teach பண்றாங்க, வர்றாங்க, அப்படி இல்லை. ஒரு தலைவர் இருக்கதான் செய்றாங்க. அது மாதிரி ஒரு இல்லத்துக்கு தலைவர் தேவைதான். அந்த தலைமையா இயங்குறது கணவன் இயங்குறது நல்லது, எல்லா விதத்திலயும். But அதுக்கு அதிகாரம் செலுத்துபவான்னு நம்ம சொல்ல முடியாது.

16. Heera – HH16, எல்லாரும் religious people சொல்றாங்க. 'சாமி சொல்லிட்டாரு, he is the head of the family'-ன்னு, னா, சரி, what to do ன்ற மாதிரி accept பண்ணிரு. He said, so so, it has to be all right, I suppose, what to do'. ஒரு வேளை there are better men outside India. இந்த Indian men particularly are a vile race. மற்ற ஊர்கள்ல வேணா கொஞ்சம் இது இருப்பாங்க. என்னா, இங்க male domination ரொம்ப இல்ல. அந்தக்கடவுளா, கணவனைக் கடவுளு, கணவனே கண்கண்ட தெய்வம்ன்றாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி atmosphere. ஒரு வேளை நான் யோசித்துக்குவேன். வெளிநாடுகள்ல எல்லாம் men be of a better caliber, more helpful, more understanding. இந்தியால தான். ஆணா what we forget is, இந்த brahmins இல்லை, they are a separate category. They help their wives a lot. ரொம்ப help பண்றாங்க. அந்த men-உ அதில இப்பம் modern men எல்லாரும் இப்பம் girls எல்லாம் சொல்றாங்க. 'Maam, இப்பெல்லாம் the husbands help us'.

17. Melody – HH17, It's not servant-like. But the husband has authority over the wife. ... Authority in the sense, like, both of them, final word is for the husband. ... The wife, but, I think it depends, on what what the issue is. And what is there in the Bible is just now I saw `wives submit yourselves unto your own husband as unto the Lord', So, when it is, .... It means unto the Lord. It's definitely for a good purpose. ... Yes. ... `Yeah one to another in the fear of God'. ... Yeah.... Yeah. There should be total union among the man and the woman. ... Yeah, yeah.... Okay

18. Amar – HH18, அடுத்தது அவங்கவங்களுக்கு sisters வர்றவங்க, எப்பம் வந்தாலும் என்ன சொல்லிக் குடுப்பாங்கன்னா, 'நீங்களெல்லாம் மனைவிகளா இருக்கிறீங்க. ஒங்க சொந்த புருஷனுக்குக் கீழ்ப்படியணும். இந்தக் கீழ்ப்படிஞ்சு அவங்களுடைய என்ன சொன்னாலும் அவங்க சொல்றத்தான் நீங்க ஒத்துக்கணும். நீங்களா தலைதெறிக்க செய்யக் கூடாது. அடங்கி இருக்கணும். எப்படி ஆபிரகாம் தன் சாராளும் வந்து ஆபிரகாம், சாராள் ஆபிரகாமை 'My lord my lord' ன்னு கூப்பிட்டு ஆண்டவரே'ன்ட்டு இவ்வளவு மதிப்பு குடுத்து இருந்த போதிலும், நீங்களும் அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு அடங்கிதான் இருக்கணும். எப்போதும் நீங்க ஒங்களுடைய சொந்தப் புருஷனுக்குக் கீழ்ப்படியணும்' ரொம்ப stress பண்ணி சொல்லுவாங்க. அவங்க போய் house visiting-ங்குன்னு அவங்க போனாக் கூட அப்ப கூட சொல்லுவாங்க. 'இப்பம் எல்லாவற்றிலும் அவங்களுக்கு கீழ்ப்படிந்து இருங்க'ன்னு சொல்லுவாங்க. அப்படிதான் கீழ்ப்படிந்து இருப்போம். ஆனா ஒருவிதத்தில் என்னன்னாக்கா, ஆணும், பெண்ணும் சமமா சம்பாதிக்கிறதினால ஒவ்வொரு எடத்தில் பெண்ணை அதிகமா சம்பாதிக்கும், ஆண் அவ்வளவு சம்பாதிக்கிறதில்லை. அப்படி இருந்தாலுங்கூடி நீங்க வந்து செஞ்ச தான் இருக்கணுன்னுத்தான், அந்த ஒரு, 'உங்களுக்கு ஒரு தத்துவம் இருக்கு; நம்ப church-ல men பேச்சு, கேக்கணுன்றதில் நீங்க கீழ்ப்படிந்திருங்கன்னு ரொம்ப stress பண்ணுவாங்க.



## APPENDIX 12

### Narratives for social discourse:

#### Section One. Narratives about girl child (GC):

1. Udhaya – GC(Girl Child)1, அதெல்லாம் ரொம்ப தப்பு, Girl child –லாம் precious (laughs)  
. . . ம், . . .

2. Bina – GC2, அதான் definite-லி... பெண் கொழந்தைன்ன, என்ன ஆண் கொழந்தைன்ன கர்த்தர் குடுக்கிறதுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, definite-ஆ accept பண்ணிட்டு இருக்கணும். என்னைக் கேட்டா பெண் கொழந்தையே, இப்பம் உள்ள காலத்துப்படி பார்த்தோன்னா better. கொஞ்சம் ஒழுங்கா கொஞ்சமாது அடங்கியாது இருக்கும். எதோ ஒரு படிப்பைக் குடுத்து நம்ம கல்யாணம் கட்டிக் குடுத்திரலாம். (chuckles) பையனை வச்சிட்டு அது அடங்கி ஒழுங்கி படிக்காமலும் அவனை வச்சிட்டு நம்ம என்ன பண்ண முடியும். அவனுக்குக் காலம்பூரா சம்பாதிச்ச அவனைச் சாப்பாத்திக்கிட்டு நம்ம உக்காந்திருக்கணும். இதான். main, boys become a big problem for the parents rather than the girl. பொண்ணு பெறந்தா அதுக்கு மாப்பிள்ளை பாக்கணும், கல்யாணம் பண்ணணுன்ற அது வேற இருந்துட்டு problem-ன்னு நெனைக்கிறாங்க, அந்த problem-உம் இது so much better இந்த problem-ற மாதிரி நான் நெனைப்பேன். சில வேளை யோசித்துப் பாக்கும்போது. ஏன்னா, நெறைய parents கஷ்டப்பட்டாங்க, பையனை படிக்கவும் மாட்டேன்னு, படிச்சாலே இது இருக்கு, வேலை கெடையாது. படிப்பும் இல்லாம வேலையும் இல்லாம, ரொம்ப படிப்பு இல்லாட்டா, ரொம்ப கீழ், ஒரு மாதிரி, கூலி வேலை மாதிரி செய்யவா முடியும். ஓரளவு இதில் background-ல வளந்த குடும்பங்கள்ல. அவன் ரொம்ப என்ன பண்ணதுன்னே தெரியாம பையன்களை வச்சிட்டு இது பண்றவங்களும் இருக்கிறாங்க. இப்பம் பையன் படிச்ச ஏதாவது சம்பாதிச்சாதான அவனுக்குக் கலியாணமும் ஆகும். எப்படி அது, அதான் கஷ்டம். அந்த மாதிரி நெறையா problems - உ பண்ண வேண்டியது வருது. அதினால எந்த child-உம் superior, inferior-ன்றது கெடையாது. அதினால girl child-ஐ செய்து இது பண்றதுறதெல்லாம் absurd. But இரண்டும் இருக்கிறது நல்லது. ஏன்னா அது வந்து definitely got its advantages. எனக்கெல்லாம் நான் to be frank, நான் சொல்றேன். Binu, first girl பெறந்தால, எனக்கு, வந்து அவவந்து 14 day-க்கு அப்புறமா தள்ளி பெறந்தா. அப்பம் எல்லாரும் சொன்னாங்க boy-ன்னா முன்னால பெறக்கும், girl பிந்திப்போகும். Second இவனுக்கும் time ஆயி இன்னும் due date ஆச்சு, இன்னும் அது, அதான் சொல்லுவேன் hormone deficiency எனக்கு normal-ஆ வரவே இல்லையே drip ஏற்றி pain வந்து தான் delivery எனக்கு. அதுனால hormone secretion இல்லாததுனால சில days இதாகல. இதுக்கும் '15 days wait பண்ணலாம், அதுக்கப்பறம் drip போடலாம்', அப்படின்னு சொன்னாங்க. அப்பம் இப்படின்னு சொன்னவுடனே, everybody almost everybody decided girl. ... இப்படியெல்லாம் இருக்கும் போது, எனக்கு கொஞ்சம் boy வேணுன்னு ஆசை. அது ஒரு இது. எப்படினாலும் எனக்கு அதிலையும் அண்ணன் விட தம்பி, தம்பி இருக்கிறது எனக்கு ரொம்ப வேணுன்னு. என் friend ஒருத்தியுடைய தம்பி அவளை 'அக்காவை கூட்டிட்டுப்போ'ன்னுவாங்க வீட்ல, வருவான். நாங்கள்லாம் போகும்போது அவன் வந்து காத்திருப்பான். அந்த மாதிரி அக்காவுடைய friend வீட்டுக்கு ஏதாவது குடுத்துட்டுவா'ன்னு சொன்னா நல்லா செய்வான் அங்க இருக்கிற மாதிரி, எங்க வீட்லெல்லாம் அண்ணன்மார், சட்டை பண்ணுவாங்களா ஏன் 'வெளில கூட்டிட்டுப் போ'ன்னா கூடமாட்டான். அப்படி போட்டுட்டுப் போயிருவான். அந்த விதமா இருந்ததினால தம்பி இருக்கணுன்னு ரொம்ப இஷ்டம். தம்பின்னா will be helpful. அப்பம் நான் வந்து ஜெபம் பண்ணேன், 'ஆண்டவரே Binu-க்கு ஒரு தம்பி இருந்தா நல்லா இருக்கும்'. ... அதே மாதிரி கர்த்தர் வந்து எனக்கு, அது ஒரு boy-யா குடுத்தாரு. அது வந்து நானு ஜெபம் பண்ணி, boy பெறந்ததுக்கு நான் ரொம்ப சந்தோஷம், ஏன்னா, so many ways he is very helpful as a boy பண்ண முடியுது. இப்பம் என் பொண்ணு கூட இருந்தான்னா எனக்கு வந்து அவனை வச்சி நானு ரொம்ப அப்படியெல்லாம் ஒரு மாதிரி காரியங்களெல்லாம் அனுப்பி வேலை வாங்கிறது செய்ய முடியாது. ம், ஏன்னா, நான் அவருட protection-க்கே நான் பார்த்து, அவளுக்கு தனியா போணுன்னா நான் தொணைக்குப் போணும். அந்த விதமான பிரச்சனைகள் இல்லை இதில்ல. Another thing அவன் boy-ஆ இருக்கிறதினால O.K. இப்பம் வந்து அவங்க அப்பா இல்லாததுக்கு கொஞ்சம் responsibilities-ஐ அவன் மேல சொமத்த முடியுது, எனக்கு நமக்கு பொண்ணா இருந்தா நமக்கு அப்படி நம்ம கஷ்டப்படுத்த நமக்கே வராது. அதெல்லாம் கவனிக்கணும். இதை கவனிக்கணும், ன்னு பண்ணாதான். அதே விஷயத்தில் அது ரொம்ப useful-ஆ இருக்கு. இரண்டு இதுவும் வந்து, ம், இருக்கிறது ரொம்ப நல்லது. எனக்கு feel பண்றேன். and as such,...definite-ஆ வேணும். (chuckles) ஏன்னா வீட்ல girl இருந்தாலே தனி இது தான். ஒரு எப்படியானாலும் they are more affectionate to the parents பையன்களுக்கு affection இருக்கும். காட்ட மாட்டாங்க வெளியிலெல்லாம். பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்கன்னா நம்ம கூட இருந்து கவனிக்கும். 'என்னம்மா இப்படி கஷ்டமா இருக்கா, எப்படி' ன்னு அது, ம் they share அந்த இது. அது கொஞ்சம் நான் வந்து பொண்ணா இருந்ததுனால, இப்பம் எங்க அம்மாவுக்கு ரொம்ப, ஏன்னா யாருமே எங்க அம்மாவை வந்து கவனிக்கல. அதான் கடைசி வரைக்கும் கவனிச்சேன். எங்க அம்மாவுக்கு ஒரு நல்ல, ஆனா, அந்த last month தான் நான் இல்லை. அது, அந்த ஒரு மாசம் கூட எங்க அம்மா தாக்கு பிடிக்கல, போய்ட்டாங்க.



அந்த நான் செளதி போயிருந்தப்போதான அம்மா எறந்திட்டாங்க. அதுக்கு முன்னால வரைக்கும் எங்க வீட்ல இருக்கும் போது she was very, even in my absence she didn't want to leave the house. 'நான் இங்கயே இருந்துக்கிறேன்' ..... 'வேலைக்காரிட்ட, நான் எப்படிமமா ஒங்களை விட்டுட்டுப் போக முடியும்'. வேலைக்காரி வந்து எவ்வளவு as it is வந்தவுடனே அவ போயி. அவளைப் பற்றி எவ்வளவோ காரியங்களெல்லாம் கேள்விப்பட்டேன். அந்த மாதிரி அவ பொறுப்பில அம்மாவை விட்டுப் போக முடியுமா, எப்படிக் கவனிப்பா. வயசான காலமில்ல. sickness எல்லாம். Bennet வந்து 'நான் இங்கன்னா, வந்தெல்லாம் attend பண்ண முடியாது, அம்மாவெல்லாம். வேணா கொண்டு வந்து விடுறதுன்னா விடு' -ன்பான், So I had to அங்க இஷ்டமே இல்ல. என்னவெல்லாமோ பண்ணிப்பாத்தாங்க. அப்புறம் அவங்க ரொம்ப இஷ்டம் இல்லைன்றதினாலேயே வந்து I tried other sources. யாராவது relatives மாமா பையன் அவங்களெல்லாம் couple இருந்தாங்க. அவங்களை வந்து, இங்க, அதாவது I took care of every thing `You just be here, வீடு காலியாதான இருக்கு servant இருக்கா, cook பண்ணி எல்லாம் குடுத்து, எல்லாம் பார்த்துக்குவா, நீங்க சும்மா இங்க வந்து இருந்தா போதும், so that I can leave mummy here and go'. அப்படியெல்லாம். நல்லா try பண்ணி பார்த்தேன். Leela சித்தியைக் கூப்பிட்டுப் பார்த்தேன். அவங்ககிட்ட சொன்னேன், 'சித்தி உக்காந்து', Assemblies அதாவது Brethren group போவாங்க. ஏதோ Parrys கிட்ட. அவங்க அங்க தான் போவாங்க, 'நான் இங்க இருந்து ஒங்களை auto-ல போயிட்டு, auto-லயே வந்துக்கு நான் இது பண்ணேன். அப்படி போயிட்டு வந்திரலாம்', அதுக்கு, ஊன்னா அவங்களுக்கு George Town-ல தான் கிட்ட, 'இங்க இருந்தே நீங்க போங்க. அது தான் ரொம்ப முக்கியம், மிச்ச நேரம் அம்மா கூட இருந்துக்குங்க'. அவங்க ஒருத்தர் இருக்கிறாங்கன்னா, she is, young-கா, கொஞ்சங்கூட more active. நடமாடிட்டு இருக்கிறாங்க. ஏதோ ஒரு phone பண்ணி கூப்பிடிட்டாக்கூட help-க்கு கூப்பிட்டுக்கலாம். அவங்க ஒருத்தர் கூட தொணைக்கு இருக்கிறாங்க கூட servant-ஓட இங்க உட்டுட்டு போலாம். அவங்க கேட்டுப்பாத்தேன். எல்லாமே ஒரு மாதிரி, nobody accepted to be here. அதான் ரொம்ப கஷ்டமா இருந்தது. ஒரு இது இருக்கு நம்ம எல்லாம் அவங்கவங்க அவங்க independent, அவங்கவங்க family-ன்னு இருக்கிறாங்கல்ல. யாருமே இங்க வந்து இருக்கிறது இது பண்ணல. So, நான் அனுப்பியாச்சு அவங்க அவ்வளோ விருப்பம் இல்லை. அதுக்கேத்த மாதிரி அவங்க விருப்பமில்லாம் இருக்கிறது ஒரு வேளை கடவுளிட்ட, நான் feel பண்ணது, 'நான் என்னதுக்கு சாமி, சும்மா இப்படி இருக்கணும் மற்றவங்க கஷ்டம்'ன்னா அப்படி ஏதாவது நெனைச்சிருப்பாங்க. நான் நெனைக்கிறேன். God heard her prayers and took her தான். நான் நெனைக்கிறேன். நல்லாதான் இருந்துட்டு இருந்தாங்க. She died in her sleep தான், ஒரு sickness-உம் இதுவும் இல்லை. 2.30 வரைக்கும், 2.30-க்கு என்னவோ Bennet கீழ் எறங்கி வந்து. என்ன situation-னா, இல்ல வேற ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. அம்மாவுக்கு வந்து கொஞ்சம் எல்லாரும் பேசறது வந்து போயி இருக்கணுன்னு இஷ்டம். Bennet வீட்ல என்னன்னா, இப்பம் அவன் வீடெல்லாம் மேல, வீட்ல அவங்க living எல்லாம் மேல, கீழ் clinic இருக்கில்ல, clinic எல்லாம் இருக்கு, waiting hall, clinic room எல்லாம் இருக்கிறதில் ஒரு room-கீழ் ஒரு சின்ன room. இருக்கு அந்த room-ல அம்மாவை வச்சிருந்தான். She'll be alone all the time. இவங்க எல்லாரும் மேல, அது வந்து அவங்களுக்கு கொஞ்சம் ஒரு மாதிரி பிடிக்காத ஒரு .... ராத்திரி 2.30 மணிக்கு ஏதோ ஒரு clinic-ல ஏதோ தேட எடுக்க வந்தா அப்ப கூட அம்மா முழிச்சிட்டு 'என்னடா தேட வந்த', அப்ப கூட பேசினாங்க. விடியக் காலையில், காலையில் servant எழுப்பப் போயி, tiffin-ஓ என்னவோ கொண்டு போயிருக்கா she was dead. அதினால அந்த விதத்தில் நான் வந்து நான் பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளையா இருந்ததினால, இது பண்ணேன். ஆனா அதுவும் சொல்ல முடியாது allow பண்ணாத மாதிரி பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்க என்ன பண்ண முடியும். அதுவும் ஒண்ணும் பண்ண முடியாது. எல்லாம் அது கர்த்தர் ஏற்ற விதமா வைப்பாரு. ஆனா, பையன்களை விட கொஞ்சங்கூட care பண்ண முடியும். நெனைக்கிறேன். ஏன்னா women தான் கொஞ்சம் வீட்டுக் காரியங்களெல்லாம் செய்ய முடியும். அந்த woman வந்து வீட்டுப்பொண்ணா easy-ஆ செய்யலாம் வெளில இருந்து வர்ற பொண்ணுக்கு அவ்வளவு involvement-உம் affection-உம் இருக்கிறது எதிர்பார்க்க முடியாது. Unless they are very much in Christ. அவ்வளவு தூரம் சொந்த தாய்தகப்பன் மாதிரி கவனிக்கணுன்ற ஆர்வமும் இருக்காது. natural only அதினால கொஞ்சங்கூட ஏதாவது இருந்துச்சின்னா, கூடயே இருந்து பண்ணிக்க முடியாது. சும்மா அப்பப்போம் வந்தாவாது கொஞ்சம் ஆறுதலா share-பண்ணிட்டு போறதாவது ஒதவுமன்றது என்னுடைய, not only for that ஒரு பொம்பளை பிள்ளைங்க இருந்தாதான் கொஞ்சம், சின்னதில் கூட நீங்க கொஞ்சம் ஆசையா உடுத்திட கூட பாக்கிறது, பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்கன்னா ஒரு interest-ஓட செய்யலாம். இதோட என்னத்தை சொல்வது. Both எது உயர்ந்ததோ தாழ்ந்த தோன்று சொல்ல முடியாது. Both-உம் இருந்தா நல்லதுன்னு சொல்லுவேன். அதினால பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்களை low-வா infact எனக்கு வந்து one ஒரு grade superior அதான் நான் நெனைப்பேன்.

3. Saral – GC3, அது ரொம்ப தப்பு. ஏன்னா எனக்கே இரண்டு பெண் குழந்தைகள் (laughs). எனக்கு என்னுடைய தங்கைக்கு ஒரு ஆண் குழந்தை, ன், அவ சொல்றது அவபேசறது எல்லாம் பாத்தா, ஐயோ, நான் (chuckles) ரொம்ப குடுத்து வச்சவா இரண்டு பெண் குழந்தைகள் எனக்கு இருக்கிறதுக்குன்னு, (chuckles) நான் நெறைய நேரம் நெனைச்சிக்குவேன். பெண் குழந்தைகள் இப்பம் வந்து ஆண் குழந்தைகளை விட நல்லாப்படிக்கிறாங்க, parents-ஐ support பண்ணதுக்கும் ready-ஆ இருக்கிறாங்க, அன்பா இருக்கிறாங்க. எனக்கு என்னவோ ஆண் குழந்தைகளுக்கு equal-ஆதான் பெண் குழந்தைகள் இருக்கிறா மாதிரிதான் தோணுது. அதினால அழிக்கிறது தப்புதான்.

4. Swarna – GC4, அது ரொம்ப தப்பான காரியம். பெண் குழந்தை எந்தக் குழந்தையா இருந்தாலும் ஆண்டவர் தான் நமக்குத் தாராரு. அப்பம் நம்ம வந்து இது கூடாது. பாக்கபோனா பெண் குழந்தைங்கதான் இப்பம் எல்லாம் நமக்கு எல்லா விதத்திலையும் ரொம்ப support-ஆ நமக்காக எல்லாம் இருக்கிறது வந்து நெறைய எடங்கன்ல பாத்தா பெண்

குழந்தை பையனை, இந்தப் பையனைப் பெத்து கஷ்டப்பட்டு என் வளத்தேனோ, இவனுக்கு இவ்வளவு செலவு பண்ணி, இந்தப் பையனா இருப்பான், கஷ்டப்பட்டு படிக்க வச்சிருப்பாங்க. Parents-க்கு ஒரு ஒதவியே இருக்காது. அப்பம் பெண் கொழந்தன்னு சொன்னா அம்மா பட்டினி கெடக்கிறதை பாத்திட்டே இருக்க மாட்டாங்க. So அப்பம் நம்ம பெண் கொழந்தைகளை ஒண்ணும் செய்யக் கூடாது.

5. Jeyam – GC5, அழிக்கிறது வந்து தப்புன்னு சொல்லுவேன். ஏன்னா, கடவுளுடைய பார்வையிலே ஆணும் பெண்ணும் சமந்தான். ஆணையும் பெண்ணையும் சமமாதான் படைக்கிறாரு, ன், சம இதில தான் அவர் அன்பு கூர்ரார், பெண்கள் மேலும் ஆண்கள் மேலும். அப்பம் இப்பம் சமுதாயத்தில் வந்து ஆண்குழந்தைகள் தான் வந்து நமக்கு தேவைன்னு அப்படின்னு நெறைய parents நெனைக்கிறாங்க. ஆணா நல்லாப் பாத்தாக்கி ஆண்களுக்கும் அதே செலவு பண்ணாங்க, பெண்களுக்கும் அதே செலவுதான் செலவு பண்ணாங்க. ஆணா ஆண்களைவிட பெண் பிள்ளைகள் வந்து உதவில எல்லா விதத்திலையும் parents-க்கு நல்லவிதமா இருப்பாங்க. But அவங்க நெனைக்கிறது ஆண்கள் வேணான்னு நெனைக்கிறது அதா அவங்களுடைய சொந்த ஒரு இது, ஒரு தனிப்பட்ட தன்மையினால் அப்படி நெனைக்கிறாங்க. அது அனா தவறு. பெண் சிசுவைக் கொல்லக்கூடாது. பெண் சிசுவும் ஆண்களுக்கு சமமான பிள்ளைகள்தான், அவங்களையும் அவங்க என்ன செய்வாங்களோ அதை இந்த பிள்ளைகளாலயும் செய்ய முடியும். எத்தனையோ parents வந்து பெண் பிள்ளைகள்னால சந்தோஷமா வாழற parents இருக்கிறாங்க. எத்தனையோ ஆண் பிள்ளைகள்னால சமாதானத்தையும் சந்தோஷத்தையும் கடைசி காலத்தில் இழந்து அவங்க ஒரு மாதிரி மனவேதனையோட வாழற parents இருக்கிறாங்க. அதினால பெண் சிசுவை அழிக்கனுன்றது அது தவறான ஒரு நோக்கந்தான். பெண் சிசுக்கள் வேணும்.

6. Tiny – GC6, Female child ஆல ஒண்ணும் வித்தியாசமில்லையே. அது girls-ஆ இருந்தா என்ன, boys-ஆ இருந்தா, everybody is the same. . . . எப்படி boys-ஐக் கஷ்டப்பட்டு பெறக்கிற மாதிரி பெறந்து, அதே மாதிரி தான் வளர்க்கிறோம். So, அதில என்ன வித்தியாசம் அல்லது வித்தியாசம் காட்டுறது.

7. Jeyavathy – GC7, இது பண்ணறா? சிசு கொலை வந்து அது ரொம்ப தவறு. பயங்கரமான ஒரு தவறு தான் அது. அது ஆண்டவரிடத்தில் நம்ம கேக்கும்போது நிச்சயமா கொழந்தை வேணும். நமக்கு இரண்டு கொழந்தைகள் வேணும் போது நிச்சயமா அந்த மாதிரி குடுக்கிறார், தேவன். அதுக்கு மேல எங்களுக்கு வேண்டாம்ப்பான்னு சொல்லிட்டு கேக்கும்போது அவங்க நிச்சயமா தேவன் வந்து அதுக்குரிய ஒரு கர்ப்பந்தரித்து அதை இது பண்ணது தவறான ஒரு காரியம் ரொம்ப தவறான காரியம். அவ்விதமா செய்யும் போது, ஏன்னா எனக்குத் தெரிந்து ஒரு சகோதரி ஒரு இந்து சகோதரி தான். லட்சுமின்னு பக்கத்தில், என் வீட்டுப் பக்கத்தில் இருந்தா. அவளுக்கு tube pregnancy ஆயிருச்சு. Pregnancy ஆன உடனே அவங்க வந்து, 'இனிமேல் கர்ப்பந்தரிக் கிறதுக்கு வாய்ப்பே கெடையாது ஒனக்கு. ஒனக்கு எப்படி கர்ப்பந்தரிச்சாலும் நீ வந்து சமீபத்தில் நீ ஒரு நாளும் இது பண்ணவே கூடாது. அப்படி ஏதோ, கொஞ்சம் பெலப்பட்ட பிற்பாடு தான்', ஏன்னா கொஞ்சம் அந்த tube-ஐ ஏதோ அந்த இதை வெட்டி எடுத்திருக்கிறாங்க, போல இருக்கு, 'அதினால எனக்கு வாய்ப்பே இல்லை', என்ற மாதிரி சொல்லிட்டாங்க அவங்க doctors. சொன்ன பிற்பாடு அந்தப் பிள்ளை ரொம்ப வந்துட்டு இருந்தா அவ. அப்புறம் அந்தப் பிள்ளையை நான் உற்சாகப்படுத்தி அப்புறம், 'இயேசுக் கிறிஸ்துவினால் ஆகாதது ஒண்ணுமே', அவ வந்து கர்ப்பத்தடை மாத்திரை தெனம் சாப்பிட்டுக்கிட்டு வந்தா. தெனம் கர்ப்பத்தடை அது கர்ப்பத்தடை மாத்திரை சாப்பிடுறான்னு எனக்குத் தெரியவும் தெரியாது. அப்புறம் ஒரு நாள் அவ அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்கு போடும்போது ரொம்ப அழுது சொன்னா அவ என்கிட்ட வந்துன்னு, 'கர்ப்பத்தடை மாத்திரையை நான் சாப்பிடுறேன். எனக்கு'. அப்புறந்தான் நான் சொன்னேன், 'ஆண்டவரால, இயேசுக் கிறிஸ்துவால ஆகாதது ஒண்ணுமே இல்லைம்மா, நீ ஒரு நாளும் நீ கவலைப்படாத. நீ இதெல்லாம் சாப்பிடவே சாப்பிடாத. தேவன் நிச்சயமா செய்வார் ஒனக்கு கொழந்தையை நிச்சயமா கொடுப்பார். நீ, 'அதினால என்னன்னா, நாங்க எல்லாரும் அதிகமா அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்காக ஜெபிக்க, ஜெபிக்கவும் செய்தோம். ஆண்டவர் அற்புத விதமா இரண்டாவது பிள்ளையை அவ கர்ப்பந்தரிக்குமாறு செய்தாரு. தரிச்சிட்டு போனவுடனே அவங்க சொன்னாங்க, 'ஐயையோ, என்னை யாரு கர்ப்பந்தரிக்கக் சொன்னாங்க? திருப்பியும் tubeல தான் இது ஆயிருக்கும். இது கண்டிப்பா மறுபடியும் எனக்கு operation செய்ய வேண்டிய நெலமை ஏற்படும். எனக்கு யாரு இந்த மாதிரி இப்படிச் சொன்னா? அப்படி இப்படின்று அந்தப் பிள்ளையை அப்படித் திட்டியிருக்கிறாங்க. நல்ல வேளை இன்னொரு doctor கிட்ட சொல்லிட்டு போயிருக்கிறா அவா. அவங்க சொன்னாங்க, 'இல்லைல்ல, நீ கொஞ்சம் தீசுடினா பண்ணி பாரும்மா. scan பண்ணி பாரும்மா scan பண்ணி பார்த்து எப்படின்னு நம்ம பாக்கலாம்', அப்படின்னு சொல்சிலிட்டு இவா பாத்திருக்கிறா அந்த scan பண்ணிப் போகும்போது கூட இது எல்லாத்துக்கிட்டயும் நாங்க எல்லாரும் அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்காக பார்த்தோட பண்ணோம். நானும் அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்காக எங்க வீட்ல ஜெபம் பண்ணேன். ஜெபித்து பண்ணும்போது, அது கர்ப்பத்திலேயே அப்படியாக தேவன் கிருபை செய்து, அவ்ளோ ஒரு அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்கு. இயேசுக் கிறிஸ்துவைப் பற்றி அப்படி முழுவதுமா அவ நம்பி, ஆண்டவருக்குள்ள இருந்து, அவளுக்குக் கொழந்தை, ஒரு .... குழந்தை பெறந்து சந்தோஷமா அவ இருக்கிறா. அப்படியாக தேவன் இந்த மாதிரி கர்ப்பத்தடை நம்ம செய்தா .... இன்னும் வரல அவா வருவா next month வருவா சொல்லியிருக்கிறாரு அவ husband. அந்த மாதிரி, இந்த, தேவனால கூடாத காரியம் கெடையாது, அப்படில்ல. அதினால நாம் வந்து, இதுக்காக கர்ப்பத்தடை செய்து, இது பண்ணிக்கிட்டு நம்ம மருந்து சாப்பிட்டுக்கிட்டு அல்லது pregnant ஆனதை சிசுக்கொலை செய்திட்டு, அதெல்லாம் ரொம்ப தவறான காரியன்றது தான் என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம்.



8. Mariam – GC8, பெண் குழந்தைகளை இதில் அழிப்பது மிகத் தவறு. ஏன்னா ஆண்டவருடைய பார்வையில் ஆணென்றும் பெண்ணென்றும் கெடையாதுவந்தது. நம்ம வந்து அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு , வந்து, இப்பம் கொஞ்சம் மாறிட்டு தான் வருது. ஒரு வேளை அந்த மாதிரி சில எடங்களில் அந்த இன்னும் அந்த Salem ... அந்த மாதிரி எடங்களில் இது பன்றாங்க. ஆனா அந்த இதுவும் தவறு. அவங்களுக்கும் நம்ம எடுத்து சொல்லி அவங்களையும் இது மாதிரி இதில் பெண் கொழந்தைங்களால் நம்ம நாட்டுக்கு என்ன நன்மைவந்தது சொன்னா அதையும் ஒழிச்சி பண்ணலாம்.

9. Amar – GC9, அப்புறம் இன்னொண்ணு, நெறையா பொண்ணு கொழந்தைங்க, இப்ப கூட அங்க paper-ல் வந்துகிட்டு, 'இந்த பெரிய கால்வாயில் ஒரு பெண் கொழந்தை இருந்துச்சு', 'இன்னைக்கு இருந்துச்சு', 'அன்னைக்கு இருந்துச்சு', 'குப்பைத் தொட்டில் இருந்துச்சு' அந்த மாதிரி நெறையா பெண் கொழந்தைங்களை தூக்கிப் போட்டுறாங்க. அப்படி ஏன் தூக்கிப் போடணும். ன், ன், missionaries எடுத்து வளர்த்த மாதிரி ஏன் அவங்களையும் வளர்த்து, அவங்களையும் ஆளாக்கி, அவங்களால் கூட நாடு விருத்தியடையலாமே. அந்த மாதிரி எண்ணம் இல்லை. ஏன், ஒரு குறுமையான நோக்கம் எல்லாருக்கும் இருக்கும். விருத்தியான நோக்கம் என் இருக்க மாட்டேனது என்று ஒரு கேள்வி என் இருதயத்தில கூட இருக்கு. ஆனா நான் என்ன நெனைக்கிறது, இந்தப் பெண் கொழந்தைங்கள் நமக்கு காண்பிக்கிற அன்பை மாதிரி ஆண் கொழந்தைங்க காண்பிக்கவே காண்பிக்காது.

10. Gem – GC10, அப்புறம் அந்த abortion -ன்றது, அது இப்பம் வந்த doctors - ஏ scan பண்ணி சொல்லக் கூடாதுன்னுட்டாங்க. ஆனா பெண்களுடைய நெலை நிர்ப்பந்தந்தான், இல்லைன்னு இல்லை. எல்லாச் சூழ்நிலைகளையும் பார்க்கும் போது, பொண்ணா பெறக்கவே கூடாதுன்னுதான் பிள்ளை வச்சிருக்கிறது கஷ்டந்தான். சந்தோஷமா வச்சிருக்கலாம் பெற்றோர், ஆனா அதைக் கலியாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்தப் பெறகு கஷ்டமா இருக்கிது. இப்படி எத்தனையோ குடும்பங்கள்ல இருக்குது. ஆனா பிள்ளை நல்லா படிச்சி நல்லா வேலையில் வந்து சாமர்த்தியமா இருந்தா, அதுக்கெல்லாம் ஆண்டவருடைய ஒரு கொணம் இல்லாம நடக்காது. அதினால தான் நல்லா Families - ஓட பழகணும், நல்ல பிள்ளைகளுக்கு நல்ல ஒரு ஐக்கியம் உண்டாகணும். கிறிஸ்தவப் Friends அவசியன்னு நெனைக்கிறதுக்கு இந்த ஒரு காரியத்துக்கு தான். பெண்களுக்குப் பெண்கள் தொணையா, நல்ல Friends இருந்தா ஒருத்தருக் கொடுத்தர் உதவி செய்து கஷ்ட நேரத்தில் அல்லது ஒரு தனிமையில்லாதபடி பாக்கிறதுக்கு ஒரு நல்ல Family-ல் உள்ள பிள்ளைங்க ஒருத்தருக்கொடுத்தர் ஒதவியா இருக்கிற மாதிரி நம்ம, இனிம நம்ம சபைகள்ல நம்ம குடும்பங்கள்ல பிள்ளைகளை அப்படி பயிற்றுக்கணும். ஆசிரியர்களாலும் School-யும் வேற சூழ்நிலையிலையும் நம்ம பிள்ளைகளை கண்டிப்பான அவசியமா இருக்கிறதுக்கு இந்தக் காலக்கட்டத்துக்கு அதினால தவறான வழிக்குப் போகாத படிக்கு நம்முடைய பிள்ளைகள் generation அடுத்தது ஆண்டவருடைய நாமத்துக்கு மகிமையா இருக்கணுன்னா இந்த ஒரு நல்ல குடும்பங்கள்ல நல்ல சூழ்நிலைகள்ல உருவாக்கிக் குடுக்கணும். நல்ல ஒரு நல்ல விசுவாசிக், நல்ல ஒரு, ன், ஒரு ஐக்கியம் உண்டாகணுன்னா, சமையல் குறிப்புகள் செய்துபாக்க, சாப்பிட, பிள்ளைகளுக்கு நல்லதை சொல்லிக் குடுக்கணுன்னு வயசான பெற்றோர்க்குள்ள நேரத்தை நல்ல விதமா பயன்படுத்தணும் தையலு, தாலுந்துகளை நல்லவிதமா உபயோகிக்க சபையிலும், அந்த மாதிரி fellowship-ஐக் create பண்ணினாதான் இந்தத் தவறுகள் எல்லாம் வீணான வேண்டாத செயல்களெல்லாம் தவிர்க்கப்படுன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். மற்றபடி வேற எப்படியும் அதைத் தவிர்க்கிறது கஷ்டமான காரியம். அதினால நல்ல தையல், இப்பம் டி.வி. வந்ததுக்கப்பறம் யாரும் இந்த தையலு, இந்த பின்னல்கள் இதெல்லாம் யாரும் செய்யுறதே கெடையாது. கடையில் விக்காத சாமான் முந்தி வந்து நம்ம இதில் Harvest festivals கெல்லாம் இப்படி தான் செய்து ரொம்ப value குடுத்து வாங்குவாங்க. இப்பம் முடியலை கடையில் வாங்கி குடுத்திற்றோம். அந்த மாதிரி பிள்ளைகளா ஒண்ணுமே செய்றதில்லை படிக்கணும். படிக்கணுன்னு சொல்லீரோம். அது இப்ப வந்து எல்லா scholarship-உம் நின்னுபோச்சு. வெளிய இருந்து வர்ற பணங்களும் நின்னு போச்சு. Boarding school-உம் கெடையாது. எல்லாம் day students-ஆப் படிக்கிறாங்க. எங்க போகுது, எங்க வருது, பஸ் பற்றிப் போகுது, bike-ல் போகுது, cycle-ல் போகுது, doubles-ல் போகுது, இப்படி அவங்களுடைய சூழ்நிலையை யோசித்து, பிள்ளைகளை தப்பில்லாதவங்களா நம்ம நெனைச்சிக்கணும். அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்க வஞ்சிக்கப்படுறது, மற்றவங்க ஏமாற்றுவாங்க, பொய் சொல்றாங்க, எத்தனையோ காரியங்கள் மனசாட்சி தான் காரணம். பிள்ளைகளை சுத்த மனசாட்சிலவளக்க நம்ம பெற்றோர் பிரயாசைப்படணும். ஜெபிக்கணும் எல்லாத்துக்கும் ஜெபந்தான் முக்கியம்.

## Section Two. Narratives about childlessness (CL):

1. Ester - CL(Childlessness)1, ம், ஆசை தான்..... : நல்லது .... : அப்படி இல்லை, ஆண்டவர் குடுக்கிறது. .... : இல்லை, அப்படி ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. அது ஆண்டவர் குடுக்கிறது, அப்படி இல்லாட்டி நம்ம என்ன பன்றது? ... : அப்படி சரி கெடையாது. நம்பனை மாதிரி தான் அவங்களும்.

2. Udhaya – CL2, அப்புறம், இது childlessness ... : : அதுக்காக pray பண்ணிக்கலாம் இல்லை? அது வந்து தப்பு எல்லாம் கெடையாது. பாவம் .... : Yes, ஆன்

3. Bina – CL3, Childlessness- என்ன ஒண்ணு கர்த்தர் அந்த பாக்கியத்தைக் குடுக்கலைன்னு இருக்கணும். அவ்வளவு தான். அதில ஒருத்தரும் ஒருத்தரையும் it is not a thing. It's not a sin. Sin-னாலும் இல்லை. Punishment-உம்

இல்லை. அது ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கு ஒரு விதமான வாழ்க்கையை கொடுப்பார். ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கு ஐஸ்வர்யத்தைக் கொடுத்திருப்பார். ஒவ்வொருத்தருக்கு தரித்திரத்தைக் கொடுத்திருப்பார். Superior, inferior ன்னு கெடையாது. Life கடவுள் lead பண்ணுவார். ஆனா பிள்ளைங்க இருக்கிறது அது ஒரு பெரிய பாக்கியந்தான். அது கர்த்தரால் வரும் சுதந்திரம். அது கஷ்டம்னாலும், பிள்ளைகள்னாலும் தொல்லை தான். ஆனாலும் அதினால் ஒரு பெரிய சுதந்திரமாதான் இருக்கு. அது பிள்ளைங்க இருக்கிறது ஒரு பெரிய ஆசீர்வாதம். ஆனா அது இல்லைன்றதுக்காக யாருமே யாரையும் இது பண்ணவே கூடாது. அது கர்த்தர் குடுக்கலைன்னு சொல்லிட்டு இருக்கணும். கர்த்தர் கிட்ட கேட்டு வேணா பெற்றுக் கொள்ளலாம். எந்த நிலைமையிலும் எந்த possible situation- லும் அவரால் குடுக்க முடியும். அது உங்களுக்கு அவ்வளவு அவசியம். அவ்வளவு ஆசைன்னா கட்டாயம் ஆண்டவர்கிட்ட அப்படி கேட்டு, கர்த்தர் நிச்சயமா தருவார். சில some people don't mind. இப்பம் பிள்ளை இல்லைன்னா என்ன, நம்ம பாட்டுக்கு இருக்கலாம். அப்புறம் வேற?

4. Mariam – CL4, அது, நம்ம கர்ப்பத்தின் கனி கர்த்தரால் வரும் ஆசீர்வாதந்தான். அப்படி இல்லாத பட்சத்தில் இப்பம் வந்து hundred percent இதுக்கு doctor சொல்றாங்க இல்லைன்னு, தத்து எடுக்கலாம், பண்ணலாம். ஏன்னா Bible-ல் சொல்லிருக்கு எளியவர்களுக்கு ஒதுவணும், இப்படி திக்கற்றவங்க அப்படி. இப்பம் இருக்கு orphanage-ல் எல்லாம் எவ்வளவோ அநாதப் பிள்ளைங்கள்லாம் இருக்கிறாங்க. அதினால் அதைக் கட்டாயம் adopt பன்றதினால நம்ம வந்து life balanced இதுவும் நல்லா இருக்கும்.

5. Saral – CL5, ன், childlessness அதாவது கொழந்தை இல்லாதவங்க வந்து நெறையா இதில கொஞ்சம் கஷ்டப்ப்டறாங்க. (interruptions) ன், (அவமானம் தாழ்வா) ன், அப்படின்னு இருக்கு ( ...) வைக்கிறாங்க நம்முடைய community-லயே இருக்கு. But அது கண்டிப்பா தப்புதான். ஏன்னா, வந்து அது அவங்க, ன், அவங்க தெரிஞ்சி செய்றது, தெரிஞ்சி தப்புங்களுக்கு தண்டனை உண்டு. தெரியாம அவங்களுக்கே இந்தக் கொறை இருக்குன்னு தெரியாம வந்திட்ட பெறகு அதுக்கப்பறம் அவங்களை வந்து நம்ம கொறை சொல்லியோ, இதோ, அதுவுமில்லாம இதில divorce-ன்றதோ இதினால் ஒதுக்கி வைக்கிறதின்றதெல்லாம் Christian இதில, community-ல் ரொம்ப கொறைவு. பண்ணவும் மாட்டாங்க. பிரியப்பட மாட்டாங்க. அதன், அதை நிவர்த்தி, ரெண்டு பேரும் சந்தோஷமா இருக்கிற வரைக்கும் சந்தோஷமா இருந்தக்கலான்ற ஒரு decision, இல்லை கண்டிப்பா கொழந்தை நமக்கு இருக்கத்தான் வேணுன்னா, எத்தனையோ எடத்தில் அனாதைக் கொழந்தைங்க இருக்கு. அது legal-ஆ அவங்க அதை தத்து எடுத்துக்கிறதுக்கு வழி பண்ணலாமே தவிர வேற விதமா இரண்டு பேரும், ம், suppress பண்ணி, இதில மற்றவங்க தலையிடக்கூடாதுன்றது வேற. அதும் husband-wife அவங்களுக்குள்ள ஏன்னா இதில முக்காவாசி என்னன்னா, இரண்டு side உடைய parents-உம் இதில வந்து தலையிட்டு, இரண்டு பேரும் ஒற்றுமையா இருப்பாங்க, பரவாலை, நம்ம இரண்டு பேருக்கும் இது ஒரு கொறை இல்லைன்னு. But அந்த parents ரெண்டு side-லயும் இதைப் பெரிய issue ஆக்கி அதை ரெண்டு பேரும் அவங்களுக்கு அதான் இவங்களே தீத்துக்கிறபடி அவங்க வந்து plan பண்ணிக்கலாம்.

6. Jeyam – CL6, கொழந்தைங்க இல்லாதவங்களை நம்ம ஒதுக்கவே கூடாது.

7. Tiny – CL7, பிள்ளைங்க இல்லாததுக்கு ஜெபம் பண்ணணும் ஆனா. அதுவே .... இல்லை, அப்படி ஒண்ணும் சொல்ல முடியாது. அது ஒரு விதமான ஒரு பாவமுமில்லை, stigma-வும் இல்லை. (Several voices) (other emotional) someone else : அது ஒரு பெரிய பாக்கியம். பிள்ளைகள் கர்த்தரால் வரும் சுதந்திரம். .... : பிள்ளைகள் இல்லாததினால, அவங்க இரண்டுபேருக்குள்ள ஒரு happiness இல்லை. (several voices) . . . . சொன்னா, அது ஒரு வருத்தமான காரியந்தான் (several voices) .... : அதாவது unpleasant things யாருக்குன்னா, family-ல் உள்ளவங்க தான் அப்படி. உண்டாக்கி விட்டிருவாங்க. அது தான் உண்டாக்கி விட்டிருவாங்க. மற்றபடி husband and wife-க்குள்ள (several voices) . . . . : இப்ப இங்கெல்லாம் for example, சிந்தியான்னு ஒரு பிள்ளை இருந்துச்சு. அந்த பிள்ளை வந்து, ஒரு நாள் சாட்சி சொல்லுது, 'எங்க மாமனார் New Year-க்கு என்னையை அப்படி திட்டினார்', னுது. அப்பம் மாமனார் மாபியார்-க்கு தான், அப்பம் அவங்க தான் அந்த இதை உண்டாக்கிறாங்க. அந்த, அப்பம் அந்த பையனுக்கும் ஏதாவது unpleasant words சொல்லலான்ல்ல. ம், அது மாதிரி. இதை நம்ம . . . அது தான், மற்றபடி, சிலகாரியங்களினால் ஆண்டவர் குடுக்காம கூட எவ்வளவோ, குடுக்காம கூட இருந்தார். இத்தனைக்கு அவரு அவருக்கும் பிரியமானவரு, இருந்தாலும் ஒரு காலத்துக்குப் பெறகு இருக்காது ஒரு stage வந்த பெறகு குடுத்தார். . . . : குடுத்தார். அது ஒரு தப்பில்லை.

8. Flora – CL8, பிள்ளைங்க இல்லாதது அது ஒண்ணும் கொறையா தெரியல, ஏன்னா பிள்ளை இல்லாம எவ்வள பேர் ஊழியம் செய்து மகிமையா இருக்கிறாங்க.

9. Lovely – CL9, Children-ன்னும் போது it's a blessing from God தான். அப்படி இல்லாத பட்சத்தில், ன், வந்து, ஒவ்வொருத்தருடைய வாழ்க்கையிலும் கடவுள் வந்து ஒவ்வொரு விதமான திட்டம் வச்சிருப்பாரு. So அவங்களுக்கு அது வந்து அந்த blessing இல்லைன்றது என்னுடைய feeling என்னன்னா அவங்களுடைய வேறு விதமான blessing இருக்கலாம். இல்லை கடவுள் வந்து அவங்களை ஒரு வேற விதமா பயன்படுத்த யோசிக்கிறதினால அதுமாதிரி ஒரு வேளை அந்த blessing, So. there might be a different place for their life-ன், ஆனா என்ன பண்ணலாம் இப்பம்



church-ல இருக்கிறவங்க normal-ஆவே இப்பம் கூட நம்ம family prayers-ல யார் யார் இன்னும் கொழந்தை இல்லையோ அவங்க definite-ஆ நம்ம ஜெபம் பண்ணோம். நம்ம விசுவாசத்தோட நம்ம பண்ணலாம். அது . . அது வந்து ஒரு பெரிய (several voice) அதினால ஒண்ணாங் கெடையாதுன்றதுதான் என்னுடைய feeling. God might have different things planned for every person. So, அதினால அவங்க வந்து வேற விதமா உபயோகப்படுத்தணுன்னு யோசிக்கலாம். இல்லாட்டிகூட இப்பம், ன், adoption வந்து சிலபேர் வந்து ஒரு adopted child-ஐ எடுத்துக்கிறாங்கன்னு கேள்விப்பட்டோம். So, அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு வேளை, அதான், it's basically கடவுள் வந்து என்ன யோசிக்கிறாரோ, ன், அதினால அவங்களுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு situation இருக்கலாம்.

10. Swarna – CL10, பிள்ளை இல்லாதவங்க, பிள்ளை இல்லாதவங்களை வந்து நம்ம வந்து பொதுவா அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் நெனைக்கக்கூடாது. ஏன், ஏன் நமக்கு இதோ, அது நம்ம Bible படி பாக்கும் போது கர்த்தரால் வரும் சுதந்திரம் – ன்னு சொல்லிடுக்கு, ஆனா ஆண்வர் ஏன் அவங்களுக்குக் குடுக்கலன்னு சொல்லிட்டு நமக்குத் தெரியாது. அப்பம் Bible-ல வசனம் வாசிக்கிறோம், கர்த்தர் தம்மிடத்தில் அன்புகூறுகிறவர்களுக்கு சகல நன்மைக்கு ஏதுவாய், அதினால அவங்களுக்கு எதோ ஒரு நன்மை இருக்குது. அப்படித்தான் நம்ம எடுத்துக்கணும். அவங்களை ஒதுக்கவே ஒதுக்க கூடாது. சிலரு – நம்ம Christian இதில ஒதுக்கிற மாதிரி எனக்குத் தெரியலை. செல எடங்களெல்லாம் சொல்லுவாங்க, பிள்ளை இல்லாதவங்க வந்து நமக்கு மொதல் பிள்ளையெல்லாம் தூக்கிட்டா பிள்ளை பெறக்கூடாதுன்னு, அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் கேள்விப்பட்டிருக்கேன். ஆனா எனக்கு மொதல் பிள்ளையை வந்து ஒரு pastor அவங்க wife-க்கு வந்து நெறையா நாள் பிள்ளை இல்லாதவங்கதான் எடுத்தாங்க. அடுத்த வருஷம் அதே date தாண்டி அடுத்த பிள்ளை பெறந்திட்டு (chuckles) இந்த மாதிரி எல்லாம் தப்பு. நம்ம வந்து ஒரு வேளை அவங்க சங்கடப்பட்டாங்க, அவங்களுக்கு ஆறுதல். இந்த மாதிரி சொல்லலாம். ஆண்டவர் எதோ உனக்கு ஒரு நன்மை இதினால தாராரு. இதினால நீ ஆண்டவருடைய ஊழியத்தைச் செய்ய முடியும். Free-ஆ செய்ய முடியும். இப்பம் என்ன எங்கயாவது போகணுன்னு சொன்னா எனக்குப் பிள்ளைக்கு அதைப் பண்ணி வச்சிட்டுதான் நம்ம வந்து பண்ண வேண்டியதிருக்குது. ஒனக்கு இன்னும் free-ஆ ஆண்டவருக்காக நீ செய்ய முடியும். ஆண்டவருக்கு இதில நீ ரொம்ப கனம், அப்படின்னு சொல்லி, பண்ணி இது பண்ணணும்.

11. Jeyavathy – CL11, அதே ஒரு கொழந்தை இல்லாம இருக்கிறவங்களையும் ரொம்ப அப்படி ஒண்ணுமே இல்லாம ஆக்கிடுவாங்க.

12. Tiny – CL12, அவங்க ஒரு மாதிரி அதை

13. Amar – CL13, எனக்கு வந்து according to the Bible கர்த்தர் ஒவ்வொருத்தரும் எந்தக் காலத்தில இருந்து எந்தக் காலம் வரைக்கும் ஒலகத்தில் இருக்கணும்றது அந்த அப்போஸ்தலனாகிய பவுல் ஒரு letter-ல எழுதியிருக்கிறாரு. ம், அந்த reference நான் மறந்திட்டேன். ம், அது, அதில என்ன இருக்கு நம்ப ஒவ்வொருவரும் எந்தக் காலத்தில பெறக்கணும், நம்ப எந்தக் காலத்தில மரிக்கணுன்னு இருக்குது அதில. அதில ஒரு நாள் கூட நம்ப extra இருக்க மாட்டமாம். அந்த மாதிரி இருக்கும் பொழுது ஒருத்தர் பெறக்கும் பொழுது இவங்க இந்த நாள் பெறக்கணுன்னு இருக்கிறதினால, என் மகனுக்குப் பிள்ளைங்க இல்லாததுனால இது மருமக மேல தப்போ இல்லை மகன் மேல தப்போன்ற எண்ணம் எனக்கு இல்லை. கர்த்தரு இன்னும் அதைக் குறிக்கலையேன்ற துக்கம். எப்போ அந்த போன், எனக்குப் பேரனோ, பேத்தினோ எண்ணைக்குப் பெறக்கணுன்ற அது ஒத்திப் போட்டிருக்காரு போல இருக்கு. அதுவரைக்கும் நானும் பொறுமையா காத்திட்டு இருக்கணுன்னு தான் கர்த்தரை நான் கேட்டுக்கிட்டு இருக்கிறேன். எனக்கு அருமையான மருமக தான். ஒண்ணும் கொறை ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. ஆனாலும் மகனும் அந்த மருமகளும் என்னுடைய மகள்ங்களுடைய பிள்ளைகளை ரொம்ப அன்பா நேசிப்பாங்க. வீட்டுக்கு வரும் பொழுது கூட ரெண்டு பேரும், ரெண்டு மகள்ங்களுடைய பிள்ளைங்களும் 'அத்தைத்தை, அத்தை'ன்னு மாமா, அத்தை பின்னாலேயே தான் சுத்துவாங்களே ஒழிய, தாத்தா, பாட்டின்னு வந்த மாதிரி தெரியலை. அதுவும் இவங்க 'எனக்கு noodles வேணும் அத்தை, செய்து குடுங்கன்னா உடனே வாங்கிட்டு வந்து செய்வா. அந்த பாக்கியம் தனக்கில்லாவிட்டாலும் தன்னுடைய நாத்தனார் பிள்ளைங்களை ரொம்ப அன்பா கவனிச்சி நடத்து வாங்க. அந்த மாதிரி ன், child less-ஆ இருக்கிறவங்க கொஞ்சம் பொறாமைப்படுவாங்கன்னு சொல்லிக்குவாங்க. ஆனா practical-ஆ நான் பார்த்தது, ன், அன்பா கூட இருக்கலாம். தான் பிள்ளை மாதிரி நேசிக்கலாம் நம்ம வீட்டுக்கு வந்தா கூட 'அத்தை பக்கத்தில் தான் படுத்துக்குவேன்', ன்னு வாங்க. 'சரி'ன்னு படுக்கவச்சுக்கும், பக்கத்திலேயே படுக்க வச்சுக்கும். 'அத்தை, இன்னைக்கு நீங்க தான் ஜெபம் பண்ணணும்'ன்னுவான். சரி, அவன் கேக்கிறானேன்னு அவங்க தான் ஜெபம் பண்ணுவாங்க. அப்படி ஒரு அன்பு காமிக்கிறவங்களும் இருக்கிறாங்க ladies-ல, பொறாமைப் படுற மாதிரி தெரியலை. அடுத்தது வந்து எல்லாம் ஞாபகம் இருக்கும். ஐயோ, இன்னைக்கு அவனுடைய பெறந்த நாளில்லையா. இன்னைக்கு இவளுடைய பெறந்த நாளில்லையான்னு முன்கூட்டியே சாமான்களை வாங்கி, அதைப் pack பண்ணி ready-ஆ வச்சிருப்பாங்க. So much so இந்த grandson என்ன சொல்லுவான், 'அத்தை, next week எனக்கு happy birthday வருதில்ல, நீங்க எனக்கு gift தான் கொண்டு வரப் போறீங்க. எனக்கு இதை வாங்கிட்டு வந்திருங்கன்னு அவளே demand வேற பண்ணி சொன்ன ஒடனே in addition to whatever she wants to present இதையும் சேத்து வச்ச ஒரு அன்பா கொண்டு வந்து குடுப்பாங்க. பிள்ளைங்க இல்லாததுனாலன்றது இல்லை. இப்பம் நானும் ஒரு நாளும் 'என்னம்மா ஒனக்கு பிள்ளை இல்லையான்'னுட்டு வேறையா நான் நெனைக்க மாட்டேன். எனக்கு கேக்கிறவங்க

கிட்ட கூட சொல்லுவேன், 'கர்த்தர் எப்ப குடுப்பாரோ, அப்பம் அவளுக்கு இருக்கும்',ன்ட்டு சொல்லி விட்டுருவேன். என்னை தெரியமா யாரும் கேக்கவும் மாட்டாங்க, 'பிள்ளை இல்லையா'ன்ட்டு. எங்க grand children நாலு பேர் இருக்கிறாங்க. நாலு பேரும் போதும். எல்லாரும் அத்தைன்ட்டு ஒரு ஆசையா இருப்பாங்க. At the same time-உன்னுடைய இருதயத்தில், மகனுக்குன்ட்டு ஒண்ணு இருந்தா நல்லா இருக்குமேன்ட்டு என்னுடைய இருதயத்தில் ஒரு ஆசை. அப்புறம் adopt பண்ணணான்னா கூட, 'சரி, நல்லா adopt பண்ணிக்கலாம். ஆனா adopt பண்ணா கூட அவங்களை கவனிக்கிறது இரண்டு பேருமா வேலைக்குப் போயிடுறதினால, அவங்களை கவனிக்கிறது நாங்கலா தான் இருக்கணும் வீட்ல எங்களுக்கு அந்த burden குடுக்க கூடாதுன்றதினால அவங்க வந்து ஒண்ணும் initiative எடுக்கல, extra burden குடுக்கணுன்ட்டு மூணு பிள்ளைங்களுமே அம்மா அப்பாக்கு தொந்தரவு குடுக்கக் கூடாதுன்ற எண்ணம் மூணு பேரும்.

### Section Three. Narratives about dowry (D):

1. Amar – D(Dowry)1, சொல்லுன்னாக்கா, இருங்க கொஞ்சம், இங்க கூட ஒரு incident அப்படி தான் ஆச்சு. நாங்க இருக்கிற எடத்தில் முக்கியமா Telugu காரர் மத்தியில ஒரு பொண்ணுன்ட்டு பெற்றந்திட்டா she will be a burden to the parents-றதே எல்லாரும் அதே மாதிரி தான் யோசிக்கிறாங்க. என்னன்னாக்கா, எவ்வளவு படிச்சாலும் மாப்பிள்ளையை விட பொண்ணு அதிகமா படிச்சிருந்தா, மாப்பிள்ளையை விட பொண்ணு அதிகமா சம்பாதிச்சாலும் அந்தப் பொண்ணைக் கட்டிக் குடுக்கும் பொழுது அவ லட்சக்கணக்கில தான் dowry கேக்கிறாங்க. அதோடு கூட நிலமும் குடுக்கணும். அந்த வீடும் குடுக்கணும், வண்டியும் குடுக்கணும் அது என்ன இருந்தாலும் கடன் பட்டாச்சும் அந்தப் பொண்ணைக் கலியாணம் கட்டிக் குடுக்கணும். ஒரு பொண்ணு வயசுக்கு வந்த பெறகு இத்தனை வருஷம் வீட்ல வச்ச இருக்கவே மாட்டாங்க. அதுக்கிண்டு அதிக படிப்பு, ஏன்னா இந்த காலத்தில் பையன்க படிக்கிறதைக் காணோம். பொண்ணுங்க தான் நல்லா படிச்சிட்டு வந்திருந்திங்க. அதுக்கேத்த மாதிரி படிச்ச பையன்க கெடைக்கிறது கஷ்டம். பொண்ணுங்க படிக்க விடுறதில்லை. வீட்டிலையே வச்சிக்கிறாங்க. எனக்குத் தெரிஞ்சு அம்மா அப்பா ஏறந்திட்டாங்க. அப்புறம் அண்ணனும் மூணு அக்காமாரும் இருந்திருக்கிறாங்க. மூணு தங்கச்சிமார் இருந்திருக்கிறாங்க. நல்லா college படிச்ச ஒவ்வொண்ணும் degree படிச்சி, நல்லா இருந்துதுங்க. திடீர்ன்னு பேப்பர்ல வருது அவங்க அந்த இது, அங்க Charminar-ன்டு ஒரு எடம். அது மேல ஏறி அவ்வளவு பேரும் கீழ் குதிச்சி பயந்தான்னா, இதை மூணு பொண்ணுங்களுக்கு மாப்பிள்ளைங்க இந்த தம்பிக்கு, அண்ணனுக்குப் பணம் இல்லைன்னு, அண்ணனும் சேர்ந்து குதிச்சிருக்கிறான். 'எல்லாம் நம்ப உழுந்து செத்திருவோம், நம்பளால இது முடியாது'ன்ட்டு, ஏன்னாக்கா, இந்த ஒரு பிரச்சனையால அவ்வளவும் மாண்டு போயிட்டாங்க. கலியாணம் ஆகாட்டி என்ன, ஒரு ரொம்ப கெட்ட வழக்கம் அங்க என்னன்னா, எப்ப பாத்ராலும் 'ஒனக்குக் கலியாணம் ஆகலையா, ஒனக்குக் கலியாணம் ஆகலையா, இன்னும் ஆகலையா, இன்னும் மாப்பிள்ளை வரலையா, இன்னும் ஒன்னையை யாரும் கேக்கலையா', இப்பி கேட்டுட்டே இருந்தா, அந்த வாலிபப் பொண்ணுக்கு ஒரு பயித்தியம் மாதிரி பிடிச்சப் போயிருது. அதினால பெற்றோரை துன்புறுத்த ஆரம்பிக்கிறாங்க. 'நீங்க கவனிக்க மாட்டேன்றிங்க'ன்னு, 'எனக்கு கலியாணம் பண்ணி வையுங்க. நான் இது வேண்டாம், நான் இங்க குதிச்ச சாவேன், இதை சாப்பிட்டு செத்திருவே'ன்னு பிள்ளைங்க கூட என்ன பண்ணுது. பெற்றோரை ரொம்ப தொல்லை குடுக்குதுங்க. பெற்றோருங்குக்கு கூட 'ரொம்ப helpless -ஆ இருக்கிறோமே'ன்னு ஒரு துக்கம். 'சொந்த மகளுக்கு நம்ம ஒண்ணும் செய்யாம இருக்கிறோமே'ன்றது பெற்றோர்களுக்கும் அந்த மாதிரி இருக்கும்.

2. Bina – D2, ஒரு உத்தியோகப் புருஷன் இருக்கணும். புருஷன் வந்து தானா நல்ல உத்தியோகமா இருக்கணும். So, (several voices) வேலையைப் போற பொண்ணுன்னா .... வேலைக்குப் போகாத பொண்ணுன்னா நெறைய dowry. அய்யோ நீங்க rate எல்லாம், நாகர்கோவில் பக்கம் மட்டும் வந்திராதீங்க. நாடார், Kanyakumari நாடார்ன்னு ஒரு அடைமொழி தானே சொல்லிருவாங்க.

3. Amar – D3, Christians கூட தான் Non-christians மாதிரியே கேக்கிறாங்க, dowry. Christians-ஐ தான் சொல்றேன் நான். Christians, non-Christians மாதிரியே dowry கேக்கிறாங்க.

4. Ester – D4, நம்ம இரண்டு பேரும் life தொடங்கப் போறோம். அப்புறம் அதென்ன அது .... அவநாடாரில்ல அதுனால

5. Jeyavathy – D5, பையன்கள் கறுப்புன்னு யாரும் சொல்லவே மாட்டேன்றாங்க. ... அந்த parents also.

6. Jeyam – D6, Dowry வாங்குறது சரி இல்லைதான். ஆனா சமுதாயத்தில் என்ன நடக்குதுன்னா சில நல்ல education-ஐ, நல்ல education உள்ள எடத்தில், நல்ல வேலை உள்ள எடத்தில் பொண்ணைக் கல்யாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுக்கணுன்னு நெனைச்சா, dowry கேப்பாங்கன்ற அந்த பயம் எல்லாருக்குமே இருக்குது. அப்படி professional ஆன பெறகு கைநெறையா சம்பாதிக்கும் போது boys கூட என்ன பண்ணுது ஒரு சிலர் அப்பா அம்மாவை எதிர்த்து dowry வாங்காம கல்யாணம் பண்ணிக்கிறவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க. ஆனாலும் இன்னும் அந்த முழுமையா அது மாறிவரல்ல. அதினால parents-க்கு என்ன ஆயிருது நம்ம பொண்ணை dowry குடுக்கலன்னா நல்ல எடத்தில் கல்யாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுக்க முடியாதுன்ற ஒரு பயம் வந்திருது. அந்த பயத்தினால இவங்க வந்து dowry சேத்துவச்சிட்டே



வாறாங்க. அதினால் குடுக்க வேண்டிய சூழ்நிலையும் ஆகுது. ஆனா வரப் போற காலங்கள்ல இந்த நெலமை முற்றிலும் மாறணுன்னா மாற chance இருக்குது. ன், மாத்தணுன்னா நம்ம இந்த படிக்கிற பிள்ளைங்களை, அந்த boys தான் கொஞ்சம் அந்த parents-ஐ மாத்தியாகணும். அந்த மாதிரி செய்ற நிலையிலிருந்து சமுதாயம் மாறிக்கிட்டே வர்றதினால, நீங்க அதை எதிர்பாக்கக்கூடாதுன்னு. அப்படி boys எதிர்த்து நிச்சனும். அப்பதான் அந்த சூழ்நிலையைக் கொஞ்சம் மாத்த முடியும். Otherwise parents மாறமாட்டாங்க.

7. Saral – D7, இப்பம் நம்ம பேசறதே பெண்கள் ஆண்கள் வந்து சமம்ன்ற மாதிரி. அவங்க வந்து பெரியவங்க, suppress பண்ணக்கூடாது. இப்பம் நம்ம வந்து இந்த மாதிரி ஒரு சூழ்நிலை காலத்துக்கு வந்திருக்கிறோம். ஆம்பிணைங்களும் பொம்பிணைங்களும் equal தான். எந்த வகையிலும் ஆண்களுக்குப் பெண்கள் குறைவில்லை. இந்தக் கட்டத்தில இப்பம் ஆண்கள் dowry வாங்குறது திருப்பியும் அவங்களை suppress பண்ண மாதிரி இருக்கு. So இப்பம் உள்ள generation அதை feel பண்ணாங்கன்னா அது கொஞ்சம் dowry வாங்குறதை இது பண்ணலாம். இரண்டு பேரும் equal-ஆ share பண்ணி இப்பம் foreign-ல எல்லாம் அப்படித்தான். கலியாணன்றது dowry இதே, இல்லை. கலியாணத்துக்கு இரண்டு பேரும் equal share பண்ணி கலியாணம் பண்ணி, அந்த மாதிரி வாணுன்னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன்.

8. Bina – D8, dowry it's a very, very, very unnecessary evil. It has to be removed. Who's to bell the cat மாதிரி நடந்துகிட்டே போகுது அப்படியே. எப்படின்னு. including myself. நாங்க ஏதாவது சொன்னோன்னா, dowry குடுக்க மாட்டோன்னு சொன்னா, ஒருத்தரும் கெட்டிக்க மாட்டாங்க. I mean, there will be definitely a person to come forward. அது ரொம்ப தப்பு தான். சொல்ற statement, இல்ல, சம்மா, அது மாதிரி blind-ஆ வந்து முடியாதுன்ற மாதிரி இது பண்ணா, dowry-ன்னு importance குடுக்கிற people-ஐ வந்து நம்ம வேணா, மற்றபடி இப்பம் குடுக்க முடியாத நெலமையில இல்லை, இதெல்லாம் எதிர்பாக்கிறாங்க, நானே என் பொண்ணுக்கு சில காரியங்களெல்லாம் குடுக்கணுந்தான் விரும்புறேன், அந்த மாதிரி, அவளுக்குன்னு, அவளுக்கு கேப்பாங்கன்னா, நம்ம சின்ன வயசில எல்லாம் இதை, அந்த chain நல்லா இருக்கும், இந்தக் கம்மல், ஆசைக்குந் தான் வாங்கிப்போட்டு அழகுபார்க்கிறது. எதோ நம்ம குடுக்கணான் விரும்புறதை நம்ம குடுக்கலாம். அதில ஒண்ணும் தப்பில்லை. இப்ப அந்த demanding வந்து definite-லி அதுலயும் எல்லாவித தகுதியும் இருக்கிற ஒரு இதை, just because பண்ணி reject பண்ணறாங்கன்னா, they are fools. They are losers. அதினால் வருத்தப்படவே கூடாது. அந்த மாதிரி ஆளுங்க போய்டாங்கன்னா ரொம்ப நல்லது. அதே விதமா ஒரு பையனுக்குன்னா கூட, பொண்ணு எப்படி இருக்கணுன்றதான் முக்கியமா நம்ம பாக்கணும். நான்லாம் அப்படிதான் பார்த்தேன். Very rich connection, இப்பம் பொண்ணுக்கு, என் பொண்ணுக்கே, என் மாமியார் ஒரு connection சொன்னாங்க, வந்து பையன் கூட நல்ல wealthy, அதேயே தான் திருப்பி திருப்பி stress பண்ணாங்க. அதுக்கு நானு, அது சொன்னதினாலேயே இன்னுங் கொஞ்சம் நான் வேண்டான்னு தோணிஞ்ச்சி, ரொம்ப well to be, ரொம்ப இது உண்டு, சொத்து உண்டு, அதினால் வேண்டவே வேண்டான்னு சொல்லிட்டேன். இந்த விதமா, money is not the big thing. அது பையன் நல்ல பையனா இருக்கணும். ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளையா இருக்கணும். எனக்கு அது ரொம்ப முக்கியம் அது நமக்கு தெரியாது. வெளிவேஷத்துக்கு கூட, அப்பம் உண்மையிலே வந்து, நல்ல இதை இருக்கிறது காத்திர்தான் குடுக்கணும். அதினால் அவர்கிட்டதான் சொல்லியிருக்கிறேன் நானு, 'ஆண்டவரே, நீரு, aunty சொன்ன மாதிரி என் mind-ல ஒரு சின்ன list உண்டு (chuckles) அதான் சொல்லிருக்கேன், ஆண்டவர் அதெல்லாம். .... கெடைச்சிக் குடுக்கணும் அவரா செய்வார். அவர், அவர், எனக்கு இல்லாதது போட்டுக் குடுத்தா கூட அது நன்மைக்காதான் இருக்கும், நான் கேக்கிறதான் தப்பா இருக்குன்றதான் என்னுடைய belief. ஏதோ, எந்த ஒரு இதும், கடவுள் வந்து வருன்னு விரும்புறோம். ஆனா அவர் எப்படி தர்வோ, அதுதான் வந்து நல்லதா இருக்கும். அதினால் அதுதான் அவர் வந்து 'தேவையில்லாத கதவை அடைச்சி, எது உம்முடைய சித்தமோ, எனக்கு தெரிந்திக்கிறது. அது மட்டும் திறந்து தாரு'ன்னு ஜெபம் பண்ணிக்கிட்டிருக்கிறோம். என் daughter-க்கு இப்பம் கலியாணம் பாத்துக்கிட்டதான் இருக்கிறோம். அதினால் that is the stand. ஓரளவுக்கு reasonable-ஆ ஏதாவது வேணுன்னு சொல்லிக் கேட்டாங்கன்னாலும் அது சரி அது on principle நான் குடுக்க மாட்டேன்னு சொல்லிட்டு இருக்க மாட்டேன் நானு நம்ம இதில. அநாவசியமா ரொம்ப avaricious-ஆ money, money- ன்னு இருந்தாங்கன்னா, அவங்களை நான் எடுக்கவும் மாட்டேன், அது வைக்க மாட்டேன். Even if I can afford it. Attitude என்னத்தான் பாப்பேன். If பேசாம, கடைசியா எதோ, ஒண்ணு, 'சரி நீங்க என்ன செய்வீங்க'ன்ற மாதிரி ஒரு அளவுக்கு, ஒரு இதாக்கேக்கிற மாதிரி வந்தாங்கன்னா கூட, இல்லைன்னா, 'இதெல்லாம் செய்யலான்னு இருக்கிறோம்' அப்படின்னு, அந்த மாதிரி நான் சொன்னேன்னா, ஒத்துக்கிறவங்களானா இப்படி. Otherwise-ம் சரி dowry தான் சொல்லிட்டேன். அது வேற ஒண்ணும் இல்லை.

9. Swarna – D9, அது கேக்கிறதும் சரி இல்லை. இங்க பணமே இருக்காது. இவ்வளவு குடுத்தா பொண்ணைக் கலியாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுக்கலான்னு சொல்றது கேவலமா இருக்குது. வேண்டியப்பம் கலியாணம் பண்ணறது இவங்க வந்து பணத்தை வாங்குறது மாதிரி ஆயிடுது. So, நம்மளே அப்படி எடுத்துக்கணும். நம்ம வந்து, போய்க் கேக்கும் போது பணம் கேக்கக்கூடாது, இவ்வளவு கொண்டாங்க, இவ்வளவு கொண்டாங்கன்னு சொல்லிட்டுக் கேக்கக் கூடாது. அதே மாதிரி, நம்ம வந்து, கொண்டாங்க, எங்க வீட்ல, கொண்டாங்கன்னு கேட்டுப் போகல, but ஆனா எங்களை எல்லாம் கலியாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுக்கும் போது, என்னன்னா, எங்க வீட்ல, தங்கச்சி வீட்ல அவங்களும், ஒண்ணும் நம்மளை மாதிரி இது பண்ணல. ஆனா கொஞ்சம், இவ்வளவு இவ்வளவு பணம் வேணும், செலவுக்குன்ற மாதிரி, ஓடனே, சரின்னுதான் சொல்லிட்டாங்க. ஏன்னா, நம்ம அப்படி ஒரு decision எடுக்கணுன்னு சொன்ன மாதிரி, வந்து

dowry கையில் பணமே தரமாட்டோம். அந்த மாதிரி இது எடுத்திட்டோன்னு சொன்னா அது ரொம்ப நல்ல இதுதான். ஆனா என்னன்னு சொன்னா செல வீட்டுலெல்லாம் land-உ பணமெல்லாம் வச்சிருக்காங்க. ஆனா அவங்க இஷ்டப்படி பிள்ளைகளுக்கு பகிர்ந்து குடுப்பாங்க. ஆனா அது men வீட்ல இருந்து கேட்டு வாங்கக் கூடாது. இப்பம் எங்க வீட்ல எல்லாம் அப்பா எதோ வச்சிருக்காங்களன்னா, மூணு பிள்ளைகளுக்கு தாங்களன்னா, அவங்க தாற வேளை நம்ம அதை வாங்கிக்கணும். கலியாணத்தப்பம் இவ்வளவு தா, இவ்வளவு தான்னு கே்கிறது வந்து, அது ரொம்ப கொஞ்சம் ஒரு மாதிரி கொச்சையாட்டு கேவலமா இருக்கு.

10. Lovely – D10, Dowry என்று தப்புதான் அது definite – ஆ. ஆனா இப்பம் society-ல எடுத்துக்கிட்டைங்களன்னா, யாருக்குமே அந்த தைரியம் இல்லை. இப்பம் ஒரு, girl child-ஐ வச்சிருக்கிறவங்க parents வந்து அந்த குறிப்பிட்ட ageக்குள்ள definite-ஆ கல்யாணம் பண்ணிக்குடுக்கிறான்றதும் அவங்களுடைய opinion. So, I mean by the situation என்ன பண்ணாங்களன்னா, இதை அந்த circumstances குடுக்கிறது கட்டாயத்துக்கு குடுக்கிறாங்க. தப்பு. Dowry இதுவந்து definite-ஆ தப்பு. முந்தி காலத்தில பார்த்தீங்களன்னா, நம்ம தமிழ் lesson- ல கூடவரும், it was a reverse. ன், ன், boy's side-ல இருந்து தான் actual-ஆ இது பண்ணி காசு குடுத்து பெண்களை கல்யாணம் பண்ணி, ன், கலியாணத்துக்கு போவாங்க, அப்படின்ற ஒரு வழக்கந்தான் இருந்தது. இருந்து இப்பம் தலைகீழா மாறிக்கு. So, அதுவந்து, இது வந்து single person-ஐ இது பண்ணி தவிர்க்க முடியாது. So, one thing is we all pray for that. இப்பவே பார்த்தீங்களன்னா நெறைய weddings-ல நம்ம கேள்விப்படுறது என்னன்னா, dowry வேணானு சொல்லிட்டாங்க, ஆனா கலியாண செலவெல்லாம் அவங்க, அவங்க பண்ணிக்கிறாங்களன்னு. செல families-ல இப்பம் என்ன கேள்விப்பட்டோன்னா, sharing, fifty percent ஆம்பினை boy's side- உம், fifty percent. So, I see there is a change, அது. So, but definite-லி it is wrong. I think, இப்பம் அடுத்த generation they are slightly realising that. So I think எல்லாருமே நம்ம ஒண்ணு சேந்து, இதுக்காக குறிப்பா ஜெபம் பண்ணோன்னா, என்னுடைய இது என்னன்னா, definite-ஆ அது கொஞ்சம் நல்லா மாறும். Especially Christian families வந்து இன்னும் கொஞ்சம் ஊக்கமா இந்தக் காரியங்களுக்காக நம்ம ன், இது பண்ணினாண்டு நெனைக்கிறேன். ஆனா அது நான் சொன்ன மாதிரி, circumstances அந்த இது, இப்பம் girls-க்கு age ஆயிரும், அல்லது அந்த மாதிரி பயத்தினாலதான் dowry system இன்னும் exist ஆகுது.

11. Mariam – D11, குடுக்கக் கூடாதுதான். ஆனாலும் இப்பம் நீங்க சொன்ன மாதிரி ஒரு business – அதான் இருக்குது இப்பம் அது. அது அப்படியே அதுவும் ஒரு கலாச்சாரமாவே அப்படியே வந்திரிச்சு. ஆனா தவறு. Bible பிரகாரமா அது குடுப்பது அது தவறு.

12. Udhaya – D12, Dowry (laughs) .... தப்பு .... அது சரி, but (laughs) .. இங்க அது ஒரு culture ஆவே போயிருச்சு (laughs) .... (laughs) அது சரி, தப்பு தான். but, மாறணும் (laughs) எல்லாரும் (laughs).

13. Flora – D13, Dowry வந்து குடுக்கிறதும் வாங்கிறதும் தப்பு. ஆனா தன் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு அவங்க அன்பளிப்பா குடுக்கிறதைப் பெற்றுக்கலாம், வாங்கலாம். ஆனா, dowry-ன்னு அவங்களை force பண்ணுது தப்பு.

14. Tiny – D14, Dowry வாங்குறது தப்பு தான். ஆனா அது அப்படி .... வியாபாரப் பொருளை நெனைக்கிறோம்னா. ஆட்கள் அப்படி practice-ஆ வந்திருச்சு. அப்படி இல்லை. பெண்களுக்கு ஒண்ணும் கெடையாது. செய்ற மாதிரி தான் dowry, நகையெல்லாம் தாங்களனு சொல்றாங்க. அப்புறம் இப்பம் education வந்த பெறகு, இப்பம் பெண்களுக்கும் right இருக்கு, வந்திட்டு ஆனா இந்த dowry வாங்குறது வந்து செல எடங்கன்ல பார்த்தா right-ஆ தெரியுது. ஒரு கறுப்பா இருக்கிற பிள்ளைக்கு கொஞ்சம் dowry குடுத்தாதான் கலியாணம் ஆகுது. (laughs) .... ஆனா அந்த family நல்லா தான் இருக்கிறாங்க, கலியாணம் பண்ண பெறகு அந்தப் பிள்ளையை நல்லா வச்சிக்கிறாங்கல்ல. So, அந்தப் பிள்ளை விடுபட்டுப் போகாம அந்த ஒரு குடும்பத்தில ஒரு பிள்ளை கறுப்பா இருக்குது. என்ன பண்ணது, கொஞ்சம் கூடதான் குடுத்து கல்யாணம் பண்ணி வைக்க வேண்டியதிருக்குது. So, அந்த மாதிரி பாக்கும் போது dowry இது. பொதுவா அது இயற்கையா பையன்களும் families-உம் கொஞ்சம் ம், ம், dowry வாங்கக் கூடாதுன்னு வந்தாங்களன்னா, நல்லா இருக்கும். ஆனா இந்த ஒரு disadvantages இருக்கு. கறுத்த பிள்ளைங்களை ஒருத்தரும் அவ்வளவா. பொதுவா . ... அப்படியே, (laughs). கறுத்த மாப்பிள்ளைகள் கறுப்பா இருந்தா (laughing) ஒருத்தரும் reject பண்ண மாட்டேன்றாங்க. பொண்ணுதன், செவப்பா வேணும்றாங்க. கறுப்பா இருந்தா கறுப்புறாங்க. ... அந்த younger generation வரணும். ... Younger generation கொஞ்சம் வந்திச்சின்னா, கொஞ்சம் வீட்ல கொஞ்சம் ஒரு discussion வரும். கொஞ்சம் விட்டுக் குடுப்பாங்க. பையனுக்காக அதினால கொஞ்சம் ஒரு வந்திச்சின்னா நல்லது .... dowry குடுக்கிறது தப்பு. அப்புறம் கறுப்பா இருக்கிற, ஒரு weak point is கறுப்பா இருக்கிற பிள்ளைங்களெல்லாம் நின்னு போகுமில்ல... ன் .... பையன் ரொம்ப சம்பாதிக்கிறான்.

15. Gem – D15, dowry எல்லாராலையும் குடுக்க முடியாது. ன், ஆனா, அதை கண்டிப்பா பெண்கள் வீட்ல குடுக்கணுன்னு சொல்லும் போது, இப்பம், என் கல்யாணமெல்லாம் நடத்தும் போது, எங்க அம்மா ரொம்ப கஷ்டப்பட்டாங்க, வயலையே வித்து தான் dowry குடுக்கணுன்னு வச்சிருந்தாங்க. அதிலையு மத்த வீட்டு செலவு எடுத்திட்டு, திருப்பி, அதைக் கஷ்டப்பட்டு வட்டிக்கு வாங்கிப் போட்டுக் குடுக்க வேண்டியதாயிருந்துது. அப்புறம் நகையெல்லாம், ம், எல்லாம் போயி, எல்லாம் ஒவ்வொரு நகையைப் பத்து நகையாப் பண்ணி, அந்தக் காலத்தில பத்து



பவுனில ஒரு சங்கிலி போட்டா, இப்பம் பத்து பவுனில ஐஞ்ச நகையாது, இரண்டு பவுனுக்கு பண்ணிரலாம். அப்படி பண்ணிப் போட வேண்டிய நிர்ப்பந்தம் ஆகுது. அப்பம் கட்டாயத்துக்கா குடுக்க வேண்டிய நெலமைன்னு வரும் போது கஷ்டப்பட்டு, இருக்கிறதையெல்லாம் போட்டு கட்டிக் குடுக்க வேண்டிய நெலமை வந்து. நான் என் மகனுக்கு நான் dowry வாங்குனான்னு விரும்பலை. Dowry இவ்வளவு பவுன் நகை போடனுன்னும் நான் compel பண்ணலை. நான் வந்து ஒரே பையனா இருந்தாலும், அது எல்லாரும், இப்படி என்கிட்ட argue பண்ணிருக்காங்க, இல்லை, நம்ம caste people-ல நம்மதான் திருத்தனும். நம்ம திருத்தலைனா மற்றவங்க யாரும் வந்து திருத்த முடியாது. இந்த dowry வழக்கத்தை வந்து ஒழிக்கனும்,'ன்னு சொல்லி, நானே அதுக்கு எதிரா நெனைச்சிருக்கிறேன். அதுக்கப்புறம், ஆனா வசதி இல்லாதவங்க என்ன செய்வாங்க. கொஞ்சங் கல்யாணம் முடிக்கனுன்னும் போது, அதாவது ஒரு side பணம் போட்டாதான் கலியாணம் முடியுன்னு வரும் போது, அப்பம் அவசியம் ஏற்படுது. அப்புறம் அந்தப்பெண்களுக்கும் அந்த dowry குடுக்காம கலியாணம் பண்ணிட்டா அவங்களுக்க அதினுடைய value-வே தெரியலை. value இவ்வளவு குடுத்து, ஒரு லட்சம் குடுத்து, divorce பண்ணிட்டு வர்றாங்க. ஒண்ணும் குடுக்காமலும் அதினுடைய value தெரியாம எவ்வளவோ பேசிக் குடும்பங்களில் நடக்கிறவங்களும் இருக்கிறாங்க. அதினால நான் இதைப் பற்றி முன்னோர்கள் சில இது ஏற்படுத்தி இருக்கிறாங்க, செலகாரியங்கள் நன்மைக்காக தான் செய்திருக்கிறாங்கன்னு நெனைக்கத் தோணுது.

16. Saguna – D16, பெண்களுக்கு dowry குடுக்கிறதோ ஆண்களுக்கு dowry வாங்கிறதோ சரியானபடி தப்பு தான். ஆனா செலசமயங்களிலே ஒரு பற்றாக்குறைகளினாலே அந்தக் குடும்பங்களுடைய, அங்க குடும்பத்தில் இருக்கிற பொருளாதார நெருக்கடிகளினாலே அவங்க வந்து கட்டாயப்படுத்தலாம். மற்றவங்க குடுக்கிறதை ஏதோன்னு வாங்கிக்கிட்டா அதில தப்பில்லைன்னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன். அதை அட்ஜெஸ்ட் பண்ணி மனப்பூர்வமா அந்த ஒரு விதமான ஒரு காரியத்தை பண்ணிக்கிட்டான்,

17. Jeyavathy – D17, Dowry வாங்கிறது அவ்வளவு நல்லதில்ல அது அதுக்கு அது ஒரு வியாபாரமாதான் ஆயிருது அது. அது ஒரு ஒரு இதில் இருக்குது. அந்த dowry இல்லாம இருக்கிறதுதான் ரொம்ப நல்லது. ஏன்னா இவ்வளவு பணம் கொடுத்து அந்தப் பிள்ளையை நம்ம கலியாணம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்தோன்னு சிலபேர் பெருமையா சொல்லுவாங்க. இவ்வளவு குடுத்தேன், இவ்வளவு பவுன் போட்டேன், இவ்வளவு நகையைப் போட்டேன், 50 சவரன் போட்டேன், 100 சவரன் போட்டேன்னு சொல்லிட்டு நான் சில குடும்பத்தில் நான் பாத்திருக்கிறேன் நானு. பெருமையா அவங்க சொல்லிக்கிறதை நம்ம பாக்கிறோம். ஆனா இந்த விதமா இல்லாத பிரகாரம், அப்படியே குடும்பத்தில் இல்லாம இருக்கும் போது அந்தப் பெண் ஒரு நல்ல, நல்ல ஒரு பெண்ணா இருக்கிறதினால அதை வந்து கலியாணம் பன்றதில் ஒரு ஒரு ஏனா அந்தப்பிள்ளை வந்து நல்ல பிள்ளையா, ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளையா, ஆண்டவருக்கேற்ற ஒரு பிள்ளையா, ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளையா, ஆண்டவருக்கேற்ற ஒரு பிள்ளையா குடும்பத்துக்கு ஒரு ஏற்ற பிள்ளையான்னு அவங்க கவனிக்கனும் அதை. அது முக்கியமா அதை கவனிக்கனும். இது பணத்தை மொதல்ல ஸ்தானத்தில் அவங்க வச்சாங்கன்னா குடும்பத்தில் ஒரு சமாதானமோ ஒரு இதுவோ நிச்சயமா போயிடும். ஏன்னா அந்த பிள்ளை எப்பேர்ப்பட்ட பிள்ளையா தேவனுக்காக உழைக்கும் பிள்ளையா, அது அமைதியான பிள்ளையா, நல்ல கீழ்ப்படித்துலுள்ள பிள்ளையா, இதெல்லாம் பார்த்து அவங்க செய்றது ரொம்ப நல்ல. குடும்பத்திலயும் அது ஒரு நல்ல சந்தோஷத்தையும் சமாதானத்தையும் எல்லாரோடையும் adjust பன்றதிலையும் நல்ல இது.

18. Jeyavathy – D 18, எனக்குத் தெரிஞ்ச ஒரு பிள்ளைக்கு அப்படிதான் நாடார் ஞ்டுண்ணாடு தான் அவ. ம், சொல்லாமல்ல ஜாதி பற்றி தப்பில்லையா. சரி. அப்பா கெடையாது. அவங்க அப்பா இருக்கிறாரு. ஆனா யாரோ இன்னொரு பெண்ணை வச்சிட்டு இருக்கிறாரு போல அவர் போயி வீட்டுக்கு அந்தப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு connection-ஏ கெடையாது அவங்க தாயார் எவ்வளவோ கஷ்டப்பட்டு அந்த பிள்ளைகளை படிக்க வச்ச அந்தப் பிள்ளையை நல்ல ஒரு graduate ஆக்கி நல்ல ஒரு வேலையில் இருக்கிறா நல்ல வேலையில் இருக்கிறா. ம், அவ்வளவு நல்லா, fair ஆக வும் நல்லா அழகாகவும் இருப்பா, இருக்கு. அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்குப் பாருங்க ஒரு எடத்தில் நான் கேட்டேன், இது பண்ணும் பொழுது, என்ன சொல்லிட்டாங்க, இது, வந்து பார்த்து எல்லாம் இது பண்ணி, செஞ்சிட்டு நல்ல பிள்ளை, நல்ல வேலையில் வேற இருக்கிறா, இதுக்கு நல்ல அழகாவும் இருக்கிறா, நல்லா இருக்கிறான்னு சொல்லிட்டு, என்ன dowry குடுக்க முடியும் ? ஒரு, அந்த அம்மா அவ்ளோ வருத்தமா வந்து பேசினாங்க. ஒவ்வொரு எடத்திலையும் பாருங்க, என் பிள்ளைக்கு வந்து dowry குடுக்க முடியுமா. எனக்கு ஒரு land ஒன்னு இருக்குது வெளியில். அது வேணா நான் வித்து, என் பிள்ளைக்கு நான் வந்து குடுக்க முடியும். எவ்வளவு ஒரு பரிதாபத்தோட அவங்க சொன்னாங்க. என்னா ஒரு 50,000 அப்படித்தான் குடுக்க முடியும். அதுக்கு மேல என்னால எதுவும் செய்ய முடியாதுன்னு. அந்த dowry-யதனா அவங்க வந்து main-ஆ வைக்கிறாங்களே ஒழிய, பிள்ளையை உடைய, பிள்ளை எவ்வளவு அருமையான பிள்ளை, அந்தக் குடும்பத்துக்கு அது வந்துச்சுன்னா, அது, எவ்வளவு ஒரு ஆசீர்வாதமா இருக்குன்னு. அதை அவங்க வந்து நெனைக்கிறதே, அதை மாட்டேன்றாங்க. அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்கு dowry-ஏ வாங்காம நல்ல ஒரு படிச்சமாப்பிள்ளை, என்னா ஆண்டவருடைய பாதத்தில் வைக்கனும் நம்ம, வைக்கும்போது நம்ம, 'ஆண்டவரே, நானும் இவ்விதமா இருக்கிறேன். தேவனே', அந்தப்பிள்ளை கண்டிப்பா வந்து ஜெபிக்கனும். அந்தப் பிள்ளை வந்து ஜெபிக்கும்போது தேவன் நிச்சயம்.

19. Jeyavathy – D 19, என்னுடைய வாழ்க்கையிலும். அந்த மாதிரிதான் நடந்துச்சு. நானும், எனக்கு 29 வயசு ஆயி ருச்சு. எனக்கு கல்யாணம் ஆகும்போது. எனக்கு கல்யாணம் ஆகும்போது 29 வயசு. எங்க அப்பா ரொம்ப

worried—ஆ இருந்தாரு. இந்தப் பிள்ளைக்கு வற்றதெல்லாம் அப்படியே, எதோ, இதைத் தள்ளிக்கிட்டேபோகுதே. அப்படி என்னு சொல்லிட்டு ரொம்ப வருத்தத்தத்தோட இருந்தாங்க. அந்த ஒரு இதிலேயே திடீர்னு அப்பாவுக்கு heart attack வந்து எறந்திட்டாரு அவரு. அவரு எறந்த பிற்பாடுதான் எனக்குக்கலியாணம். அப்ப நான் ரொம்ப ஊக்கத்தோடு நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணினேன். அப்பம் ஒரு ஊழியக்காரர் எனக்கு ஜெபம் பண்ணும்போது, நீங்க மாப்பிள்ளையை தேடிக்கிட்டு போக அவசியமே இல்லை. மாப்பிள்ளை ஒங்களை தேடிக்கிட்டு வரும். அப்படி'ன்னு சொன்னாரு. அப்பம் நானு ஆண்டவரிடத்தில் நான் சொன்னேன். ஆண்டவரே, நான் ஒரு graduate—ஆ இருக்கிறதினால. எனக்கு ஒரு graduate. எங்க வீட்ல அவ்வளவு ஒரு income கெடையாது. எனக்கு எங்க அப்பா எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு சம்பாதிச்சாரோ, அவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவையும் நஷ்டப்படுத்திட்டாரு. அத்தனையும் பல விதத்தில் எப்படி எப்படியோ குடுத்து. அந்த, எந்த விதமான வரும்படியும் இல்லை. ஒண்ணுமே எதுவும் கேக்காத மாப்பிள்ளையா எனக்கு ஆண்டவர் குடுக்கணுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு. இரட்சிக்கப்பட்ட பிள்ளையா, நானும் ஆண்டவருடைய ஊழியத்தில் இருக்கிறேன். ஊழியம் செய்ற ஒரு மகனாக எனக்குக்குடுக்கணும். ஆண்டவரேன்னு சொல்லிட்டு நானு ஆண்டவரிடத்தில், நானு ரொம்ப நானு ஜெபம் பண்ணேன். ஒரு நாள் fasting இருந்து கூட செல சமயம் நான் ஜெபம் பண்ணிருக்கிறேன். அதே மாதிரி தேவன் எனக்குக் கொடுத்தார். எல்லா விதத்திலும் உயர்வாக, நல்லா படிச்ச மாப்பிள்ளை M.B.B.S. படிச்சமாப்பிள்ளை அப்புறம் தேவன் வந்து யாருக்குமே, cousins-க்கு கூட அந்த மாதிரி இல்லை. எனக்கு அவ்விதமா ஒண்ணுமே, எல்லா செலவையும் அவங்களே எடுத்துக்கிட்டாங்க, எல்லா செலவும், ஒரு சாப்பாடு செலவு முதற்கொண்டு, ஒண்ணுமே இப்ப எங்ககிட்ட எதுவுமே கேக்கவும் இல்ல, கேக்கவே இல்லை. எல்லாம் அவங்களே இது பண்ணி, எல்லாம் செஞ்சு, ஏனா அவங்க வந்து பாதாங்க அவங்க, வந்து பாக்கும்போது, எல்லா விதத்தில் ஊழியத்தில், ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளையா, தேவனுக்கு மகிமையை எல்லாவற்றிலையும் இருக்கிறதை அவங்க பாத்து, அவங்க வேற ஒண்ணும் பாக்கல, அவங்களுக்கு பெண் இருந்தா போதுன்ற அந்த ஒரே ஒரு நோக்கத்தோட அவங்களும் எல்லாத்திலும் செல, செலவு பண்ணி அவங்க கலியாணம் பண்ணாங்க. அவ்விதமா என்னுடைய கலியாணம் நடந்துச்சு. ஆண்டவரை நம்பி இருக்கிற பிள்ளைகளை ஒரு நாளும் அவர் கைவிடறதில்லை. எத்தனையோ நான் செய்றது. நெறைய பேருடைய சாட்சியை நான் கேட்டிருக்கிறேன். அவ்விதமாக தேவனிடத்தில் நம்ம கேக்கும் போது, இவ்விதமா, ஆண்டவரே, ஒரு தரம் ஒரு ஊழியக்காரர் சொன்னாரு, 'நீங்க இன்னும் வந்து, என்னென்ன ஒரு பத்து points', நான், எனக்கு graduate மாப்பிள்ளை வேணுன்னு, எனக்கு இப்படி இதை இருக்கணுன்னு, இவ்வளவு உத்தியோகத்தில் சம்பாதிக்கணும், இந்த மாதிரி இருக்கணும்', இப்படிச் சொல்லிட்டு, ஒரு பத்து point ', அதை வெச்சு வெச்சு, வெச்சு, வெச்சு ஜெபம் பண்ணுங்க. தெனம் ஜெபம் பண்ணுங்க. நிச்சயமா அதே மாதிரியா மாப்பிள்ளையா ஒங்களுக்குக் கண்டிப்பா வந்து கொடுப்பாரு அப்படி', அப்படிச் சொல்லிட்டு அவர் challenge பண்ணிட்டு அவரு வந்து பேசினாரு. அதைக் கேக்கும் போதே, அந்த வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கெல்லாம் நிச்சயமா அது ஒரு இதை இருந்திருக்கும். அந்த விதமா நம்ம விடாம வந்து ஜெபிக்கும் போது, நம்பளுக்கு நல்ல ஒரு இதை, நமக்கு ஏற்ற கணவரா நிச்சயமா.

20. Ranjithamani – D20, Dowry ன்னா இப்பம் நான் என் மகளை கெட்டிக் குடுத்திருக்கிறேன்லையா? .... Dowry குடுக்கிறதைப் பற்றி நான், இப்பம் நான் என் மகளைக் கெட்டிக் குடுக்கும் போது, நாங்களே மொதலாவதே சொல்லிட்டோம். எப்படின்னா, அவங்க எவ்வளவு குடுப்பீங்கன்னு அவங்க கேக்கவும் இல்லை. எவ்வளவு குடுப்பீங்கன்னு கேக்கவும் இல்லை. (Chuckles) மொதல்லையே, என் மகளுக்கு 'அறுபது பவுன் போடுவோம், அறுபதாயிரம் கையில ரொக்கம் தருவோம்'. அப்படின்னு ன்னோம். ஆனா எங்களால ஐம்பதுதான் குடுக்க முடிஞ்சிது. அந்த நேரம் ரொம்ப சிக்கல்லதான் இருந்தது, செலவு அதிகமா இருந்ததினால ஐம்பது போட்டுட்டு பெறகு அடுத்த நாளே சொல்லிட்டோம். 'இப்படி கம்மியா போட்டிருக்கிறோம். பெறகு மீதி போடும் போது அதைப் பண்ணி போடுவோம்'. ன், குடுக்கிறணதின்னாயிக்கு, இவ்வளவு தான் கட்டாயப்படுத்தி, அவங்களுக்கு குடுக்கணுன்னு எனக்கு எண்ணமில்லை. ஏன்னா, நாம பிள்ளைக்கு ஒரு அன்பா, அந்தப் பிள்ளை இனி அது ஒரு வேற, நம்ம பெறந்த வீட்ல இருந்து, இன்னொரு வீட்டுக்குப் போகுது. அப்பம் நம்ம அன்பா நம்ம பிள்ளைக்கு dowry யதான், dowry நம்ம அன்பா செய்றோம். நகையும் குடுக்கிறோம். அதுக்கு மேல கூட இன்னுங்கூட நம்ம பிள்ளைகளுக்குச் செய்யலாம். பெண்பிள்ளைகளுக்கு, அப்படின்னு தான் (chuckles) என்னுடைய .... பையன்களை வச்சிருக்கிறவங்கன்ல இதுவரைக்கு என் மகன் விஷயத்தில் (Chuckles) எத்தனை பேரோ நீங்க எப்படி கேப்பீங்க, எப்படி கேப்பீங்கன்னு கேட்டிருக்கிறாங்க பாத்தவங்க. நாங்க சொன்னது, 'பிள்ளை எங்க கிட்ட நல்லா இருக்கணும். ன், ன், அதுக்கப்புறம் நாங்க அப்படியெல்லாம் ரொம்ப வேணுன்னுமில்லை, பிள்ளை ஓரளவு சொல்லியிருக்க, நல்லாயிருக்கணும், கொஞ்சம், அந்த மாதிரி தான் இதுவரைக்கு சொல்லிக்கிட்டு வந்திருக்கிறோம். ன், ன், அதுக்காக, ன், நம்முடைய இதில இருந்து இந்த ஒரு ரொம்ப மட்டமா எடங்கன்ல இருந்து வரும் போது 'அது முடியாது அப்படி எங்களுக்கு வேண்டா'ன்னு' சொல்லிருக்கிறோம். அது உள்ளதைச் சொல்லணுன்னல. ரொம்ப 'பத்து பவுன், இருபது பவுன் தான் போடுவேன்' ன்னா (chuckles) இவன் கேக்கிறான். 'அந்த மாதிரி வீடு எப்படி, நம்ம வீட்ல ஒரு கால்பாக அளவாது இருக்க வேண்டாமா... வீட்டுக்குப் போக முடியுமா, இருக்க முடியுமா, இது எப்படின்னு அவன் சொல்றது அந்த மாதிரி ஆனா, கட்டாயம் நமக்கு நெறையா அவங்க தானுன்றது இல்லை. என்ன?

#### Section four. Narratives about Widowhood (W):

1. Udhaya – W(Widowhood)1, அப்புறம் widowhood நம்முடைய culture-ல வந்து Hindu இது .... இங்க அது sure-ஆ கெடையாது. அப்படிப் பண்ணக் கூடாது. பரவாயில்லை actual ஆ .... Help பண்ணலாம் .... ம், correct-உ, ம்



செய்யணும், help பண்ணணும். அந்த மாதிரி people-க்காக நம்ம, கண்டிப்பா நம்மால முடிஞ்சா, moreover போய் visit பண்ணா அவங்களுக்கு கொஞ்சம் நல்லா இருக்கும்.

2. Jeyavathy – W2, அது வந்து அந்த ஒரு பெண்ணுடைய நெலமையைப் பொறுத்து தான் ஆயிருது. ஏனா இப்ப ஏதோ எத்தனையோ, எனக்குத் தெரிஞ்ச எங்க வீட்டு பக்கத்தில் ஒண்ணு இருக்குது. பாவம் ரொம்ப ஏழையான குடும்பம், husband எறந்திட்டதினால. எல்லாம் young தான் மூணு பிள்ளைங்க. அந்த மூணு பிள்ளைங்களும் பாருங்க அவ்வளவு அழகா படிக்கும். ம், அந்த இரண்டு பிள்ளைங்களும் first mark வாங்குவாங்க class-ல ம், ம், அதுக்குரிய பணம் கெடையாது, ஒண்ணும் கெடையாது. ஆண்டவர் தான், நல்ல பள்ளிக் கூடத்தில் அவ படிக்கிறா. படிக்கிறான்னா அந்த credit ல, அந்த நல்ல merit ல அவளுக்கு வந்து எடம் கெடச்சிருச்சு அந்த எடத்தில். அந்த இதில இது பண்ணி அவ படிச்சிட்டிருக்கிறா. நல்ல class ல எந்நாளும் first தான் அவ வாங்குறா பாருங்க. இவ்வளவு வறுமையில் அவங்க கஷ்டத்தில் இருக்கிறாங்க. தெனம் ஒரு நேரம் பட்டினில தான் இருக்கிறாங்க. ஒரு பட்டினி. மத்தியான நேரத்தில் சாப்பாடிருக்காது சரியா. இராத்திரி, இதிலிராத்திரி ஒரு நேரந்தான். அவங்களுக்கு சாப்பாடு. இதெல்லாம் கொஞ்சம் சபையில் இருக்கிறவங்க, சபையின் மக்களோ அல்லது சபையில் இருக்கிறவங்க கரிசனை உள்ளவங்க, இவங்களுக்காக கொஞ்சம் ஒதவி செய்றது, இது பண்றது இருந்தா நல்லது. அவங்களுடைய மாமாதான் கொஞ்சம் அப்பப்பம் கொஞ்சம் ஒதவி செய்றாரு. அந்த மாதிரி செய்ற ஒதவியை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளுது நல்லது தான். அந்தக் பெண்ணு, ஏன்னா குடும்பத்தினுடைய வருவாயைப் பொறுத்து ஏன்னா பிள்ளைகளை manage பண்ணணும் பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு fees கட்டணும் அவங்களுக்கு உரியதெல்லாம் செய்யணும். உடுப்பு குடுக்கணும். எல்லாவிதமான இதுவும் இருக்கு, பிரச்சனைகள், அவற்றிற்கொல்லாம் ஆண்களும் அவங்க குடும்பத்தில் இருக்கிறவங்க யாராவது உதவி செய்தாலும் பரவாலை, சபையில் அதை கொஞ்சம் எடுத்து அவங்க செய்தாங்களன்னா இன்னும் இதாவும் இருக்கும். இது தான் என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம்.

3. Saral – W3, Widow - widowக்கும், my, அதான் சொன்னா மாதிரி நம்ம ரொம்ப அந்த suppression இல்லை widow-க்கு. But அவங்க வந்து helpless-ஆ இருக்கிற, என்னன்னா அவங்க வேலைக்கும் போகாதவங்களா, ஒரு வேளை husband தான் வேலைக்கும் போய் அந்த சம்பாதிச்சி, அந்தக் குடும்பத்தைக் காப்பாற்றிற்று இருந்தாருன்னா, கண்டிப்பா widow வந்து ரொம்ப கஷ்டம். அது கண்டிப்பா நம்ம church மூலமோ individual-ஆ நம்ம கொஞ்சம் help பண்ணலாம், பண்ணணும். அடுத்த.. . அப்படின்னா என்ன, நம்ம direct-ஆ அவங்களை வச்சி அப்படி இல்லை. அவங்களுக்கு இருக்கிற, ஏதோ வேலைக்கு சிபாரிசு பண்ணலாம், நம்ம பெரிய post -ல இருந்தா. வேலை வாங்கிக் குடுக்கலாம். இல்லன்னா, அவங்க பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு நம்ம படிப்புக்கு நம்ம ஒதவி செய்யலாம், அப்படிதான். நம்ம

4. Jeyam – W4, அவனுக்கு நேரம் வரும் போது ஆண்டவர், ஆண்டவர் பெறக்கும் போதே குறிச்சிராரு இன்னன்ன ஆளுங்களுக்கு இன்னன்ன நேரம். ஆண்டவருடைய, அதுதான் என்னுடைய நம்பிக்கை. குறிக்கப்பட்ட நேரம் வரும் போது அவனை எடுத்திருக்காரு, அதினால அவனை நம்ம வந்து வெறுத்து தள்ளவே கூடாது. இன்னனைக்கு அவங்களுக்கு அந்த நெலமையன்னா நாளைக்கு நமக்கு அதே நெலமை. அதினால நம்ம அதில நம்மனைப் போல நம்ம மேல நமக்கு எப்படி ஒரு பரிதாபமோ இதுவும் இருக்கோ அதே இது, அந்த அந்த நோக்கத்தில்தான் அந்த, அந்தக் கண்ணோட்டத்தில்தான் நம்ம வந்து அந்த விதவையையும் நம்ம பாக்கணும். அவங்க பிள்ளைங்க இருந்தா கணவன் இல்லாம எத்தனையோ விதங்களினால கஷ்டப்படுவாங்க. பணக்கஷ்டம் வரும், பிள்ளைங்களை வளக்கிற விதத்திலே கஷ்டம் வரலாம், பிள்ளைங்களுடைய வேதனையான பேச்சினால கஷ்டப்படலாம், இல்லை, நெறைய வகையில் அவங்களுக்கு. ஒரு கணவன் கூட இருந்து எத்தனை ஒதவி செய்யணுமோ அதெல்லாம் அவங்களுக்கு போயிரும். அதினால நம்ம அவங்களுக்கு உதவி செஞ்சு அவங்களை அந்த கணவன் இல்லாத கஷ்டத்தை அவங்க நெனைக்காம இருக்கிற அளவுக்கு அவங்களுக்கு எவ்வளவு help பண்ண முடியுமோ அதை நாம் பண்ணணுமே ஒழிய, அவங்களை திருப்பி, நீ என்ன பாவம் செஞ்சையோ ஒன் கணவனை நீ எழுந்திட்ட அப்படியெல்லாம் நெனைச்சி, அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் வேதனைப்படுத்தக் கூடாது. அவங்களைத் தள்ளவும் கூடாது. வெறுக்கவும் கூடாது. எல்லா விதத்திலையும் விதவையகளை வந்து எதிர வரக்கூட சம்மதிக்க மாட்டாங்க அநேக எடங்கள்ல. இப்பம் வேலைக்குப் போகன்னா, இல்லைன்னா ஏதோ நல்ல காரியத்துக்கு போறாங்க, எதிர ஒரு விதவை வந்திட்டா ஒடனே ஒதுங்குவாங்க. அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் நான் பாத்திருக்கிறேன். கேள்வியும் பட்டிருக்கிறேன் என்னுடைய சின்ன வயசில. அது வந்து தவறு அப்படின்றது அப்பம் எனக்குத் தெரியாது. But இப்ப நெனைச்சுப் பாத்தேன்னா அது தவறு, நிச்சயமா தவறு. அவங்களை வெறுக்கவும் கூடாது, ஒதுக்கித் தள்ளவும் கூடாது. எவ்வளவு help பண்ணணும். ஒனக்கு help பண்ண முடியாட்டா நீ ஒதுங்கிக்கணும்.

5. Bina – W5, ம், widowhood அது நம்ம சொல்ற மாதிரி, Christianity-ல அது ஒரு speciality. Definite-ஆ மற்ற religions இதில இருக்கிற people-க்கே அது தெரியும். நம்ப வந்து அதை ஒரு mind பண்றதே கெடையாது. எனக்குத் தெரிஞ்ச. வேற சிலரெல்லாம் அதுல்ல வச்சிருப்பாங்களோ இல்லையோ, நம்ப இதில்ல எல்லாம் equal-ஆதான் அவங்களை எல்லாம் பண்ணோம். எல்லா நல்ல காரியங்களையும் அவங்க பங்கெடுத்துக்கதான் செய்றாங்க. In fact அவங்க தான் இன்னுங் கொஞ்சம் more they can serve God. ஏன்னா இன்னுங் கொஞ்சங்கூட, கணவன் அந்த restrictions எல்லாம் இல்லாததுனாலகூட, அவங்க அந்த ஆண்டவருடைய ஊழியத்தில் ஈடுபட முடியாது. அதினால it's not a stigma at all. அப்பம் அவங்க not handicapped at all அதினால, என்ன ஒண்ணு குடும்பத்தை நடத்துறது கொஞ்சம் widow-ன்னா அவங்களே எல்லாம் பாக்கணும். அது எங்க, இப்ப எனக்கு கூட, (laughs) அதே

நெலமைதான். (laughs) எல்லாமே நான்தான் பாக்கிற மாதிரிதான் (laughs) அதினால widow-வா இருந்துதான் பார்த்தோம், அப்படி நெலமையில் வைக்கணும்றது இல்லை. கடவுள் எந்தெந்த நெலமையில் நம்மை வைக்கிறாரோ, அந்த நெலமையில் நம்மை நடத்த தெரியணும், அவ்வளவுதான். அது எல்லாமே நான் தான் பாக்கிறேன். அதே மாதிரிதான் அவங்களுக்கும். கஷ்டம். ஏன்னா கொஞ்சம் husband இருந்து share பண்ணும்போது, கொஞ்சம் easy. எல்லா financial, மற்ற காரியங்கள், வெளி வேலைகள், tax reduction எல்லாம் பின்னால் போய் நம்பதான் போய் குடுத்திட்டிருக்கணும், நம்பதான் பண்ணணும், bank எதுன்னாலும் நம்ப, எல்லாத்தையும் நம்பனே பாக்க வேண்டியதிருக்கில்லை. அது, இதெல்லாம் அதே மாதிரிதான். widow-னாலும் வீட்டு complete administration-னும் பாக்க வேண்டியதிருக்குது. அதும் சம்பாதிக்காத lady-ஆ இருந்துதுன்னா ரொம்ப கஷ்டம், ஆனா அப்படிப்பட்டவர்களுக்குத்தான். நம்ப Christians வந்து நம்ம ரொம்ப help பண்ணணும்-ன்னு அப்படி. ஏன்னா பழைய ஏற்பாட்டில் இருந்தே ரொம்ப stress பண்றது திக்கற்றவர்களையும் விதவைகளையும் விசாரிக்கிறவரும் அந்த மாதிரி இதை இருக்கிறதுன்றது நெறையா, ஆண்டவருக்கு உகந்தது-ன்றது வரும்போது அது ரொம்ப stress பண்றார். அவங்களை வந்து நம்ப மூலமத்தான் ஆண்டவர் அவங்களை கவனிக்கிறார். அதினால நம்ப எல்லாம் கொஞ்சம் வேண்டிய உதவிகளை செய்றது.

6. Mariam – W6, ஆமா, நம்மளுடைய Christianity வந்து அது கெடையாது தான். நம்ம வேதத்தில வந்து ஆண்டவரே விதவைகளை கனம் பண்ணணும் அப்படியெல்லாம் பவுலே நெறையா advise எல்லாம் பண்ணிருக்கிறார். உத்தம விதவைகளை சேத்துக் கொள்ளணும். அதினால நம்ம Bible-ஆ வந்து அதை இயேசுக் கிறிஸ்துவின் காலத்திற்குப் பெறகு அதை நல்லா மரியாதை குடுக்கப்பட்டபடியினால நம்ம இதில அப்படி கெடையாது. ஒரு வேளை அப்படி இருக்கிறாங்கன்னா சிலர் வந்து அந்த orthodox family-ல வந்ததினால அவங்களா மாறிக்க கொஞ்சம் கஷ்டப்படுவாங்க. நெறையா முன்னேற்றம் இதில இருக்கு. கட்டாயம் வந்து இப்படிப் பட்டவங்க வந்து நம்ம சபையில் வந்து கட்டாயமா அவங்களை இது பண்ணணும். சேத்துக்கணும், அவங்களுக்கு இது பண்ணணும்.

7. Lovely – W7, Widow இப்பம் வந்து நீங்க Bible-லையே பார்த்தீங்கன்னா கடவுள் வந்து widow-க்காக எவ்வளவோ apostles எல்லாம் இருக்கும் போது அவங்களுக்காக தனி ஒரு , அதுக்காக ஒரு section-ஐ form பண்ணி அவங்களுடைய தேவைகளை சந்திக்கிறதுக்கெல்லாம் ஏற்படுத்தி படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கிது. அதினால நம்மளும் definite-ஆ அவங்களுக்கு வந்து ஒரு additional கரிசன நம்மகுடுக்கணும். இப்பம் அந்தக் குடும்பத்தின் தலைவர் ஒரு இல்லைன்ற போது அந்த, ன், extra care and concern வந்து அவங்களுக்கு definite-ஆ நம்ம குடுத்தாகணும்.

8. Swarna – W8, ன், விதவைகளை நம்ம கண்டிப்பா வந்து விசாரிக்கணும். அவங்க husband வந்து ஆண்டவர் ஏன் எடுத்துக்கிட்டாருன்னு நமக்கு தெரியாது. அது, அதினால எதோ நன்மை இருக்கு, அது தெரியாது. ஆனா பிள்ளைகளை வச்சிட்டு ஒரு widow கஷ்டப்படும் போது நம்ம வந்து பாத்திட்டு சும்மா இருக்கக்கூடாது. எப்படி என்னன்ன வழில் நமக்கு முடிஞ்ச வழில் நம்ம ஒதவி செய்யலாம். Church மூலமாக செய்யலாம், நமக்குத் தெரிஞ்சவங்க மூலமா அவங்க family-ல செல family-ல எல்லாரும் இருப்பாங்க, அவங்களுக்கு ஒதவி செய்ய சிலருக்கு யாருமே சிலருக்கு யாருமே இருக்க மாட்டாங்க. அப்படிப்பட்டவங்களை நம்ம வந்து எப்பயும் புறக்கணிக்கக்கூடாது. ஒதவி செய்தா, சமுதாயத்தில் அவங்க அவங்க பிள்ளைங்களல்லாம் முன்னேற கண்டிப்பா ஒதவி செய்யணும்.

9. Jeyavathy - W9, அது Brahmin-ல பயங்கரம். ... ஆமா

10. Bina – W10, இது ஒரு சாட்சி ஒரு விதத்தில். ஏனா, நம்ப இதில (several voices) இதுக்கெல்லாம் வரக்கூடாது. திருமண காரியங்களுக்கெல்லாம் வரவே கூடாது. நம்ப இதில அது மாதிரியெல்லாம் இது பண்ணறதில்லை. நல்ல காரியங்களுக்கு, ஒரு இது கூடவரக்கூடாது. ... சபைகள்ல ஒருத்தர் . . . மற்றபடி ஒரு பெரியவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க, widow இருக்கிறாங்கன்னா அவங்களுக்கு தான் முன்னின்று எல்லா காரியங்களையும் எடுத்து செய்வாங்க. ... பெரியவங்க யாராவது ஒரு நல்லதுன்னா கூட .... இல்லையே, வாசல்ல வெளில வந்தா எதிர widow வந்தா, 'போன காரியம் உருப்பட்ட மாதிரி தான்' another ன்னு வந்திருவாங்க .... ஆ என்ன? இவங்க தான் ஆயிரம் ஜோசியம் பாத்து, எப்பம் குடுப்போன்னு கட்டி வைப்பாங்க. கடைசில அவங்க ஜோசியர் தான் பொய் (chuckles) ஆயுசு

11. Tiny – W11, நம்ம இதில ஒண்ணும் ஒதுக்கிறது கெடையாது. ... நம்ம அவங்களை ஒரு மாதிரி widows-ன்னு நெனைக்கிறதில்லை. . . . . நம்ம வந்து அது widows-ன்னு ஒதுக்கிறதில்லை. நெனைக்கிறதுமில்லை. ஒரு நம்ம family members மாதிரி ஒரு வித்தியாசமும் காட்டாம அவங்களுக்கு husband இருக்கும் போது என்ன respect குடுத்தோமோ அதே respect இப்பம் குடுக்கிறோம். நம்ம ஒரு stigma ஒண்ணும். அது இப்ப Hindus வந்து widows செய்ததுனால் தான் இந்தப் பிள்ளை ஆகல, அந்தப் பிள்ளைக்கு என்ன mishap நடந்தாலும் அது அதுக்கு .... அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு.... அந்த மாதிரி ஒரு temperament .... நான் கூட ஒரு friend, எனக்கு ஒரு friend-உ உண்டு. அவகிட்ட கேட்டேன் நான். ஒரு Brahmin lady –அது கொஞ்சம். சுவிசேஷமெல்லாம் கேட்பா. அப்பம் நான் சொல்லுவேன். ன். மகன் போகும் போது யாரோ குறுக்க வந்திட்டாங்கன்னு, வந்து திருப்பி. முடிச்சிட்டு, உக்காந்துட்டு போட'ன்னு. போனபெறகு சொன்னேன், 'ஆமா, இப்பம் மகன் போறதுக்கு முந்தி. தெரியாம ஒருத்தர் வந்துட்டாங்க. அதும் ரோடல் போகும் போது on the way பாதி தூரத்தில் என்ன பண்ணுவ?' அப்படின்னு பாருங்க அவங்க widow -ன்றது தெரியல. 'இப்ப எங்க இதிலெல்லாம் நீ widow-ன்னு கண்டுபிடிச்சுக் முடியாது. இப்ப எங்கள்ல அவங்க தான் பொட்டு



வைக்கணும், இந்த day-க்கு என்னலாமோ செய்யணும். அது ஒரு difference காட்டிவந்தாங்க. நம்ம அந்த மாதிரி ஒண்ணுமே காட்டறதில்லை. So, அப்பம் என்ன என்ன பண்ணுவன்னு கேட்டேன். அதெல்லாம் ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. அப்பறம் இந்த சாஸ்திரம், timings இது. ... நான் பாக்கிறது, நேரம் பாக்கிறது train-க்கு கூட நேரம் பாக்கிறது. அப்பம் நான் கேட்டேன், அவ husband foreign எல்லாம் போவான். 'இராகு காலத்தில் பொறப்பட்டுச்சு என்ன பண்ணுவே?'ன்னு (laughs) 'அதெல்லாம் ஒண்ணும் பாக்கக் கூடாது (laughs) அதுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி' (chuckles) அப்ப முழுக்கமா பாத்தாதான் என்ன, 'நீங்க பாக்கிறீங்க, அப்பம் ஒங்களுக்கு ஒண்ணும் வரக்கூடாதுன்னுதான் பாக்கிறீங்க ஏன் பாக்கிறீங்க. நாங்க பாக்கிறதில்லை. ஆனா, எங்களுக்கு எங்களுக்கும் கஷ்டம் வருதுதான். இல்லைன்னு சொல்ல ஆண்டவருடைய கரம் எங்களைத் தாங்குது. இந்த விசுவாசம் தான் எங்களுக்கு' அப்படினே.

12. Jeyavathy – W12, Widows வந்து, அவங்களுக்கு நல்ல ஒரு, அவங்க, நல்லா சமுதாயத்தில் கலந்து நிச்சயமா ஆண்டவருடைய ஊழியத்தை நல்லா செய்யலாம். அவங்களுக்கு ஏன்னா முக்கியமா time இருக்கு அவங்களுக்கு அந்தவிதமான அவ்வளவு burden இருக்காது அவங்களுக்கு. ஏன்னா, பிள்ளைகளெல்லாம் கலியாணம் பண்ணி, ஆனா வீடில் இருக்கிற பிள்ளைங்களை கவனிக்க வேண்டியது அவங்களுடைய முக்கியமான கடமை இதான அவங்களுக்கு, நல்லா குடும்பத்துக்கும் இது இருக்கும். ஊழியத்திலையும் அதிகமா அவங்க ஈடுபட்டு, கிறிஸ்தவ சமுதாயத்தில் நம்ம தள்ளி வைக்கிறதே கெடையாது. எல்லாருமே நம்ம வந்து ஒற்றுமையா இது பண்ணி அது செய்றோம். அதே சமயத்தில் இந்துக்கள் மத்தியில் பயங்கரமான அதுவும் villages-ல ரொம்ப பயங்கரம். Widow ஆனவங்களை ஒதுக்கியே இது பண்ணிறாங்க. ரொம்ப பேர் வந்து Jesus Calls ல கண்ணீர் வடிக்கிறதை நான் பார்த்திருக்கிறேன் நான். இந்த மாதிரி widows-ஆ இருக்கிறவங்களை. அவங்களுக்காக ஜெபிக்கும் போது அப்படியே சந்தோஷமா ஆயிருது. இவ்வளவாக ஆண்டவருக்குள்ள அவங்க இருந்து, ஆண்டவருக்காக இருக்கும் போது, அவங்க ஒரு சந்தோஷத்தை அவங்க வந்து ஆண்டவரை அவங்க ஏற்றுக் கொண்டு அவங்க இருக்கிறதை நாங்க பாத்திருக்கிறோம். எத்தனையோ பேரை.

## Section Five. Narratives about single status or singleness (S):

1. Ester – S(Singleness)1, அப்படியும் இருக்கலாம். கலியாணம் பண்ணாமையும் ஆண்டவர் நம்மோட இருக்கிறார். இல்ல, அவர்ணா அதிகமா ஊழியம் செய்யலாம்.

2. Flora – S2, அது அவங்கவங்களுடைய அழைப்பைப் பொறுத்து. அதெல்லாம் தப்பில்லை.

3. Tiny – S3, ஆமா, spinsters -ஆ? அவங்களுக்கு? அவங்களுக்கு. அது அவங்க ஒரு மாதிரி, மாதிரி, அது நம்ம culture-ல அப்படி, 'இதுக்கு கல்யாணம் ஆகலை, இதுக்கு கல்யாணம் ஆகலை, இது கல்யாணம் பண்ணலை'ன்னு ஒதுக்கி வைக்கிறாங்க, கொஞ்சம் ஒரு இது. அது நம்ம அவங்களை ஒதுக்கி வைக்க கூடாது. சிலருக்கு circumstances-ஆல, சிலர் வேணுன்னு, 'எனக்கு அது வேண்டாம்' வாழ்க்கை. நான் அதற்காக spinster-ஆ இருப்பேன். கல்யாணம் எனக்கு வேண்டா'ன்னு இருக்கிறவங்க, அதுனால, அவங்கள, அது ஒண்ணும் தப்பில்லை. ஆனா, நம்ம ஒண்ணும் ஒதுக்கி வைக்கவும் கூடாது, இது . . . அவங்களை நல்லா நேசிச்சி, வயசான காலத்தில் அவங்களுக்கு எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு help பண்ண முடியுமோ, support பண்ண முடியுமோ, செய்யணும்.

4. Bina – S4, கொறைன்னு எடுத்துக்க முடியாது. நிச்சயமா. செலர் ரொம்ப feel பண்ணாங்கன்னு சொன்னா அவங்க, கலியாணம் ஆகலயே, ஆகலயேன்னு அந்த மாதிரி இருக்கிறவங்களுக்குவேண்டி அது வந்து அவங்களுக்கு ஒரு கொறையா அவங்களுமே feel பண்ணா. ஆனா நம்ம வந்து அதை 'அதுக்கு கலியாணம் ஆகலை, பார்'. அப்படினது நம்ம கொறையா பேசவே கூடாது அது மாதிரி நெனைக்கவும் கூடாது.

5. Udhaya – S5, Singleness கூட அவங்கவங்களுட mind set -ஐப் பொறுத்து. . . . அப்படியெல்லாம் கெடையாது. sure-ஆ கெடையாது. ம் . . . இல்லைல்ல . . . ம், . . . அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் கெடையாது

6. Bina – S6, Singleness. இது சிலர் வந்து விருப்பப்பட்டு கலியாணத்தில் பிரியம் இல்லைன்னு சொல்லிட்டு இருக்கிறது. it's good. பவுல் அப்போஸ்தலன் சொல்ற மாதிரி, பவுல் மாதிரி எல்லாருமே bachelor-ஆ இருந்தா spinster-ஆ இருந்தா we can serve God better அப்படின்ற மாதிரி feel பண்ணி பண்ணாம இருந்தா its the ideal position. என்னைக் கேட்டா நிச்சயமாவே அது ரொம்ப, சொன்ன மாதிரி, ரொம்ப நல்ல situation. ஆனா அது இருக்கும் போது ரொம்ப strong-ஆ இருக்கணும். அவர் சொன்ன மாதிரி, அதுக்கப்புறம் போய் weak minded-ஆ 'கலியாணம் பண்ணியிருக்கலாமோ, சீ நம்ம ஒரு குடும்பம் இல்லையே'. அதுக்கப்புறம் பிள்ளை குட்டி ஆசையா இருக்கு. இல்லை, வேறவித சபலங்களுக்கு எடங்குடுக்கிறது. இந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் இருக்கிறதா இருந்தா, கலியாணம் பண்ணிட்டு குடும்பம் நடத்திறதான் best அதான் better ஆனா கலியாணம் அந்த inclination-உம் interest-உமே இல்லாம இருக்கிறவங்க வந்து, single ஆ இருந்து கடவுளுக்கு நம்ம society-ல என்னத்தையும் ஆயிரஞ் சொல்லுவாங்க. சும்மா சட்டை பண்ண வேண்டியதில்லை. அப்படியே determined -ஆ if you can be like that for God serve பண்ண அவரே பவுலே எழுதியிருக்கிறாரு. அழகா சந்தோஷப்படுத்தலாம். குடும்பத்தை கவனிக்கலாம், அது தான் நமக்கு

ஆண்டவரை எப்படி பிரியப்படுத்தலாம், இன்னும் அவருக்காக இன்னும் எப்படிகெயல்லாம் ஊழியஞ்செய்யலாண்டு, அந்த mind வராது குடும்பத்தில் இருக்கும் போது எப்படிகும் நம்ம ஊழியம் கொறைவுதான். அது single-ஆ இருந்தா இன்னுங் கொஞ்சம் நல்லாவே ஆண்டவருக்காக செய்யலாம். ம், ஆனா, married-ஆ இருந்தது husband உம் நல்ல co-operative-ஆ இருந்து ரொம்ப நல்லாவே செய்யலாம் ஊழியம். அதினால in either way, in whichever way God uses you, you can be அதினால.

## Section Six. Narratives about single parenthood (SP):

1. Jeyavathy – SP(Single Parenthood)1, ஆமா (several voices) ... அதுவும் தப்பு தான் ... ஆமா, அதுவும் தப்பு தான். அதெல்லாம் ... ஒரு help பண்ணா கூட தப்பிதமா பேசிறாங்க.
2. Tiny – SP2, helping இதுக்குப் போனா கூட, ஒரு மாதிரி பேசிறாங்க
3. Bina – SP3, இதே same problem, அந்த male, mother இல்லாத father-னாகூட he has to different kind of ... எல்லாம் பண்ணணுன்னா கொஞ்சம் கஷ்டந்தான். எப்படியோ ஒரு நெலமையில் கர்த்தர் வைக்கும் போது வந்து சமாளிக்கிறது கஷ்டம்.
4. Lovely – SP4, Single parent-ன்னும் போது இப்பம் என்னுடைய feeling என்னன்னா இன்னும் society-ல வந்து இல், ஒரு divorcee case-ஓ அப்படியில் அந்த மாதிரி வந்து இன்னும் ஒரு matured feeling யாருக்கும் இல்லை. இப்ப, இப்ப எங்க generation கூட I feel இன்னும் செல பேர் வந்து இப்ப வந்து divorcee-ஐப் பார்த்த ஓடனே கொஞ்சம் flexible-ஆ இல்லை. அவங்க husband ஓட இல்லை அவங்க wife ஓட adjust பண்ணிட்டுப் போல, அப்படி ஒரு feeling தான் first. I am saying that is the first feeling. ஏன்னா நம்ம out, outward-ஆ நம்ம பாக்கிறோம். அவங்களுக்கு எவ்வளவோ பிரச்சினைகள் இருந்திருக்கலாம். நம்மளும் அவங்களுட அந்த position -ல இருந்திருந்தா எப்போ divorce வாங்கி. See, I'm saying இந்த மாதிரி வந்து நம்ம யோசிக்க, a second thought we don't give. So general-ஆ வந்து நீங்க divorcee-ன்னா வந்து நீங்க அவங்க தப்பு பண்ணிருக்காங்க, அதினால தான் அந்த situation வந்திருக்குன்னு சொல்ல முடியாது. Again that is very, very, we have to, my view, take it case by case. அவங்களுக்கு definite-ஆ இன்னும், ன், in fact, ... in fact, I feel, divorcee-க்கு வந்து இன்னும் நம்ம வந்து, because mental support அவங்களுக்கு வந்து இன்னும் தேவையா இருக்கும். இன்னும், என்னா, husband ஒரு வேளை இருப்பாங்க, ஆனா இன்னும் நெறையா problems அவங்களுக்கு இருக்கலாம். அதினால mental torture வந்து இன்னும் ஜாஸ்தியா இருக்கலாம். என்னுடைய servant ஒரு divorcee-ஆ இருந்தா. ஒரு eight months she was there with me. அப்பம் I was able to அந்த ஒரு இதை வந்து அவளுடைய கஷ்டங்களால் சொல்லும் போது நமக்கு in fact, ஒரு widow's-ன்னா கூட நான் அவ்வளவு ஒரு இதா affect ஆயிருக்க மாட்டேன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். But அவா சொல்லும் போது, in fact அவளுடைய baby-ஐ separate பண்ணிட்டாங்க. She had a boy baby. அவர் husband, boy-ன்றினால husband இதில் எடுத்துக்கிட்டாங்க. வளக்கிறதுக்கு, அவகிட்ட குடுக்காம. அந்த மாதிரியெல்லாம் பாக்கும் போது in fact, I think divorcees need more concern.
5. Saral – SP5, Single parenthood வந்து சொன்னா மாதிரி அவங்க ரொம்ப கஷ்டமான நமக்கு அவங்க உடைய என்னத்தினாலன்னு தெரியாம, நம்ம நெறையா பேரு என்ன பண்ணோம், மொதல்ல தப்பு சொல்றதே, அதை தான் சொல்றாங்க, யாருமே. அவ ஒழுங்கா இருந்துக்கல அப்படின்னு பையனையோ அவ ஒழுங்கா இருந்துக்கல அப்படின்னு பையனையே அதுபற்றி யாருமே கொறை சொல்ல மாட்டாங்க. So, அந்த ஓடனே நம்ம immediate-ஆ அவ பேசறது என்னன்னா, அவ சரியா இருக்கல, அவ கொழுப்பு, அதினால அது அவதான் அந்தப்படணுன்னு. But இது நமக்குத் தெரியாததுனால் நமக்கு எவ்வளவு தூரத்தில யார் மேல தப்புன்னு தெரியாததினால், நம்ம வந்து support பண்ணணுன்னு church மூலமாகவோ, இல்லைன்னா நம்ம, வேண்டிய கண்டிப்பான ஒரு சூழ்நிலையில்தான் நம்ம இருக்கிறோம்.
6. Jeyam – SP6, Single parent வந்து divorcee – ஆ இருக்கலாம். இருந்தாலும் அவங்களுக்கு ஏன் அந்த நெலமை உருவாச்சின்றதை நம்ம யாரும் சொல்ல முடியாது. ஒரு வேளை அவங்களுக்குள்ள misunderstanding னால இப்படி ஆணாங்களா, இல்லை, என்னன்னு நம்ம புரிஞ்சிக்காம தெரிஞ்சிக்காம அவங்களை வேற விதமா பேசி அவங்களை இழிவுபடுத்தவே கூடாது. ன், இருந்தாலும் அந்த அதில கூட ஒரு கடவுளுடைய சித்தமா இருக்கலாம், நீ பிரிஞ்சி வாழ்றது, வேற ஒருத்தரோட சேந்து வாழ்றது, இல்ல கடைசி வரைக்கும் தனிமையா வாழ்றது எதோ ஒரு நோக்கம் இருக்கும். அதினால நம்ம அவங்களையும் எந்த விதமான காரணத்தினாலயும் இழிவுபடுத்தாம அவங்களையும் நல்ல விதமா நடத்துறதான் நல்லது. அவங்களுக்கு advice பண்ணா, இல்ல, வேற, திருப்பி கலியாணம் பண்ணிக்கணுமன்னு idea அந்தப்பிள்ளைகளுக்கு இருந்திச்சின்னா அவங்களுக்கு advice பண்ணி அதுக்குத் தகுந்த இதைச் செய்யலாம். இல்லை நான் இப்படியே இருந்திற்றேன்னா அதுக்கேற்ற மாதிரி வழி அவங்களை நடத்துறதுக்கு என்னென்ன நல்ல காரியங்களை அவங்களுக்கு நம்ம போதிக்க முடியுமோ அதை நம்ம செய்யலாம். அந்த வகையில் அதை செய்யலாம். இல்லை அவங்களை ஏதாவது ஒரு social service-ல போறாங்க, அந்த மாதிரி இதில் அவங்களை இணைச்சி விடலாம். அடுத்து அவங்களுக்கு நல்லது அப்படின்னு படுத்து, உங்களுடைய consultation-ல அவங்களுக்கு அந்த மாதிரி உதவிகளை செய்யலாமே ஒழிய அவங்களையும் நம்ம வந்து ஒதுக்கித் தள்ளக்கூடாது.
7. Swarna – SP7, ன், ன், ன், அப்படி உள்ளவர்களுக்கும் நம்ம வந்து ஆறுதல் தான் குடுக்கணும். Divorce வந்து ஏன் பண்ணாங்கன்னு நம்ம ஆராயப் போனோன்னா சில வேளை ரெண்டு பக்கமும் தப்பிருக்கும். விஷயமே இல்லாது கூட divorce பண்ணிற்றாங்க. அது வந்து நம்ம நல்ல, நான் என்ன நெனைக்கிறேன்னா, நம்ம வந்து, ஜெபம் பண்ணறதில்தான், இது, அதாவது நெறைய இதுக்கு இப்படி படும் போது Christian family-ஐப் பிரிக்கிறதுக்கு வேண்டி பிசாசு வந்து

கிரியை செய்றான். பிசாகனுடைய இந்த மாதிரி காரியங்களை நம்ம விழுந்துவிடாம இருக்கிறதுக்கு வந்து நம்ம ஜெபம் பண்ணணும். வந்து ஆண்டவர் குடும்பத்தை எனைக்கும் போது அது பிரியன்னு நெனைச்சு எனைக்கிறதே கெடையாது. அதினால அந்த மாதிரி உள்ளவங்க நம்ம வந்து நம்ம சேர்ந்திருக்கணுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு ஜெபம் பண்ணி அவங்களை மாதிரி ஒரு வேளை அவங்களைப் பற்றி ரொம்ப தப்பா சொல்லிட்டா, இந்த மாதிரி தப்பா சொல்லாதன்னு வேணா நம்ம எடுத்துச் சொல்லி அவங்க சேர்ந்திருந்துக்கு என்ன வழி உண்டோ, மாதிரி செய்யலாம். அவங்களை உடனே புறக்கணிச்சி, இவதான் மாப்பிள்ளையைத் தள்ளிட்டு வந்தால், இவளை நம்ம சேக்க, அப்படி நம்ம நெனைக்காம், வந்து ஒதவி செய்து அவங்க சந்தோஷமா அந்தக் குடும்ப வாழ்க்கையை திருப்பியும் build up பண்ண முடியுமா, என்னா முடியுன்னு சொல்லிட்டு நான் யோசிக்கிறேன். வசனம் என்ன சொல்லுது, திறப்பானதை அடைக்கிறவனென்று நீ பெயர் பெறுவாயின்னு ஏசாயா ஜம்பதில போட்டிருக்கு. அப்பம் நம்மளுக்கு வந்து அதைச் செய்ய முடியும். ஆண்டவர் வந்து திறப்பானதில் வந்து நீ நிச்சுணும், அந்த மாதிரி எல்லா direction-லயும் நம்ம அந்த வசனங்களை எடுத்துக்கலாம். அப்பம் இரண்டு பேரு இதுபண்ணி போயிட்டான்னா நம்ம அதைச் சேத்து வைக்கிறதுக்கு அதில என்ன செய்ய முடியுமோ, ஜெபம் பண்ணலாம். அந்த மாதிரி மற்றவங்க மூலம் என்ன ஒதவி செய்யமுடியுமோ, ஒதவி செய்தா, சந்தோஷமா இருக்கிறதுக்கு நம்ம வந்து கண்டிப்பா அது ஒரு , நமக்கு முடிஞ்சது, தெரிஞ்சவங்க அதை ஒதவி செய்யணும் அவங்களுக்கு.

## Section Seven. Narratives about domestic violence (V):

1. Jeyavathy – V(Violence)1, வீட்டையா? அது அவங்கவங்க, அந்தப் பெண்களைப் பொறுத்து இருக்குதுன்னு நான் சொல்லுவேன். என்னா, எப்போதுமே பெண்கள் வந்து, ம், கொஞ்சம் வந்து நம்ம அவங்களுக்கு அந்தப் பொறுத்துப் போற ஒரு தன்மையிலலாம், நம்ம ஏதாவது நம்ம பேசும் போது, அடுத்து கோபம் வருது, ம் கோபம் வரும் போது அவங்க என்ன செய்றாங்க. ன், உடனே, வந்த அவங்க, சில கோப சில கணவன்களுக்கு அதிகமான கோபம் வரும். உடனே பக்கத்தில் என்ன இருக்கோ அதை எடுத்து அடிக்க, அடிக்க ஆரம்பிச்சிருவாங்க. அந்த ஒரு சூழ்நிலைக்கு நம்ம உண்டு பண்ணாத பிரகாரம் நம்ம வந்து எப்படி நம்ம நடக்கணுமோ அப்படி நடக்கணும். எது பிரியம் இல்லாத காரியமோ, கணவர் பிரியமில்லாத காரியமோ அது செய்யவே கூடாது. அது ரொம்ப பேர் அந்த மாதிரி, ம், அதைப் பொறுத்துக்கவே மாட்டேன்றாங்க. சில பேர் அதைப் பொறுக்காம அந்த மாதிரி குடும்பத்தில் பயங்கரமான சண்டை வருது அதில பிள்ளைகள் அதிகமாக எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு அவங்க வாய் பேசாம இருக்கிறாங்களோ அவ்வளவுக்கு ரொம்ப நல்லதுன்னுத்தான். அப்பதான குடும்பத்தில் ஒரு சமாதானமும் ஒரு சந்தோஷமும் ஏற்படும். எத்தனோ அவ்விதமா இருக்கும் போதெல்லாம் எத்தனை பெண்கள் அப்படியே எவ்வளவு பொறுமையா பொறுத்து அப்படி போறாங்க. குடிச்சிட்டு வந்து சில சமயம் அடிக்கிறது இது பண்ணது, ஆனா அதுக்கு அடுத்த நாள் காலையில் பார்க்கும் போது அவ்வளவு சந்தோஷமா இருப்பாங்க அந்தக் கணவன்மார்கள். அந்த இதெல்லாம் எந்தவிதமான ஒரு இதுவும் இல்லாத பிரகாரம். அப்படி இருக்கிற இதில பெண்ணானவள் நல்ல விதமாக அந்தக் கணவருக்காக ஜெபித்து ஒரு சமாதானத்தை உண்டு பண்ணணும், ன்னு சொல்லிட்டு, அதினால அவங்களை விட்டுப்போறதோ இது பண்ணதோ, அந்த மாதிரி செய்றது அவ்வளவு நல்லதில்லை. நம்பளக்கு குடுத்திருக்கிறது ஒரே ஒரு வாழ்க்கை தான். அந்த வாழ்க்கை அந்தக் கணவரோட இருக்கணுன்ற ஒரு இது நியதி இருக்கிறது. ஆனா எவ்வளவுக்கெவ்வளவு ஜெபம் பண்ணி நம்ம மற்ற இதுகளை சொல்லி அவரை இது பண்ணி திருத்தணுன்னு பாக்கணும்மா, இது பண்ணும் பொழுது தேவன் நிச்சயமா குடும்பத்தில் ஒரு பெரிய ஒரு சமாதானத்தையும் சந்தோஷத்தையும் கட்டளையிடுவார்.

2. Tiny – V2, domestic violence- ன்னா . . . யாரு husband அடிக்கிறதா? . . . அவங்க வீட்டுக்கு. . . . ம், அது தப்பு தான். எல்லாரோடையும் நம்ம சந்தோஷமா இதை இருக்கணும். அடிக்கிறதெல்லாம் தப்பு தான். தப்பு செய்தாலும், அடிக்கிற அளவுக்கு அவங்க என்ன சின்ன பிள்ளைங்களுக்கு ஒரு கோபப்படலாம், அதை ஆண்டவரே . . . . கண்டிக்கலாம், அந்த மாதிரி இது, அதுக்குன்னு அடிக்கிறது. இன்னும் திருத்த முடியாது. Problems தான் ஜாஸ்தியாகும், வீட்ல கொழப்பங்கதான் ஜாஸ்தியாகும். அதே மாதிரி ஒரு side parents-ஐ favour பண்ணது, relations-ஐ favour பண்ணது அடுத்தவங்களை reject பண்ணது, எல்லாரும் நமக்கு வேணும் எல்லாரோடும் நமக்கு, as a Christian we must love each others. அப்படி இருக்கும்போது நம்ம ஒரு, wife ஓட parents-ஐயோ மற்றது husband-உடைய parents-ஐயோ, அவங்களுடைய relations-ஐயோ reject பண்ணினால இது இல்லை.

## Section Eight. Narratives about response to Sex Workers (SW):

1. Udhaya – SW(Sex Work)1, அதெல்லாம் ரொம்ப தப்பு. அது தப்பு. . . . அவங்களுக்கு வேற chance, வழியே இல்லாததுனால அப்படி செய்றாங்க. . . . ம், கூட்டிட்டு . . . . ம், ஆமா, பாவம் அவங்களெல்லாம். . . . ஒதுக்கெல்லாம் தேவையில்லை. நம்ம love பண்லாம் affectionate-ஆ

2. Mariam – SW2, இந்த prostitution அதுவும் ஒரு சமயம் சிலர் திணிக்கப்பட்டாங்க. சிலர் வருமானத்துக்காக போறாங்க. ஆனா நான் என்ன சொல்றேன், எந்தப் பெண்கள் மேல நம்ம கரிசன வேணும். இயேசுக் கிறிஸ்து கூட சமாரிய ஸ்திரீ அந்த இதைப் பாக்கும் போது, ன், அப்புறம் இந்த விபச்சாரத்தில் கண்டு பிடிக்கப்பட்ட கொண்டு போகும் போதெல்லாம் அவருடைய judgement பிரகாரம் பாத்ரா அவர் எல்லாரையும் நேசிக்கிறாரு. அவங்களுடைய



முன்னேற்றத்துக்குதான் அவர் ரொம்ப பாடுபட்டார். இப்பம் அதே நம்ம என்ன நம்ம இந்த மாதிரி women-ஐ எல்லாம் அவங்க முன்னேற்றத்துக்காக பாடுபடணும் கட்டாயம்.

3. Bina – SW3, Prostitution அது ரொம்ப பரிதாபமான நெலமை. Some, some are forced into it. அவங்களையெல்லாம் ரொம்ப pity பண்ணணும். அவங்களுக்காக ஏதாது help பண்ணி அதில இருந்து வெளில வர்றதுக்கு, நம்மனால முடிஞ்ச அளவு help பண்ணி அவங்களை இது பண்ணி கொண்டு வர முடிஞ்சா நல்லது. ம், அவங்களுக்கு, ம், கடவுளுடைய இதெல்லாம் சொல்லி அவங்க, ஆணா அவங்களை வந்து நம்ம condemn பண்றது இல்லை. They are forced into it அந்த இது. Some people ஒரு மாதிரி ரொம்ப இது மாதிரி உள்ள people அவங்களா அந்த மாதிரி வழில போறாங்கன்னா. They have, they are to be blamed ஆணா அவங்களை கூட கர்த்தர இதில இருந்த, நம்ப ஆண்டவரே அவங்களை மன்னிச்சு இது பண்ணும் போது, நம்ம ஒண்ணும் கொறை சொல்றதுக்கு நம்ப ஒண்ணும் இல்லை. ஆணா அவங்க வந்து, அவங்களுக்கு chance இருக்கு. ஆண்டவரை ஏற்றுக் கொண்டு அவங்க வந்து அந்த இதை விட்டு, என்னதான் தெரிஞ்சாலும் அப்படியே வாழ்வேன்றவங்களுக்கு நம்ம ஒண்ணும் செய்ய முடியாது they are definitely to be blamed. There cannot be anything for them. அது தப்புன்னு feel பண்ணிட்டு வேற வழியில்லாம் இருக்கிறவங்க வந்து we can.... நல்ல வேற வழில எவ்வளவோ சம்பாதிச்சிட்டு இருப்பாங்க, இருந்தாலும் அந்த ஆடம்பரம், அந்த life வேண்டி அந்த மாதிரி வேலையே live பண்ற ஜனங்க எத்தனை பேரு, இங்க கூட நெறைய பேர், மொதல்ல ஒரு வேளை poverty-ல cine field-ல வந்து கொஞ்சம், சம்பாதிக்கட்டுன்னு விட்டிருப்பாங்க, அது மாதிரி ஓரளவு கொஞ்ச இதா வசதி இருக்குன்னா, அதை வச்சிட்டு பேசாம live பண்ணலாம். இருக்கமாட்டாங்க. திருப்பி cinema-ல் வந்து ஆடி, இது பண்ணி பணத்தை நெறைய சம்பாதிக்க, சம்பாதிக்கணும்றுதுக்காக இதே ரொம்ப immoral-ஆ live பண்றவங்களும் இருக்கிறாங்க. அந்த people-ஐ வந்து sympathise பண்ணமுடியாது. ஆணா அவங்களுக்கும் கடவுளை ஏற்றுக்கொள்றதுக்கும், மாறதுக்கும் chance உண்டு. அது கர்த்தரால ஆகாத காரியம் இல்லை. அப்படியும் அவங்க இது பண்ணி பண்ணா அவங்களும் மனந்திரும்பி ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளைன்னு ஆனபெறகு அவங்க past-ஐ பற்றி பேசறதுக்கு நமக்கு right-ஏ கெடையாது. ஏன்னா when God blots out one's இது நம்ப அதை dig பண்ணி எடுக்கிறதுக்கு நமக்கு right-ஏ கெடையாது எப்பவுமே. Past sins-ஐ யாரும், யாருடைய past sins-ஐயுமே நம்ப mention பண்ணவே கூடாது. நம்ம நல்லாவே தெரிஞ்சிருந்தா கூட அவங்க மனந்திரும்பி அவங்க வாழ்க்கையில் வந்து ஆண்டவருக்குள்ள ஜீவிக்கிறாங்கன்ன பெறகு.

4. Lovely – SW4, அதெல்லாம் நெஜமா definite-ஆ wrong. Prostitution is actually தப்பானது. கடவுள் பார்வையில் நம்ம Bible பிரகாரமெல்லாம் பாக்கும் போது தப்பா அந்த பாவத்தில் அவங்க விழுந்திருக்காங்கன்னு நம்ம சொல்லலாம். அதுக்காக நம்ம அவங்களை ஒதுக்கி அப்படியெல்லாம், ஏன்னா ஆண்டவரே அவங்களை மன்னிச்சு திருப்பியும் நல்ல வழில வரணுன்ற மாதிரி தான் சொல்லிருக்காரு. So, அவங்க அந்த தவறை ஒண்ணும். . . . அதான் சொல்றேன். அதுக்குன்னு அவங்களை நம்ம வந்து, தப்பான நோக்கத்தோட நம்ம பாக்கக்கூடாது அவங்களை. But நம்ம வந்து என்ன பண்ணலாம், அவங்களுக்காக ஒரு நல்ல companion, help அந்த மாதிரி பண்ணலாம்.

5. Saral – SW5, Prostitution, Christianity-ல ரொம்ப இருக்கா? அதுவே எனக்கு ரொம்ப சந்தேகந்தான். Christianity (voices interruption) அதான் அந்த மாதிரி தான் (interruption) Prostitution-ன்றதும் பாவம். May be தங்களுடைய economic பிரச்சினையினால போய் இருக்கலாம், இல்லை, family சூழ்நிலை அந்த மாதிரி இருக்கும். Parent அன்பு கெடைக்காம எப்படியோ விழுந்து எதோ அந்த மாதிரி. But, நம்ம, அவங்க திருந்தி வர்றதுக்கு chance இருக்குதுன்னு. அவங்களை feel பண்ணா நம்ம அவங்களை வெளிக்கொண்டாற்றதுக்கு try பண்ணலாம். ஏன்னா, இவ்வளவு suppose if they feel நாங்க இதில எங்களுக்கு இருக்க இஷ்டமில்ல, நாங்க வெளில வர்றோம், ஆணா எங்களுக்கு support பண்றதுக்குதான் யாருமில்ல, help பண்றதுக்கு யாருமில்லன்னு அவங்களா feel பண்ணாங்கன்னா, கண்டிப்பா நம்ம help பண்ணணும்.

6. Swarna – SW6, Prostitution வந்து அது தப்பு. நமக்கு பாத்ராவே தெரியுது. அப்படிப்பட்டவங்க யாரையாவது நம்ம பாத்ரோன்னு சொன்னா அதிலையே அவங்க வெளில வந்திர்றதுக்கு நம்ம வந்து ஒதவி செய்யலாம், அவங்களுக்காக ஜெபம் பண்ணலாம், அந்த மாதிரி வெளில வந்திட்டவங்களுக்கும் யாரையாவது தெரியுன்னு சொன்னாக்கா அவங்களுக்கு என்ன விதத்தில் நமக்கு என்ன support பண்ண முடியுமோ அவங்களை அதிலே இதுபண்ணி அவங்க வந்து normal life lead பண்றதுக்கு நம்ம வந்து ஒதவி செய்யணுமே தவிர, யாரையுமே ஆண்டவர் புறக்கணிக்கல. கண்டிப்பா ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளைகள் புறக்கணிக்கவே கூடாது யாரா இருந்தாலும். அவங்களுக்கு இது பண்ணணும்.

7. Flora – SW7, ஊஹூம் ஒதுக்கக்கூடாது. ஏன்னா இயேசு ஸ்வாமி யாரையும் ஒதுக்கலையே. ஏன்னா நீதிமான்களைவிட வேசிகளை, இவங்க தான் first பரலோகத்தில் இருப்பாங்கன்னு சொல்ல. ஏன்னா நம்ம அன்பு காட்டும் போது அவங்க அந்த பாவத்தில் இருந்து திருந்துறாங்க. வெறுத்தா இன்னும் அவங்க அந்த பாவத்திலேயே தான் இருப்பாங்க.

8. Jeyam – SW8, Prostitution அவங்க எதினால் அந்த வாழ்க்கையில் ஈடுபட்டாங்கன்றதை நம்ம மொதல்ல தெரிஞ்சுக்கணும். எத்தனை சூழ்நிலைகளின் மத்தில உள்ள வந்து தவறிப் போயிட்டதினால திருப்பி

இந்த சமுதாயத்துக்குள்ளே அவங்க ஏத்துக்கமாட்டாங்களேன்றதினால prostitution தொழில் ஈடுபடற பிள்ளைங்க உண்டு. தாய் தகப்பன் இல்லாம அந்த தொழில் ஈடுபடற பிள்ளைங்க உண்டு. பணத்துக்காக போய் ஈடுபடற பிள்ளைங்க உண்டு. So, நான் வந்து இந்த social service நடத்துறவங்க social workers கிட்ட நெறைய பேர் கிட்ட நான் பழகியிருக்கிறேன். இதில் அவங்களாலம் சொல்ற காரியம் என்னன்னா இந்த prostitution-ல ஈடுபட்ட ஒவ்வொருத்தரையும் தனித்தனியா அவங்களுடைய history-யைக் கேட்டுப் பாக்கும் போது ரொம்ப மனசு அப்படி வேதனை.

9. Tiny – SW9, ஆணா, அந்த innocent (several voices) –ஆ அவங்க போய் மாட்டிக்கிராங்க பாரு, innocent –ஆ போய் மாட்டி வந்து we can forgive. But, purpose –ஆ செய்றாங்கன்னல அது that we cannot forgive (several voices). . . . அது அவங்களுக்கு கரிசனை காட்டலாம். அது திருந்துறதுக்கு நம்ம try பண்ணலாம், இது பண்ணலாம். But அதையும் அவங்க insist பண்ணி அது செய்துட்டே இருந்தாங்கன்னா, we cannot forgive But innocent-ஆ, மாட்டி circumstances-ஆல மாட்டி இது பண்ண ஆட்களுக்கு, இது பாவம், அது நம்ம முடிஞ்சா help பண்ணணும் இல்லன்னா government-க்கு அது inform பண்ணி இது நம்ம பண்ணணும்.

10. Jeyavathy – SW10, அதாவது அவங்க அந்தந்த பிள்ளைங்களுடைய ஒரு பெற்றோர்களுடைய ஒரு வளர்ப்பு, இருக்குது அதில். அந்தப் பசங்களை இஷ்டமா, எனக்கு தெரிஞ்சு ஒரு குடும்பம் இருக்குது சொல்ல இஷ்டம் இல்லை எனக்கு. அந்தக் குடும்பத்தில் அந்த தாயாரே வந்து, முக்கியமா வந்து, அந்த, அந்தப் பெண்களை, வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகளை அந்த விபச்சாரத்தில் ஈடுபட வைக்கிறதினுடைய காரணம் வறுமை. வறுமை, கஷ்டம் அது. ஆணா, வறுமை கஷ்டம் வந்து நமக்கு வறுமையோட நம்ம இருக்கிறதை ஆண்டவர் நமக்கு விரும்புறதே கெடையாது. ஆண்டவரிடத்தில் நம்ம கேக்கும் போது நம்மை நிச்சயமா அந்த வறுமையிலிருந்து தேவன் நிச்சயமா ஒரு விடுதலை குடுப்பாரு. அதை தெரியாத எத்தனையோ பெண்கள் வந்து தன்னுடைய வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகளை இந்தத் தொழிலுக்கு வந்து ஈடுபடும் படியாக விக்கிராங்கறதை நாங்க பாத்தோம், பாக்கிறதைப் பாத்தோம். அதைப் பாக்கும்போது ரொம்ப பரிதாபமாதான், அவ்விதமாக, அந்த மாதிரி செய்யவே கூடாது. ஒரு பெற்றோர்களா இருக்கிறவங்க அது எவ்வளவு அந்தப் பெண்களை வந்து வறுமைக்குள்ளே, அந்த.... முக்கியமா அந்த சின்னப் பிள்ளைகளை அந்த Sunday class-க்கு அனுப்பும்படி நிச்சயமா செய்யணும். Sunday class-ல தான் beginning வந்து ஆண்டவரை நேசிக்கணும், தேவனை நேசிக்கணும் ன்றதை, ஒரு உள்ளம் வருது. அதே சமயத்தில் வீட்டிலையும் நம்ம ஒரு கண்டிப்பா இருக்கணும். வேதம் வாசிக்கிறாங்களா, அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்க ஜெபிக்கிறாங்களா, அவங்க ஜெபிக்கிறதற்கும் அவங்களுக்கு ஒரு தருணம் குடுக்கணும், அந்தவிதமா பல இது இருக்கும்போது, அவங்களும் அந்தப்பிள்ளைங்களும் அந்த வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகளும் இந்த வழி தவறிப் போகாத பிரகாரம் அவங்க ஆண்டவருடைய பிள்ளைகளா இருக்கிறதை நம்ம பார்க்கிறோம். இப்பம் இந்த TV இந்த விதமான பல விதமான இது வந்து, அந்தப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு ஒரு பயங்கா distraction-ஐ உண்டாக்குது அது மனசில் ஒரு பாதிப்பை உண்டாக்குது அது. அது சில சமயம் அது avoid பண்ணவும் முடியல அது. அது ஆண்டவர் தாமே அவர்களுக்காக நம்ம ஜெபிக்கும் போது தேவன்.

11. Bina – SW11, Use பண்ணது, ஆணா அவங்க women if they are not coming forward, men. (chuckles) இல்லை, அதுனால women வந்து to be blamed தான். இப்பம் men வந்து கொஞ்சம் விதத்தில் நெறைய பேருக்கு ஒரு weakness இருக்கு அது weakness இருக்கிறதற்கு வந்து, அதை வந்து use பண்ணிக்கிறது men-தான் மாதிரி எனக்குத் தோணும். பணத்துக்காக வேண்டி, அந்த பெலஹித்தை. அது மாதிரி அந்த available-ஆ இல்லைன்ற மாதிரி, ஒவ்வொருத்தரும் ஒழுங்கா, பேசாம அவங்க குடும்பத்தோட, வீட்டோட, பொண்டாட்டியோட இருப்பான். வேற வழியில்லாம. அது men பண்ணது தப்புதான். ஆணா அதை எப்படியுமே எப்படியுமே whichever person, அது இன்னொரு இதை நோக்கிறதன்னு இச்சையோட நோக்கிறது பாவன்டாரு, விபசாரன்டாரு ஆண்டவர். அந்த விதமா இது பண்ணது யாரா இருந்தாலும் தப்பு தான். அது man-ஆ இருக்கட்டும், woman-ஆ இருக்கட்டும். அது தப்பு தப்பு தான் அதில் பெரிய இதே இல்லை, ஆணா woman can women வந்து physiological-ஆ நான் சொல்றது என்னன்னா sexual urge கொஞ்சம் கொறைவு. அதினால அது அவங்களுக்கு கொஞ்சங் கூட இது controlled-ஆ இருக்க முடியும் இருக்கலாம். Unless they give in, சும்மா நம்ம சம்பாதிக்கணும் இதுக்குன்னா, unless they give in, they can live without இது. செல இதில் வந்து men-க்கு ரொம்ப கஷ்டம். Some men are like that அவங்களுக்கு வந்து sexual partner definitely வேணும். அதை தப்புன்ன முடியாது. அதை properly நம்ம wife-ன்னு வச்சிட்டு, அதை ஒழுங்காக இது பண்ணிட்டு இருந்திட்டிருந்தான்னா தப்புன்னு சொல்ல முடியாது. இப்ப அந்த girl கூட சொல்லிச்சு, அந்த அருணான்றது, இப்ப husband வந்து wants it every night. How, even if she is tired-ற மாதிரி. அந்த இதெல்லாம் அந்த மாதிரி men are there. அவங்களுக்கு ஒரு weakness கொஞ்சம் கூட இருக்க நெறையா. ஆணா அதை exploit பண்ணி women வந்து அவங்களை வலைக்குள்ளே வீழ்த்தி அதில் women part ரொம்ப இருக்கு, அதை வச்சு ரொம்ப exploit பண்ணது நெறையா. அதான். men-உம் இருக்கிறாங்க. ஆணா, இப்ப, men இப்பம் ஒரு பொம்பளையை இது பண்ணணுன்னா, பொம்பளை எடங்குடுக்காம அவனால ஒண்ணுஞ் செய்ய முடியாது. Unless rape மாதிரி, வர்ற ரொம்ப forced இது. We are not talking about rape. Talking about prostitution. So வந்து it doesn't come in. Men-உடைய fault-ன்னு நான் சொல்லவே மாட்டேன். அது வந்து women-உடைய, woman எடங்குடுக்காம ஒண்ணும் man பண்ணல. Women தான் இதைத் தூண்டியே விடுறதுன்னு அது சொல்லலாம். Women available-ஆ இல்லைல்லன்னா அவன், அவன் ஒழுங்கா அவன், அவன் பொண்டாட்டியோ ஒழுங்கா இருப்பாங்க. இந்த மாதிரி women available-ஆ இருக்கிறதினால அவங்களுக்கு அந்த sexual urge ஜாஸ்தியா



இருக்கிறதினால் they use it, that also. இன்னும் ஒரு விதத்தில் அவங்களைப் பாவம் பண்ண வைக்கிறாங்கன்னலாம். அதினால் அது பொண்டாட்டி இருக்கும்போது இன்னுன்னு தேடிட்டுப் போறவன், ஏன்னா அவன், he is to be blamed-ட்டு இல்லை சொல்றேன், இருந்தாலும், இதில் women-உடைய role வந்து ரொம்ப மோசம் ... ன்.

12. Ranjithamani – SW12, அது வந்து இப்பம் பெண்கள், பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைகளை அநேகர் பதினெட்டு வயசு, இருபது வயசுப் பிள்ளைகளை வந்து, இப்பி, நெறையா எடங்கள்ல நான் கேள்விப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன். ழும் வச்சி, அங்க ஆண்கள் வந்து ரெடி-ஆ இருக்கிற, இருந்து சிலவங்க வந்து, 'ஒனக்கு இவ்வளவு பணம் தந்திர்றேன், நீ பிள்ளையைக் கூட்டிட்டு வா', அப்படின்னு சொல்லும் போது, அவங்க அந்த பணத்தையும் வாங்கிட்டு, அந்தப் பிள்ளைகளை, வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகளைக் கொண்டு வந்து விட்டுட்டு, இந்த வாலிபப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கும், அவனும் என்ன செய்திர்றான், கொஞ்சம் பணத்தைக் குடுத்திர்றான்க. அப்படிக் கெட்டவழில் நெறையா குடும்பங்கள்ல அந்த பண ஆசைக்காக, பண ஆசை எல்லாத் தீமைக்கும் வேருன்ற மாதிரி, ஆணா, பிசாசு பண ஆசையைக் குடுத்து, ன், இந்த மாதிரி, எனக்கு இந்த தெருவில் நான் பாத்திட்டத்தினால், எனக்கு ரொம்ப, நான் பாத்திருக்கிறேன். பிள்ளைங்க உள்ள போறதெல்லாம், நான் பாத்திருக்கிறேன். அதினால் எனக்கு இப்படியெல்லாம் செய்றாங்களேன்னு எனக்கு ரொம்ப கஷ்டமாதான் இருக்கும். அப்படி, அதெல்லாம் பெரிய தப்பு தான். அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்களும் எசைஞ்சு போகுதுங்கன்னா, அதுகளும் கடவுளுக்குப் பயப்பற்ற பயம், இயேசுக் கிறிஸ்துக்கு பயப்பற்ற பயம் இருத்துச்சுன்னா, எல்லாமே இந்த தப்பு வழில் இருந்து நீங்க முடியும். அப்படிதான் நெனைச்சேன். அதுக்காகவும் ஜெபம் பண்ணேன். அப்படி ஒரு அம்மா, புருசன் கெடையாது. ஆணா அந்த அம்மா அப்படி சம்பாதிச்சு அப்படி அவ்வளவு இதுவா செய்துக்கிட்டு இருக்கு இப்படி நெறையா எடத்தில் நான் கேள்விப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன். நெறையா எடத்தில் நான் கேள்விப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன். நெறையா செய்றாங்க. நான் அஜீஸ் நகர்ல இருக்கும் போது எங்க வீட்டுப் பக்கத்தில் தெலுங்குக்காரர் ஒருத்தர் ஐயோ அந்த வீட்ல அந்த ஆண்கள் வந்துக்கிட்டே இருப்பாங்க. ஒடனே சட்டுன்னு கதவைச் சாத்திரும். அந்த மாதிரி பொல்லாத பொம்பிளையா இருந்துச்சி. அப்படிதான் நெறையா எடங்கள்ல மோசமாதான். அப்படிச் செய்து தப்பு தான்.

13. Saguna – SW13, பிள்ளைகளை வியாபாரமாக்கிறது, அது பயங்கரமான காரியந்தான். ஆணா இந்தக் காலத்தில், ஆ பண நெருக்கடியினால் அப்படிச் செய்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதுவும் தப்பித்தான். அந்த விதமான ஒரு சூழ்நிலைகள் இப்பொழுது பெருகிக் கொண்டே தான். வருகிறதோ ஒழிய குறுகிக் கொண்டு வரலை. ஆகையினால் இதுக்கெல்லாம் ஜெபம் பண்ணணும் நம்ம. கிறிஸ்துவர்களா இருக்கிறவர்கள் தான் இந்த விதமான, atleast கிறிஸ்தவக் குடும்பங்களிலாவது இவ்விதமான காரியங்கள் நடக்காதபடி, நாம் அதற்காக ஒரு பாரப்பட்டு, அந்த கண்ணோக்குடனே ஜெபிக்கணுன்னு நான் நெனைக்கிறேன்.

14. Gem – SW14, பெண்களைத் தவறான வழிக்குப் போகக் காரணம் வீட்ல சரியான கண்டிப்போட வளர்த்து, கண்டிப் போட இருந்திருந்தாங்கன்னா இந்த மாதிரி வராதுன்னு நெனைக்கிறேன். ஆனாலும் செல காரியங்கள் ஆண்கள், ஆம்பிளைப் பிள்ளைங்க இல்லாத வீடுகள்ல பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்கதான் செய்யணுன்னு ஒரு necessity வரும் போது அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்க தான் வெளிய கடைக்கு, அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்க தான் வாங்கணும், அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்க தான், post office-க்குப் போணும், அந்தப் பிள்ளைங்கதான் எல்லாஞ் செய்யணுன்னு வரும்போது அவங்க சூழ்நிலை அவங்க தவற வேண்டிய நிர்ப்பந்தந்தான் நான் நெறையா எடத்தில் பாத்திருக்கிறேன். ன், இப்படிக் குடும்பங்கள்ல பிரிஞ்சி போயிருவாரு அவரு இஷ்டத்துக்கு. அம்மா நாலு பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளை வச்சிருப்பாங்க மூத்த பிள்ளையையேதான் எப்பொழுதும் கடன் கேப்பாங்க. இந்தப் பிள்ளை அப்பம் சம்பாதிக்கிறதுக்கு மேல செலவுக்குத் தாய்மார் எதிர்பாத்து பிள்ளைகளை, கடன் வாங்கி மற்றவங்களுக்கு செய்றதைப் பாத்திருக்கிறேன். அப்புறம் இப்படி சில காரியங்களை அதினால் அந்தப்பிள்ளை நல்ல பிள்ளையா இருந்தாலும் அம்மா திருப்தி படுத்துறதுக்காக செல காரியங்கள் தவறுதல் நடக்கக் கூடிய நிர்ப்பந்தத்துக்குள்ள கட்டாயத்துக்குள்ளாகிறாங்க. அதினால் கூடிய மட்டும் அவங்கவங்க ஒரு சொற்பமா இருந்தாலும், தெய்வ பயத்தை, ஆசீர்வாதமா இருந்தா போதும், தவறுகள் இங்க நடக்கக் கூடாதுன்னு, இன்னைக்கும் வாத்தியார் பிள்ளைங்க, உபதேசியார் பிள்ளைங்க குருமார் பிள்ளைங்க நாலைஞ்சு பொம்பளைப் பிள்ளைங்க இருந்தாலும் இழுக்கிறவங்க இருக்கிறாங்க.